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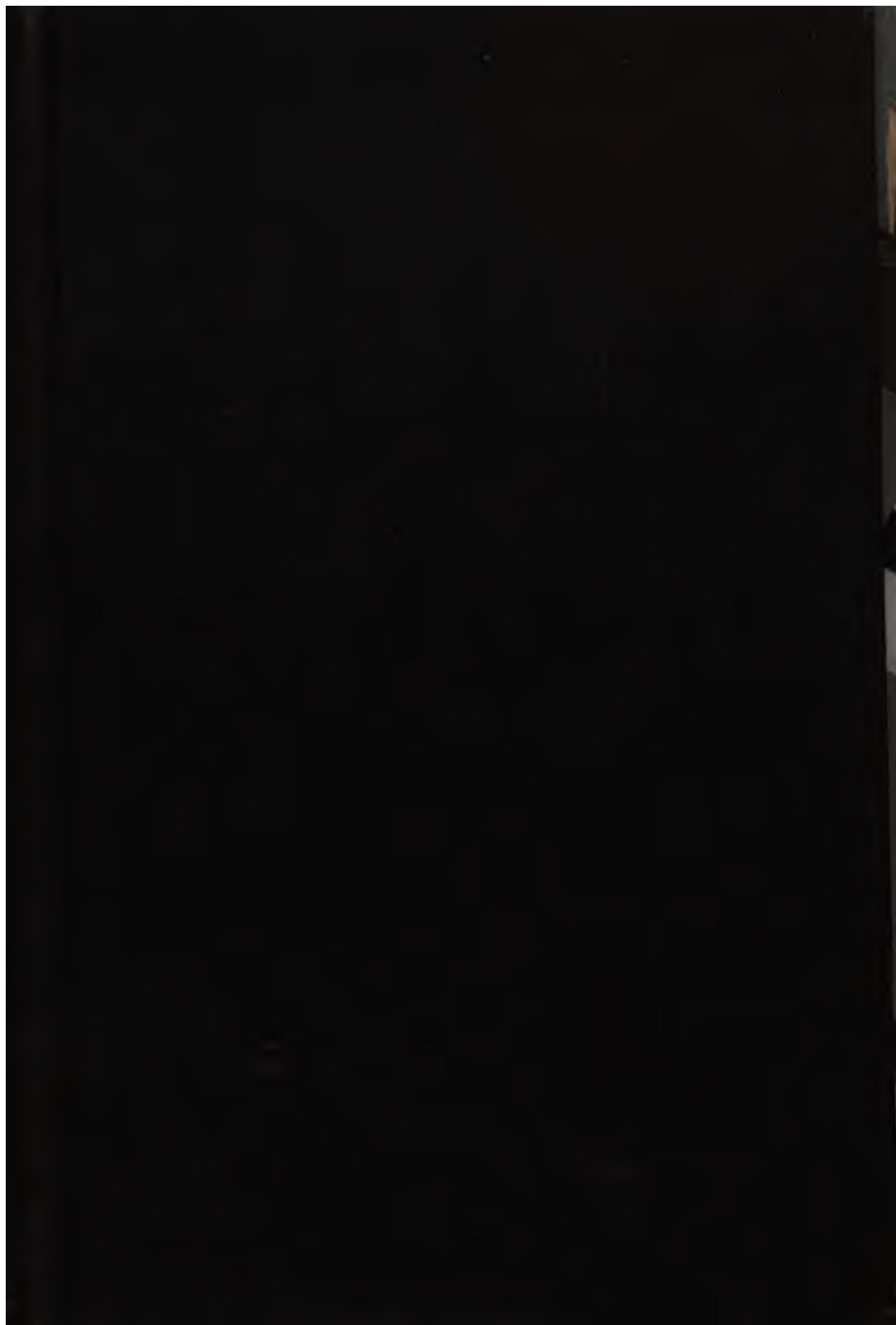
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## CORRIGENDA.

- Page 3, line 14, omit (?).  
 Page 4, Note, line 3, read *gīm-ri-šu-un*.  
 Page 6, line 24, for *dibba* read "garment."  
 Page 12, line 14, for "l. 13" read "l. 14."  
 Page 21, line 22, read   
 Page 21, line 26, for "3." read "4."



## ARTICLE I.

# T I A M A T .

BY

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Presented to the Society May, 1890.

### PREFATORY NOTE.

I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness in the preparation of this article to my teachers, Prof. C. H. Toy, LL.D., and Prof. D. G. Lyon, Ph.D., of Harvard University. While they are not responsible for the views expressed, or for any imperfections the work may contain, they have both aided me very materially with many valuable suggestions. Especially am I indebted to Prof. Lyon for the great assistance rendered me in preparing the Assyrian transliterations and translations.

G. A. B.

THE word *Tiamat*\* is an Assyrian equivalent of the Hebrew תְּהוֹם,† and is in Assyrian the name both of the personified sea and of a female mythical sea-monster.

---

\* Since this article was written, Dr. Jensen of Strasburg has published his volume, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*. This whole article, except the transliterations and translations of tablets iv. and v., was written before seeing his work, and independently of it. In the translation of these tablets I am indebted to him for some suggestions, which are acknowledged in the notes.

† Although *tamtu*=תִּי *amtu* is the more apparent Assyrian equivalent of the Hebrew תְּהוֹם, yet the use of *tiamat* in the sense of *tamtu* in the following passages indicates that *tamtu* and *tiamat* have at the root the same meaning. In V. R. 2. 58 and Lyon's Assyrian Manual 21. 8 we have *m Ya-hi-mil-ki apal-su ša ma-ti-ma ti-amat la i-bi-ra* 'Yahimilki his son, who had never crossed the sea.' In the first Creation Tablet, l. 4, the primal sea is called *mu-um-mu ti-amat*. So Lyon's *Sargon-texte*, p. 23, l. 25 sq. (also Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, p. 43, l. 25): *U-ma-am šadi u ti-amat ina a-ban šadi zak-ri inu niklat Nin-id-gal u-ši-piš-ma* 'assemblages of animals of the mountain and the sea I made of the stone of the lofty mountain by the skill of Ea.' Again,



Our sources of information regarding the conceptions of her are three: viz., Damascius, Berosos, and the Babylonian account of the Creation.

Damascius, a pagan philosopher who flourished in the early part of the 6th Cent. A. D., in his work entitled *'Απορίαι καὶ λύσεις περὶ τῶν πρώτων ἀρχῶν*, Cap. 125, says:

"But of the Barbarians the Babylonians seem to pass by in silence one origin of all things, and to hold that there were two, *Ταυθέ* and *'Απασών*, making *'Απασών* the husband of *Ταυθέ*, and calling her the mother of the gods, from whom an only-begotten son, *Μωϋμῆς*, was born; him I regard as the visible universe, generated from the two principles. From these same another generation came forth, *Δαχή* and *Δαχός*. Then also from these same a third, viz. *Κισσαρή* and *'Ασσωρός*, from whom are born three, *'Ανός* and *Ἰλλινός* and *'Αός*; and from *'Αός* and *Δαύκη* a son *Βῆλος* was born, who they say was a demiurge."

This information Damascius, who was banished by Justinian to Persia in 529 A. D., doubtless obtained at nearly first hand from the Babylonians themselves.

The points of accord between this extract from Damascius and the Babylonian Creation Tablets are, as we shall see, numerous and interesting. We can, however, only stop here to note that according to Damascius the Babylonians believed in a female generative principle, from which all things, even the gods themselves, were produced, and that her name was *Ταυθέ*. This word *Ταυθέ*\* is undoubtedly equivalent to the Babylonian-Assyrian *Tiamat*.

Our second source of information is Berosos, a priest in the temple of Bēl at Babylon in the days of Alexander the Great, who wrote a history of his country in Greek, drawing his infor-

I. R. 56, Col. vi. 45: *Ki-ma i-bir ti-a-am-ti* 'like the passage of the sea.' And lastly, I. R. 59, Col. ii. 15: *Ištu ti-a-am-ti i-li-ti a-di ti-a-am-ti ša-ap-li-ti* 'from the upper sea unto the lower sea.'

*Tiamat* and *tamtu*, then, seem both to be from the stem תהם, the stem of תהום. Apparently the meaning was originally the same, but in use they were differentiated, *tamtu* being used for the ordinary sea, and *tiamat* for the primeval sea and then for the dragon which personified it. They each retain so much of the root-meaning, however, that *tiamat* is not infrequently used for *tamtu*.

\* *Tavθέ* is really a transliteration into Greek, not of *Tiamat* itself but of its synonym *tamtu* (Lenormant first pointed out this fact, *Bérose*, p. 86). The *m* in Assyrian was often pronounced *v* (see Delitzsch's *Assyrian Grammar*, § 44), and its nearest equivalent in Greek would be *v*. The *θ* represents the Semitic fricative *t*. The נ ת כ פ ת letters seem to have been fricative between two vowels in Assyrian, as in Hebrew and Aramaic (see Delitzsch's *Assyr. Gram.*, § 43). The *u* of *tamtu* is the ending, represented in *Tavθέ* by *ε*. In classic Greek it would have been the usual fem. ending *η*.

mation, no doubt, largely from the archives of the temple in which he exercised his priesthood. His work, unfortunately, is lost, and we know it only through fragments preserved by other historians. The fragments which are of especial interest to us are found in the history of Alexander Polyhistor, a native of Ephesus or Phrygia, who was taken prisoner in the war of Sulla and sold to Cornelius Lentulus, and became pedagogue to his children. Polyhistor wrote descriptions of the geography and history of the different countries, in forty-two books. In his description of Babylonia he quotes Berosos as follows (cf. Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 23):

"There was a time in which there existed nothing but darkness, and an abyss of waters, wherein resided most hideous beings, who were produced of a two-fold (?) principle. There appeared men, some of whom were furnished with two wings, others with four, and with two faces. They had one body but two heads, the one of a man the other of a woman, and likewise in their several organs they were both male and female. Other human figures were to be seen with the legs and horns of goats; some had horses' feet, while others united the hind-quarters of a horse with the body of a man, resembling in shape the hippo-centaurs. Bulls, likewise, were bred there with the heads of men, and dogs with fourfold bodies terminated in their extremities with the tails of fishes; horses, also, with the heads of dogs; men, too, and other animals with the heads and bodies of horses and the tails of fishes. In short, there were creatures in which were combined the limbs of animals of every species. In addition to these, fishes, reptiles, serpents, with other monstrous animals which assume each other's shape and countenance. Of all which were preserved delineations in the temple of Belus at Babylon. The person who presided over them was a woman, Omorôca,\* which in the Chaldean language is *Θαλάτθ*, in Greek *Θάλασσα*, the sea, but which might equally be interpreted the moon. All things being in this situation, Belus came and cut the woman asunder; and from one half of her he formed the earth and from the other half the heavens, and at the same time destroyed the animals within her. All this, he says, was an allegorical description of nature."

In this extract we have an undoubted description of Tiamat, her name appearing here as *Θαλάτθ* (though, as we shall see, Berosos and the cuneiform give different phases of the myth), and its meaning being given as the sea, in which sense, as shown above, it is often used in the cuneiform inscriptions.

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\* Delitzsch suggests that this may be formed from *ummu khubur*: third Creation Tablet, l. 23.

We must endeavor to bear these statements in mind until we have examined the Assyrian Creation Tablets, in order to gather from the combined material our knowledge of the Babylonian Tiamat.

The first tablet of the Babylonian Creation series is represented by a fragment in the British Museum (k. 5419) containing ten whole lines and parts of eight others. It is from Nineveh, and is written in the Assyrian character. It begins as follows:

1. "At a time when above the heaven was not named,
2. (And) beneath the earth had no existence,
3. The abyss was first their generator;
4. Mummu Tiamat was the bringer forth of them all;
5. Their waters together were embosomed.
6. (When) corn (?) was not gathered, nor (even) a field seen;
7. When none of the gods had been produced,
8. Nor had existence, nor fixed destiny.
9. The [great] gods were created . . . . .
10. Lahmu (and) Lahamu came forth . . . . .
11. Until they grew up . . . . .
12. Shar (and) Kishar were created . . . . .
13. Distant days . . . . .
14. The god Anu . . . . .
15. The god Ashur, the god . . . . .\*

This tablet agrees with Damascius in making Tiamat a female generative principle, from which all things, even the gods themselves, were born. It agrees also with Berosos in making her a being of the sea.

The second tablet of this series is represented by an unpublished fragment in the British Museum. Prof. Delitzsch, who has examined it, says in his *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, p. 65, that it contains the nine concluding lines of the original tablet, and is identified as one of this series by the colophon *duppu sânu inuma ilis* 'tablet second of *Inuma-ilis*.' It will be noticed that *Inuma ilis* are the Assyrian words with which the first tablet begins, and were used as the title of the whole

\*The Assyrian transliterated text is:—1. *I-nu-ma* [i] *liš la na-bu-ú ša-ma-mu*. 2. *šap-liš* [irši]-*tum šu-ma la zak-rat*. 3. *apsu-ma riš-tu-ú za-ru-šu-un*. 4. *mu-um-mu ti-amat mu-ul-li-da-at gim-ri-šu-um*. 5. *mī-PL-šu-nu iš-ti-niš i-ḫi-ku-u-ma*. 6. *gi-pa-ra la ki-iš-šu-ra ḡu-ša-a la šī-i*. 7. *i-nu-ma ilāni-PL la šu-pu-ú ma-na-ma*. 8. *šu-ma la zuk-ku-ru ši-ma-tu la* . . . 9. *ib-ba-nu-ú-ma ilāni-PL* [rabāti]. 10. *ILU Laḫ-mu ILU La-ḫa-mu uš-ta-pu-ú* . . . . . 11. *a-di ir-bu-ú* . . . . . 12. *ILU Šar ILU Ki-šar ib-ba-nu[ú]* . . . . . 13. *ur-ri-ku amī-PL sir* . . . . . 14. *ILU A-nu* . . . . . 15. *ILU Aššur ILU* . . . . .

The cuneiform text of this fragment is published in Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestücke*<sup>2</sup>, p. 93, and in Lyon's *Assyrian Manual*, p. 62.

poem, just as **בראשית** in Hebrew was used as the title of Genesis.

From the nine concluding lines on this fragment we learn, on the authority of Delitzsch, that the tablet contained the offer of Marduk to take Tiamat and avenge the gods. Why it was necessary for Marduk to take Tiamat and avenge the gods does not appear from the narrative, but doubtless if we could recover the last part of the first tablet and the first part of the second all would be made clear.

We learn, however, from Babylonian and Assyrian sculptures and seals that Tiamat was regarded not only as the female watery principle, whose waters through union with those of the male principle produced all life, but also as a sea-dragon with the head of a tiger or griffin, with wings, four feet, claws, and a scaly tail. This composite figure was evidently intended to signify both the power and the hideousness of this evil enemy of the great gods.

This fragment, at its close, as is the custom in the Assyrian poetical tablets, gives the first line of tablet iii. Four or five fragments\* in the British Museum constitute the known remains of this precious document. These have never been published, but, according to Delitzsch, comprise 138 lines, greatly mutilated but for the most part complete, and contain the acceptance by the gods of Marduk's offer to take Tiamat. Sayce has a translation of a few lines in the new edition of the *Records of the Past*, i. 134; and Delitzsch has a transliteration of a few lines in his *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, p. 100; but neither of them has made much out of it.

The fourth tablet is represented by two fragments in the British Museum, one in Assyrian from Nineveh, and the other from Borsippa in Babylonian. Both are badly broken, but by putting them together we get a tolerably complete text of 146 lines.† It reads as follows:—

1. † Founded for him a sanctuary of the great ones,
2. Brilliantly (?) his fathers (i. e. his fathers founded) for ruling, he dwelt (in it).
3. Thou verily art honored among the great gods;
4. Thy destiny is unalterable, thy command is (the command of) Anu.

\* These are numbered k. 3473, k. 3477, k. 3478, k. 3479, and R<sup>m</sup>. 615.

† The fragment from Assyria which forms the middle of the story is published in Delitzsch's *Assyr. Leses.*<sup>3</sup>; and that from Borsippa is published by Budge in the *Proc. Soc. Bib. Archaeology*, vol. x. It is from these texts that the following transliteration is made.

‡ 1. *Id-du-šum-ma pa-rak ru-bu-tum.* 2. *šu-ḥa-ri-iš ab-bi-i-šu a-na ma-li-ku-tum ir-mi.* 3. *at-ta-ma kab-ta-ta i-na ilāni ra-bu-tum.* 4. *ši-mat-ka la ša-na-an si-kar-ka ILU A-num.* 5. *ILU Marduk kab-ta-ta i-*

5. O Marduk, thou art honored among the great gods ;
6. Thy destiny is unalterable, thy command is (the command of) Anu.
7. From that day thy word is unresisted.
8. To exalt and to humble thy hand is stretched forth.
9. Verily thy word is established, thy command is not resisted.
10. No one among the gods has surpassed thy power ;
11. An ornament (?) has been established (?), a sanctuary of the gods.
12. The place of their *sagi*, may it be established as thy place.
13. O Marduk, thou art indeed our avenger (lit. the returner of our reward).
14. We have given thee royalty, the hosts of the whole universe.
15. Thou art established; among all verily thy word is exalted.
16. Thy weapons are not to be escaped; may thy enemies tremble.
17. O Lord, avenge the life of him who trusts in thee ;
18. And pour out the life of the god who is wedded to evil.
19. They placed their *i-bi-ri*, a certain garment,
20. Unto Marduk their first born; they said,
21. Thy destiny, O Lord, is verily before the gods.
22. To destroy and to create—speak, let it be done.
23. Set thy mouth, let his *dibba* perish.
24. Turn, speak to it; let the garment be restored.
25. He spoke, and by his word the garment was destroyed ;
26. He turned, he spoke to it—the garment was created.
27. When the gods his fathers saw the effect of his word,
28. They rejoiced, they blessed Marduk, the king,

na ilāni ra-bu-tum. 6. ši-mat-ka la šu-na-an si-kar ILU A-num. 7. iš-tu ū-mi-im-ma la in-nin-na-a ki-bit-ka. 8. šu-uš-ku-ù ù šu-uš-pu-lu ši-i-lu-u' ka-at-ka. 9. lu-ù ki-na-at ši-it pi-i-ka la sa-ra-ar si-kar-ka. 10. ma-am-ma i-na ilāni i-duk-ka la it-ti-ik. 11. za-na-nu-tum ir-šad (?) pa-rak ilāni-ma. 12. a-šar sa-gi-šu-nu lu-ù ku-un aš-ru-uk-ka. 13. ILU Marduk at-ta-ma mu-tir-ru gi-mil-li-ni. 14. ni-id-din-ka šar-ru-tum kiš-šat kal gim-ri-i-ti. 15. ti-šam-ma ina pu-ḥur lu-u ša-ka-ta a-mat-ka. 16. kak-ku-ka a-a ib-bal-tu-u li-ra-i-su' na-ku-ri-ka. 17. bi-lum ša tak-lu-ka na-piš-ta-šu gi-mil-ma. 18. u ilu ša lim-ni-i-ti i-ḥu-zu tu-bu-uk nap-šat-su. 19. uš-zi-zu-ma i-bi-ri-šu-nu lu-ba-šu iš-tin. 20. a-na ILU Marduk bu-uk-ri-šu-nu šu-nu iz-zak-ru. 21. ši-mat-ka bi-lum lu-u maḥ-ra-at ilāni-ma. 22. a-ba-tum u ba-nu-u ki-bi li-ik-tu-nu. 23. ip-ša pi-i-ka li-'i-a-bat lu-ba-šu. 24. tu-ur ki-bi-šum-ma lu-ba-šu li-iš-ši. 25. ik-bi-ma i-na pi-i-šu i-a-bit lu-ba-šu. 26. i-tu-ur ik-bi-šum-ma lu-ba-šu it-tab-ni. 27. ki-ma ši-it pi-i-šu i-mu-ru ilāni ab-bi-i-šu. 28. iḥ-du-u ik-ru-bu ILU Marduk-ma šar-ru. 29. u-uy-ši-

<sup>1</sup> St. חלש.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Heb. רָעַס (Jud. v. 4) and Arab. رَعَس and Del. *Assyr. Gram.*, § 46.

29. They bestowed on him the scepter, the throne, and the reign.

30. They give him a weapon without rival which subdues (?) the enemy.

31. Go (they said), destroy the life of Tiamat.

32. May the winds bear her blood to secret places.

33. The gods his fathers fixed the fate of Bel.

34. A path of peace and favor they made him seize as the way.

35. His bow he prepared ; his weapon he added ;

36. (His) spear he brandished ; he placed it (on his) stomach (?).

37. The god took up the weapon, he seized it with his right hand.

38. His bow and his quiver at his side he hung.

39. He placed his lightning in his (Kingu's) face.

40. (With) swift destruction he filled his (Kingu's) body ;

41. He made a net in order to enclose the host (?) of Tiamat.

42. The four winds he prepared, that none of them should go out.

43. The south wind, the north wind, the east wind, the west wind.

44. His hand brought near the net, the gift of his father Anu.

45. He made the evil wind, the bad wind, the storm, and the tempest,

46. The four winds, the seven winds, the whirl(?)wind, the ceaseless (?) wind.

47. He brought out the winds which he had created, seven of them,

48. The host of Tiamat to disturb, to advance after her.

49. The lord lifted up the deluge, his mighty weapon.

50. A fiery chariot, an object without equal, he rode.

51. He harnessed it, and the four reins he hung at its side.

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*bu-šu iṣu ḥatta iṣu kussa u pal-a. 30. id-din-nu-šu kak-ku la ma-aḥ-ra da-'a-i-bu za-'a-a-ri. 31. a-lik-ma ša Ti-amat nap-ša-tu-uš pu-ru-'u-ma. 32. ša-a-ru da-mi-ša a-na pu-uš-ra-tum li-bil-lu-ni. 33. i-ši-mu-ma ša Bili ši-ma-tu-uš ilani a-bi-i-šu. 34. u-ru-uh šu-ul-mu u taš-mi-i uš-ta-aš-bi-tu-uš ḥar-ra-nu. 35. ib-šim-ma iṣu kašta kak-ka-šu u-ad-di. 36. mul-mul-lum uš-tar-ki-ba u-kin-šu ba-aḥ-nu. 37. iš-ši-ma baṭ(?) ṭa ilu im-na-šu u-ša-ḥi-iz. 38. iṣu kašta u iš-pa-tum i-du-uš-šu il-lu-ul. 39. iš-kun bi-ir-ku i-na pa-ni-šu. 40. nab-lu muš-taḥ-mi-ṭu zu-mur-šu um-ta-al-la (Del Leses,<sup>3</sup> p. 97, l. 6). 41. i-pu-uš-ma sa-pa-ra šul-mu kir-biš Ti-amat. 42. ir-bīt-ti ša-a-ri uš-ti-iš-bi-ta ana la a-ši-i nim-mi-ša. 43. šātu, illanu, šādū, aḥārū. 44. i-du-uš sa-pa-ra uš-tak-ri-ba ki-iš-ti abi-šu ilu Anu. 45. ib-ni im-ḥul-la šara limna mi-ḥa-a A-U-ŠU-TUM. 46. šari ar-ba šari siba šaru . . .<sup>1</sup> šaru la-sanān. 47. u-ši-ša-am-ma šari-PL ša ib-nu-u si-bil-ti-šu-un. 48. kir-biš Ti-amat šu-ud-lu-ḥu ti-bu-u arki-šu. 49. iš-ši-ma bi-lum a-bu-ba iṣu kakka-šu rab-a. 50. iṣu narkabtu ši-kin la maḥ-ri ga-lit-ta ir-kab. 51. is-mid-sim-ma ir-bīt-na*

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<sup>1</sup> This sign is unknown to me.

52. . . . . without mercy overwhelming swift,  
 53. . . . . their teeth bore poison (?).  
 54. . . . . he cast down understanding.  
 55. . . . . mighty was the battle.  
 56. On the left . . . . .  
 57. . . . . terrors . . . . .  
 58. His lustre . . . . .  
 59. He made straight his way, he caused to flow.  
 60. Straightway (?) Tiamat . . . . . he set before his face,  
 61. By (his) command . . . . . he finish (?).  
 62. . . . . with his hand he seized (?).  
 63. In that day the gods beheld him ; they beheld him.  
 64. The gods, his fathers, beheld him ; the gods beheld him.  
 65. Bel approached, he seizes the waist of Tiamat.  
 66. Of Kingu, her husband, she sees the overthrow ;  
 67. She beheld and saw his way.  
 68. Overthrown was his reason ; captured was his plan.  
 69. And the gods his helpers who march at his side  
 70. Saw . . . . . their leader bear their yoke.  
 71. . . . . Tiamat did not turn her neck.  
 72. With her hostile (?) lip she contended opposition.  
 73. . . . . of the lord of the gods, thy approach.  
 74. Their . . . . . they assemble themselves to their place.  
 75. . . . . the lord the deluge his great weapon.  
 76. . . . . Tiamat on whom he takes vengeance and he  
 sends it.  
 77. . . . . *kur(?)a-ti* on high thou bearest.  
 78. . . . . thy . . . muster unto . . . . .  
 79. . . . . their father . . . . .

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*aš-ma-di i-du-uš-ša i-lul.* 52. . . . . *la pa-du-u ra-ḫi-iš mu-up-par-ša.*  
 53. . . . . *ti šin-na-šu-nu na-ša im-ta.* 54. . . . . *u-sa-pa-*  
*nu lam-du.* 55. . . . . *ša ra-aš-ba tu-ku-un-tum.* 56. *su-*  
*mi-la . . . . . a i-pad . . . . .* 57. . . . . *iš . . . . . ti*  
*pul-ḫa-ti . . . . . lul.* 58. *mi-lam-mi-šu bit . . . . . pi-ir ša-šu-uš*  
 (?) *šu.* 59. *uš-ti-šir-ma [ur-]ḫa-šu u-šar-di-ma.* 60. *aš-riš Ti-amat*  
 . . . . . *pa-nu-uš-šu iš-kun.* 61. *ina šapti . . . . . u-kal-lu.*  
 62. *u-mi im-ta . . . . . i-ta-mi-iḫ rit-tuš-šu.* 63. *i-na ū-mi-šu i-[tul-]lu-*  
*šu ilāni i-tul-lu-šu.* 64. *ilāni abi-šu i-tul-lu-šu ilāni i-tul-lu-šu.* 65.  
*id-ḫi-ma bi-lum ḫab-lu-uš Ti-a-ma-ti i-bar-ri.* 66. *ša ILU Kin-gu ḫa-*  
*ri-ša i-ši-i a šip-ki-šu.* 67. *i-na aṭ-ṭal-ma i-ši ma-lak-šu.* 68. *sa-pi-iḫ*  
*ṭi-ma-šu-ma si-ḫa-ti ip-šit-su.* 69. *u ilāni ri-šu-šu a-li-ku i-di-šu.* 70.  
*i-mu-ru . . . da a-ša-ri-du ni-rum-šu-un i-ši.* 71. . . . . *di . . . . . Ti-*  
*amat ul u-ta-ri ki-šad-sa.* 72. *i-na šap-[ti]-ša lul-la-a u-rib (?) sar-ra-a-*  
*ti.* 73. *bi-ta . . . . . ru ša bi-lum ilāni ti-bu-ka.* 74. . . . . *uš-šu-*  
*un ip-ḫu-ru-šu-nu aš-ruk-ka.* 75. . . . . *bi-lum a-bu-ba iṣu kakku-*  
*šu rab-a.* 76. . . . . *[Ti-]amat ša ig-mi-lu ki-a-am iš-pur-šu.* 77.  
 . . . . . *kur(?)a-ti i-liš na-ša-ti.* 78. . . . . *ba-ki-ma*  
*di-ki a-na . . . . .* 79. . . . . *abu-šu-nu i-da . . . . .*

80. . . . . *nu-ta-zi-ri-i* . . . . .  
 81. . . . . unto . . . . .  
 82. . . . . unto the command of this god.  
 83. . . . . thou seest,

*Reverse.*

1. . . . . Against the gods my fathers thy evil thou directest.  
 2. May thy forces be harnessed (?), may thy weapons be girded on.  
 3. Stand, and thou and I will fight (?) together.  
 4. Tiamat, when she heard this,  
 5. Was *muhhutiš*, she changed her plan.  
 6. Tiamat cried passionately with a high voice.  
 7. From its base completely trembled her seat.  
 8. She spoke an incantation, she placed her *ta-a*,  
 9. And the gods of battle demanded their weapons.  
 10. Then Tiamat attacked the leader of the gods, Marduk.  
 11. In combat (?) they joined, they approached furiously.  
 12. Bel spread out his net; he enclosed her.  
 13. The evil wind which seizes from behind he thrust into her face.  
 14. Tiamat opened her mouth to swallow it.  
 15. He caused the evil wind to enter so that she could not shut her mouth.  
 16. The mighty winds tortured (?) her stomach.  
 17. Her waist was seized, and he opened wide her mouth.  
 18. He set his spear, he mutilated her stomach.

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80. . . . . *nu-ta-zi-ri-i* . . . . . 81. . . . .  
*a-na ha-i-ru* . . . . . 82. . . . . *a-na pa-ra-aš ilu an-nu-ti.* 83. . . . . *a-ti te-ši-i-i-ma.*

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*Reverse.*

1. . . . . *ana abi-i-a li-mut-ta-ki tuk-tin-ni.* 2. *[lu-ša-]an-da-at um-mat-ki lu-rit-ku-su šu-nu iṣṣ kakki-PL-ki.* 3. *in-di-im-ma a-na-ku u ka-a-ši i-ni-pu-uš-ša-aš-ma.* 4. *Ti-amat an-ni-ta i-na ši-mi-ša.* 5. *muh-ḥu-tiš i-ti-mi uš-a-an-ni ṭi-in-ša.* 6. *is-si-ma Ti-amat šit-mu-riš i-li-ta.* 7. *šur-šiš ma-al-ma-liš it-ru-ra iš-da-a-ša.* 8. *i-man-ni šib-ta it-ta-nam-di ta-a-ša.* 9. *u ilāni ša taḥazi u-ša-'a-lu-šu-nu iṣṣ kakku-PL-šu-nu.* 10. *in-nin-du-ma Ti-amat abkal ilāni ILU Marduk.* 11. *ša-aš-miš it-tib-bu kit-ru-bu ta-ḥa-zi-iš.* 12. *uš-pa-ri-ir-ma bi-lum sa-pa-ra-šu u-šal-mi-ši.* 13. *šāru ḥul-lu ṣa-bit ar-ka-ti pa-nu-uš-šu<sup>1</sup> um-taš-šir.* 14. *ip-ti-ma pi-i-ša Ti-amat a-na lu-'a-a-ti-šu.* 15. *šāru ḥul-la uš-ti-ri-ba a-na la ka-tam šap-ti-ša.* 16. *iz-zu-ti šāri-PL kar-ša-ša i-za-nu-ma.* 17. *in-ni-ḥaz lib-ba-ša-ma pa-a-ša uš-pal-ki.* 18. *is-suk mul-mul-la iḥ-*
- 

<sup>1</sup> Variant *ša*.



19. Her entrails he tore out, he mastered (her) heart.
20. He bound her, and her life destroyed.
21. Her body he cast down, upon it he stood.
22. After Tiamat the leader was killed (?),
23. He scattered her force and subdued her throng.
24. And the gods, her helpers, who marched at her side,
25. Trembled, feared, turned their backs.
26. They carried her (Tiamat ?) out alive, they escaped.
27. . . . They were surrounded in flight without strength
28. He approached (?) them and broke their weapons.
29. His net was cast; overwhelmed they remained.
30. . . . . hand, they were filled with groaning.
31. His toil (?) was harm, his *kišuk* was finished.
32. And the eleven creatures with a work of fear were troubled.
33. The height (?), the demons (?) who went (?) . . . . .
34. He laid their hands prostrate (?) . . . . .
35. Together with their battles beneath himself he trod,
36. And Kingu who . . . . . their . . . . .  
(P. S. B. A., p. 86 sq.)
37. He bound him; with the bound gods he counted him;
38. He robbed him of the tablets of fate . . . . . him.
39. With (his) seal he sealed [him] . . . . . he held.
40. After his enemies he had seized, he had overthrown,
41. The exalted enemy had led captive (?) as an ox (?),
42. The wish of Anshar over the enemy he had fully established,
43. The intention of Ea Marduk the mighty had attained,
44. Over the bound gods he strengthened his guard.
45. Like a serpent Tiamat whom he had bound turned after him.

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ti-pi ka-ras-sa. 19. kir-bi-ša u-bat-ti-ka u-šal-liḫ lib-ba. 20. ik-mi-ši-ma nap-ša-taš u-bal-li. 21. ša-lam-ša id-da-a ili-ša i-za-za. 22. ul-tu Ti-amat a-lik pa-ni i-na-ru. 23. ki-iš-ri-ša up-ta-ri-ra pu-ḫur-ša is-sap-ḫa. 24. u ilāni ri-ḫu-ša a-li-ku i-di-ša. 25. it-tar-ru ip-la-ḫu u-saḫ-ḫi-ru ar-kuṭ-su-un. 26. u-ši-ḫu-ma nap-ša-tuš i-di-ru. 27. Ni(?)-ta la-mu-u na-par-šu-diš la li-i-i. 28. tab(?)-bu-šu-nu-ti-ma iṣṣ kakku-PL-šu-nu u-šab-bir. 29. sa(?)-pa-riš na-du-ma ka-ma-riš uš-bu. 30. . . . du-tub ka-a-ti, ma-lu-u du-ma-mu. 31. ši-rit-su na-šu-u ka-lu-u ki-šuk-kiš. 32. u iš-tin-iš-rit nab-ni-ti šu-pir pul-ḫa-ti i-za-nu. 33. mi-il-la gal-li-i a-li-ku ka-lu(?) . . . ša. 34. it-ta-di ḡir-ri-i-ti i-di-šu-nu(?) . . . . . 35. ga-du tuk-ma-ti-šu-nu ša-paḫ-šu(ik-bu)-juš. 36. u ILU Kingu ša ir . . . . . šu-un (Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch., p. 86 sq.). 37. ik-mi-šu-ma it-ti il[āni ka-mu-ti(?) im-ni-šu. 38. i-kin-šu-ma dup-simḫti-PL . . . . . ti-šu. 39. i-na ki-šib-bi ik-nu-kam-ma ir . . . . . it-mu-uḫ. 40. iš-tu ši-ni-šu ik-mu-u i-sa-du. 41. a-a-bu mut-ta-i-du u-ša-bu-u šu-ri-šam. 42. ir-niṭ-ti An-šar i-li na-ki-ru ka-li-iš uš-ri-ru. 43. ni-iš-mat ILU Nu-kin-mut ik-šu-du ILU Marduk kur-du. 44. i-ti ilāni-PL ka-mu-tum ḡi-bil-ta-šu u-dan nin-ma. 45. ḡi-ri-iš Ti-amat ša ik-mu-u

46. Then the lord trod upon the breast of Tiamat.
47. With his club (?) unmerciful (?) he smote (?) (her) head,
48. He cut through the veins of her blood.
49. The north wind bore it to secret places.
50. His fathers saw it, they rejoiced, they exulted.
51. They brought a present, a peace offering to him.
52. The lord rested; then her body he dragged.
53. (His) advance (?) he strengthened (?), he forms cunning (plans).
54. He tore from her like a fish her skin (?) according to his plan.
55. With her likeness which he prepared he overshadowed the heavens.
56. He pushed a bolt, he stationed a guard.
57. He commanded them not to let out its waters.
58. The heavens he crossed, the places he viewed.
59. He presented himself before the deep, the dwelling of Ea.
60. The lord established bounds to the destructiveness (?) of the deep.
61. A temple like it (the heavens) he established as Isharra.
62. The temple Isharra which he had made,
63. He caused Anum, Bil, and Ea to inhabit it as their city.

*i-tu-ra ar-ki-iš. 46. ik-bu-us-ma bi-lum ša Ti-a-ma-tum i-rit-sa. 47. i-na mi-di-šu la maš(?)-di-i u-šat-ti mu-uḫ-ḫi. 48. u-pir-ri-'i-ma uš-la-at da-mi-ša. 49. ša-a-ru il-ta-nu a-na bu-uṣ-rat uš-ta-bil. 50. i-mu-ru-ma ab-bu-šu uḫ-da-u i-ri-šu. 51. ši-di-i šul-ma-nu u-ša-bi-lu-šu-nu a-na ša-a-šu. 52. i-nu-uḫ-ma bi-lum ša-lam-tu-uš i-bar-ri. 53. šir-ku-bu u-za-a(?) zu (?) i-ban-na-a nik-la-a-ti. 54. iḫ-pi-ši-ma ki-ma nu-nu maš-ki(?) i-a-na nik-la-a-ti-šu. 55. mi-iš-lu-uš ša iš-ku-nam-ma ša-ma-ma u-ša-al-lil. 56. iš-du-ud par-ku ma-aṣ-ša-ru u-ša-aṣ-bi-it. 57. mi-i-ša la šu-ša-a šu-nu-ti um-ta-a-ir. 58. šam-i i-bi-ir aš-ra-tum i-ḫi-tam-ma. 59. uš-tam-ḫi-ir mi-iḫ-rat zu-ab-bi šu-bat ILU Nu-kim-mut. 60. im-šu-uḫ-ma bi-lum ša zu-ab-bi nu-tu-uš-šu. 61. i-kal-la tam-ši-la-šu u-ki-in i-šar-ra. 62. i-kal-la i-šar-ra ša ib-nu sa-ma-mu. 63. ILU Anum ILU Bū ILU Ea ma-ka-zi-šu-un uš-ram-ma.*

NOTES ON TABLET IV.—1. 2. Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 278, and Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 379, evidently read *ma-ḫa-riš*. It seems to me better, however, to read *šu-ḫa-riš* as an adverb, and make *ab-bi-i* the subject of *iḫ-du*, though the order of the words is very unusual. 1. 4. I follow Jensen in reading *si-kar*, and translating 'command.' The use of this word, however, in the Sargon Cyl., l. 49, seems to me better proof of this reading than either of the cases cited by Jensen. 1. 7. For examples of *in-nin-na* in this sense, cf. V. R. 10.9, V. R. 64, I. Col., l. 35. 1. 19. I do not feel sure with Jensen that *i-bi-ri* here means 'companion,' and therefore leave it untranslated. I follow him in reading *lu-ba-šu* 'garment.' 1. 21. I differ from Jensen here in translation, as it seems to me that the strong assertion of this line is made the basis or reason of the command in the next. 1. 66. I am not certain of the reading which makes *Kingu* here 'overthrown.' The cuneiform signs might be read and divided differently, as *i-ši-'i a-mi-ki-šu*, or *i-ši-'i a mi-ki-šu*.

[First line of 5th Tablet.] 'He prepared the dwellings of the great gods.'

There then follows a colophon, which states that there are 146 lines in this tablet; that it is the fourth tablet of the series *inuma iš la nambi*; that it was written according to an old copy by Nabu-bil-šu for the saving of his life. Here the fourth tablet ends. Before passing to the fifth we may notice that in the tablet just examined two traditions of the death of Tiamat seem to be woven together. In lines 12 to 21 of the reverse of the tablet, we are told how Marduk 'tore out her entrails, mastered her heart, bound her, and destroyed her life, cast down her carcass and stood upon it.' In line 45, however, Tiamat is alive again, and 'following Marduk like a serpent.' He, moreover, here destroys her life with a club, makes of her likeness the heavens, and of her skin apparently a constellation.

The fifth tablet consists of three or four fragments, published in Delitzsch's *Lesestücke*, 3d ed., pp. 94-96. It begins as follows:—\*

1. He prepared the dwellings of the great gods.
2. He fixed the stars corresponding to them and the animal constellations.
3. He ordained the year; he put in place the zodiacal signs.
4. (For) the twelve months three stars (each) he fixed,
5. From the day when the year went forth unto (its) close.
6. He founded the palace of the god of the passage for making known their orbits,
7. So as not to do harm, nor damage anything.

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*Reverse.*

1. 5. Zimmern. *Busspsalmen*, p. 70, first suggested the reading *muhbutiš* as an adverb. What it signifies is unknown. From V. R. i. 84 it would seem to mean 'like some timid animal'; possibly, therefore, *muhhut* is the name of an animal. 1. 13. *la-a-a-ti* I connect with the Syr. ܠܐܬܝ. 1. 26. I can make nothing else of the *nap-sa-tuš*, and I can only explain the occurrence of this statement here, after the statements of ll. 17-22, on the supposition suggested below, that two documents have been blended in this tablet. 1. 35. I am indebted to Jensen's *Kosmologie* for valuable suggestions in the rendering of this and the following lines: viz., 37, 39, 43, 48, 56, 61 of this tablet, and lines 2, 7, and 13 of tablet 5. 1. 55. A reference, I think, to the establishment of the constellation of the dragon. 1. 57. *mi-i-sa* refers to the waters of the constellation, which was apparently connected with storms. 1. 60. This line refers to the same idea as Job xxxviii. 8-11.

\* 1. *U-ba-aš-šim man-za-[za]-a ILU ilāni rabūti-PL.* 2. *kakkabi-PL tam-šil-šu-[nu] KIRRU ma-ši uš-zi-iz.* 3. *u-ad-di šatta mi-iz-ra-ta u-ma-az-zir.* 4. *XII arhī-PL kakkabi-PL III TA-A-AN uš-zi-iz.* 5. *iš-tu ū-mi ša šattu uš-ši(?)ana u-šu-ra-ti.* 6. *u-šar-šid man-za-az ilu ni-bi-ri ana uddu rik-si-šu-un.* 7. *a-na la i-piš an-ni la i-gu-u ma-na-ma.* 8. *man-*

8. The seat of Bil and Ea he established with himself.
9. He opened the gates in the sides round about.
10. The bolt he strengthened on the left and right.
11. In its very midst he placed the zenith.
12. He caused to come forth the moon-god and entrusted to him the night.
13. He appointed him a creature of the night. That the day might be known,
14. Monthly without cessation with a crown he covered (?) him,
15. At the first of the month to shine at evening;
16. That the horns may be bright in order to make known the heavens.
17. On the seventh day (thy) disc . . . . .

Here the first fragment of tablet 5 is too much broken for connected translation; but it will be seen from the transliteration of lines 19, 21, and 22 that it goes on to describe the creation of the sun. As the other fragments do not immediately concern our purpose, we will not follow the Assyrian text further.

In the fourth tablet several points of agreement with the fragment quoted from Berosos may be noted: 1. Tiamat is here the mistress of the deep, as in Berosos *θαλάττῃ* was, with whom we have already identified her. 2. Here she is accompanied by a brood of attendant divinities, and in Berosos she presides over a hideous host. 3. Here as well as in Berosos she is conquered by Marduk, the Bēlos of Berosos, being the Assyrian *bil*, i. e. lord, a title often applied to Marduk in the Creation Tablets. 4. In Berosos, Bēlos or Marduk cuts Tiamat in two, and forms of one half the heaven and of the other the earth, and here he places her image in the sky and therefrom creates the heavens.

In order to attach a proper value to the evidence here gathered, and ascertain the origin of the Tiamat story, we have to inquire into the age of these Creation Tablets.

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za-az ILU *Bil* u ILU *Ea* u-kin it-ti-šu. 9. ip-ti-ma abulli-PL ina ši-ti-[i] ki-lal-la-an. 10. ši-ga-ru ud-dan-ni-na šu-mi-la u im-na. 11. ina ka-bi-ti-ša-ma iš-ta-kan i-la-a-ti. 12. ILU Nanna-ru uš-ti-pa-a mu-ša ik-ti-pa. 13. u-ad-di-šum-ma šu-uk-nat mu-ši a-na ud-du-u ū-mi. 14. ar-ḫi-šam la na-par-ka-a ina a-gi u-šir. 15. i-na riš ar-ḫi-ma na-pa-ḫi li-la a-ti. 16. kar-ni na-ba-a-ta ana ud-du-u ša-ma-mu. 17. i-na ūmi VII KAN a-ga-a . . . . . la. 18. . . . XIV-tu lu-u šu-tam-ḫu-rat miš-lū(?) . . . . šam. 19. . . . . ILU Šamaš ina i-šid šam-i ina . . . . ka. 20. . . . . us(?)-ti šu-tak-ši-ba-am-ma bi . . . . uš. 21. . . . . -tar a-na ḫar-ra-an ILU Šamaš šu-tak-rib . . . . 22. . . . . tar lu-šu-tam-ḫu-rat ILU Šamaš lu-ša-ba.

It must be said that the copies of them which we have are not earlier than the age of Assurbanipal, i. e. the 7th century B. C.; but that these are copies of originals so old that the writing was almost entirely ideographic is evident from the fragments of a commentary on such an ideographic text, published in Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, v. 21. Without being dogmatic, one may say, then, that they probably date back to an antiquity as high as the so-called Sumero-Akkadian age, or about 2000 B. C.

We are presented in these various sources of information with two distinct conceptions, which by the aid of allegorical interpretation blend into one. In Damascius and the first Creation Tablet there is pictured for us the Babylonian conception of the world's beginnings. They did not go back to a nebular hypothesis, but found no difficulty in supposing that in its primitive condition the universe was a mass of waters. This mass of waters contained a male and a female principle, from whose union sprang the gods. This conception is very clearly defined, and in it Tiamat represents the waters, the universal sea. This sea the god Marduk, in the fourth Creation Tablet, divided by means of winds and lightnings, and from its parts apparently formed heaven and earth.

The other conception brought out in the Fragment of Berossos, and with which the language of the fourth Creation Tablet is made largely to accord, is that Tiamat is a female dragon, queen of a hideous host, who are hostile to the gods, and with whom Marduk fights, conquers them, cuts their leader in two, and of one part of her body makes heaven, of the other the earth, and as a later conception puts Tiamat's skin in the sky as the constellation of the dragon. In the fourth Creation Tablet these conceptions are partially blended, the latter being made to represent the former. In each of these conceptions there is represented a hostility between Tiamat and the gods; the gods are the representatives of good, and Tiamat is the representative of evil. To express the evil she is pictured in the sculptures and seals sometimes as a horrible dragon with a griffin's head, with wings, four feet, claws, and a scaly tail, and sometimes as a serpent.

To explain the origin and determine the age of these conceptions is a more difficult task. It would seem that the conception which Berossos has preserved for us, that heaven and earth were formed by cutting a monstrous female in twain, is the earlier of the two, because this is just the conception likely to be formed by a people still in a savage state. Of this one would, I think, easily be convinced by the examination and comparison of a few savage myths. We may assume, then, that the primitive Babylonian, or perhaps the savage Semite,

before he had reached the stage of scientific thought, thus explained to himself the origin of the universe.

The other conception, the most scientific which the Babylonians ever reached on this subject, assumed, as has been said, a mass of waters as the beginning of the universe, and held that from these the gods were at first generated, and that one of the gods then divided these waters to form heaven and earth.

How this theory originated it is difficult to say. It may have had its beginning in a storm-myth, in which the sea, lashed to fury by a storm, and overhung by cloud and mist, seemed to the Semitic beholder to represent what we call chaos. This mass of sea and rain and cloud would be thought of as one great whole, which, pierced by the lightnings and dispelled by the winds, seemed conquered, and from the confused mass which obscured all vision order and beauty appeared, and earth and sky seemed to come forth.

Such a scene may have suggested to the ancient Babylonians or to their Semitic ancestors the above theory of Creation. If this view be correct, their conception of the action of the winds in conquering a storm and subduing the sea must have been similar to those of Horace:—

Quo non arbiter Hadriae  
Major, tollere seu ponere volt freta.\*

Another possible explanation is that some geological submergence or local inundation, accompanied by fierce storms, which taught the Semite the destructive power of water, and how necessary it is that the sea be kept from the land in order that life may be sustained, first suggested this theory of cosmogony. As this view really includes the first and seems to be the more adequate explanation, and as it contains no intrinsic improbability, we may provisionally accept it. On this hypothesis the Babylonian Marduk was originally a storm-god.

The fourth Creation Tablet has taken the conception of the Berosos-fragment, and the later and more scientific theory, and has partially reconciled them, by making the female of the savage myth the personified sea of the more scientific era. And as, in the storm, sea and rain and misty cloud seemed blended, and were all conquered by the wind and lightning, so here it seems probable that the dragon personifies them all.

In the theory of the Berosos fragment as well as that of the Creation Tablets it does not seem difficult to find the reason for the association of the origin of evil with this watery chaos. The hideous female in the one theory, and the universal sea in

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\* Odes, i. 3. 15, 16.

the other, had to be conquered by the gods that the world might come into existence. Thus the gods and the sea were brought into conflict. The sea was evil, was man's enemy; hence the gods became the opponents of the sea and the representatives of good; and the personified sea, the dragon, became to the popular conception the embodiment of evil. When once the idea of evil had been associated with the sea, and the sea, though rolled back to make way for the land, still existed, what more natural than that its monsters should still be considered the originators of evil and the enemies of mankind by those who had considered the chief monster as the opponent of creation and the great adversary of the gods?

That this was really the case may perhaps be inferred from the fact that they attributed to a monster from the sea offices which were regarded by at least one other Semitic people as offices of evil. I refer to the account given in the following fragment from Berosos (cf. Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 22):

"At Babylon there was in these times a great resort of people of various nations who inhabited Chaldea, and lived in a lawless manner, like beasts of the field. In the first year there appeared from a part of the Erythrean sea which borders upon Babylonia an animal destitute of reason, by name Oannes, whose whole body (according to the account of Apollodorus) was that of a fish; under the fish's head he had another head, with feet also below, similar to those of a man, subjoined to the fish's tail. His voice too was articulate and human; and a representation of him is preserved even to this day. This being was accustomed to pass the day among men, but took no food at that season; he gave them an insight into letters and sciences, and arts of every kind. He taught them to construct cities, to found temples, and to compile laws, and explained to them the principles of geometrical knowledge. He made them distinguish the seed of the earth, and showed them how to collect fruits; in short, he instructed them in everything which could tend to soften manners and humanize their lives. From that time nothing material has been added by way of improvement to his instructions. And when the sun had set, this being, Oannes, retired again into the sea, and passed the night in the deep, for he was amphibious."

It appears, then, that the Babylonians assigned to a being from the sea the office of instructing men in knowledge, an office regarded by Jews and Greeks at least as one obnoxious to the gods (cf. the serpent of Gen. iii., and the Greek story of Prometheus).

One fact more we must note with reference to Tiamat. We learn from the apocryphal addition to the book of Daniel, commonly called *Bel and the Dragon*, a book really Jewish, but which on this point may be regarded as a Babylonian

source of information, that at Babylon there were representations both of the god and of the dragon, and that the Babylonians worshiped both. Since we have seen what a high place Tiamat occupied in the Babylonian Cosmogony, and that in the fourth Creation Tablet she is called 'the god who has taken hold of evil,' this seems by no means strange. It indicates, moreover, that Tiamat was exalted to the rank of a divinity. This worship of the queen of evil reminds one of the worship which the Christian Ophites accorded to the serpent of Genesis iii. as a benefactor of the race.

Having thus formed a tolerably clear conception of the form and origin of the Tiamat myth, we now proceed to inquire whether in the Old and New Testaments there are any traces of these or similar ideas. Let us first examine the Hebrew ideas of Cosmogony.\*

Gen. i. 2-10 gives us the following: "The earth was desolateness and emptiness, and darkness was on the face of the **תהום**, and the **רוח אלהים** was brooding over the face of the waters. And God said: Let there be light; and there was light; and God saw the light that it was good. And God divided between the light and the darkness. And God called the light day, and the darkness he called night; and it was evening and it was morning, the first day. And God said: Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament; and it was so. And God called the firmament heaven; and it was evening and it was morning, the second day. And God said: Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear; and it was so. And God called the dry land earth, and the gathering together of waters called he seas."

In the apocryphal book of Enoch, sec. viii., ch. 54. 8, we are told that "the water which is above the heavens is male, and the water which is under the earth is female." Enoch,

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\* This comparison was first suggested in outline by George Smith, the great master of Assyriology, who discovered the first of the Creation Tablets that have been found. He had, however, only about half of Tablet 4, and attempted no careful comparison, but looked rather to find an indication that the Babylonians believed the creation to have been accomplished in six days. The present is, on the other hand, an attempt to analyze the known elements of the two, and to institute a scientific comparison.



though preserved for us in an Ethiopic version only, was, as is well known, a Jewish book, and originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic.

We have, then, among the Hebrews the following conceptions presented. The primitive condition of the universe was a **תְּהוֹם**, an abyss, a mass of waters. This mass is brooded over by the spirit or wind of God. Then light is created; the waters of the **תְּהוֹם** are divided by a firmament, and those above the firmament are called heaven, while those below form the earth. And later Enoch tells us that the waters of heaven were male and those of the earth female.

Putting the Hebrew and Babylonian conceptions side by side, we find that they have the following points in common: 1. The assumption of the existence of a mass of waters as the starting point of creation—a mass which both peoples called by the same name, the Hebrew form being **תְּהוֹם**, the Babylonian Tiamat. 2. The action of winds upon these waters during the creative process. 3. The dividing of the waters into two parts. 4. The formation of heaven from one part and of the earth from the other. 5. The belief among both peoples of a difference of sex in water.

Along with these points of agreement the following points of difference also appear: 1. The difference in gender of the waters has nothing to do with the creation in the Hebrew narrative, the first creative impulse with them coming from the **רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים**, while in the Babylonian Cuneiform all creative movement is traceable to this distinction of sex in water. 2. The waters in the Hebrew narrative are not in conflict with God during the creative process, but are gently brooded over by the **רוּחַ** and easily influenced by it. 3. The Babylonian account is polytheistic and extended, while the Hebrew is monotheistic and brief.

This last point of difference finds its explanation in the religions of the two nations, and is in itself sufficient to explain the other two points of difference noted. To the Hebrew, with his lofty ideas of God, creative impulse must come from him and not from commingling waters. For the same reason the sea must lie plastic before the wind of God, and must be conquered by no such struggle as in the Babylonian account.

While these differences are thus easily explained, the five points of resemblance above noted might be accounted as accidental unless we accept what seems to be the truth: viz., that the two cosmogonies have the same origin. If their origin be the same, either the two peoples inherited these conceptions from their common Semitic ancestry, or one borrowed them

from the other. As we have seen above, the originals of the Babylonian Creation Tablets date from about 2000 B. C., a date at which no Hebrew nation so far as we know existed from which to borrow.

On the other hand, Abraham is said to have been a native of Babylonia, and the Hebrews had a deeply rooted consciousness that their ancestors came from that land. In addition to this, the Tel el Amarnah tablets show that in the 17th (or, according to others, the 15th) century B. C. the Babylonian language, and we may perhaps infer Babylonian ideas, were well known in Palestine, and even in Egypt. Again, the Jews spent their exile in Babylon, and there modified many of their ideas. The reasonable conclusion, therefore, is that Jewish ideas of cosmogony, whenever Genesis may have been written, came from Babylonia. The differences in these cosmogonies preclude the supposition that the Jews first received such ideas as late as the exilic period. It seems rather that they got them not later than the date of the Tel el Amarnah tablets, and that, as the conceptions of monotheism became more distinct among the Hebrews, their cosmogony took its present form, and developed those points of difference with the Babylonian which we have already noted, and which lift it far above the latter.

We will next examine the serpent story of the Hebrews.\* In Genesis iii. 1-7, we read:—"Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which Yahve God had made. And he said unto the woman: Yea, hath God said ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent: Of the fruit of the trees of the garden we may eat, but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God hath said: Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman: Ye shall not surely die, for God doth know that, in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened and ye shall be as God, knowing good and evil. And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof and did eat, and she gave also to her husband with her, and he did eat. And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked."

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\* Here, too, Geo. Smith was the first to suggest, though in the merest outline, this comparison. I had, however, not noticed that he had done even this until my own work was completed. The idea of this comparison first occurred to me upon reading the Oannes story of Berosus (*supra*, p. 18). In making this story a sort of intermediate stratum between Tiamat and the Genesis serpent, in bringing the evidence of Enoch to bear on it, and in attempting a scientific comparison, I am, so far as I know, attempting what has not before been done.

In Enoch, sec. x. 64. 2, we read: "These are the angels who have descended from heaven to earth, and have revealed secrets to the sons of men, and seduced the sons of men to the commission of sin." Again, in sec. xi. 69. 2 sq.: "Behold the names of those angels" [for the sake of brevity they are not all quoted]; v. 6. "The name of the third is Gadrel. He discovered every stroke of death to the children of men. He seduced Eve, and discovered to the children of men the instruments of death, the coat of mail, the shield, and the sword for slaughter; every instrument of death to the children of men. . . . The name of the fourth is Penemue; he discovered to the children of men bitterness and sweetness, and pointed out to them every secret of their wisdom. He taught them to understand writing and ink and paper. . . . The name of the fifth is Kasyade; he discovered to the sons of men every wicked stroke of spirits and demons, . . . the stroke which is given in midday by the offspring of the serpent, the name of which is Tabaet." "The name of the tenth is Azazel." Again, in sec. viii. 54. 7, 8, in describing the punishment of these angels, it is said: "In those days shall punishment go forth from the Lord of Spirits; and the receptacles of water which are above the heavens shall be opened, and the fountains likewise which are under the earth. All the waters which are in heaven and above it shall be mixed together. The water which is above heaven is male, and the water which is under the earth is female; and all shall be destroyed who dwell upon the earth, and who dwell under the extremities of heaven."

We have here the conception of a serpent, comparatively harmless, but endowed with great subtlety and articulate speech, who tempts woman to eat, contrary to the commands of God, of a tree whose fruit gives knowledge. In Enoch this serpent is represented as a demon or fallen angel, and one of a brood of such beings, many of whom engage in similar work. In this connection there is mentioned "the offspring of a serpent the name of which is Tabaet." The destruction of these beings is accomplished by the union of the male waters of heaven with the female waters of the earth, which produces a great deluge.

We find in this the following points of likeness with the Assyrian story: 1. A being endowed with articulate speech leads mankind to knowledge. 2. This being is in one case a serpent, and in the other a fish-like dragon. 3. In the Babylonian story this being comes from the sea, the home of Tiamat, and in the Hebrew is associated with a being whose name is Tabaet, a name which there is considerable reason for suspecting to be the same as Tiamat. As Haupt and Delitzsch have shown, the Assyrian *D* in the middle of a word is often pro-

nounced *v*, like a fricated **ב** (cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, § 44), so that Tiavat and Tevaet would approach very nearly in sound. It is true that the form of Tabaet seems opposed to such a comparison, since it comes from a stem **ת-ב-ע**, which means in Ethiopic 'be strong, brave, manly,' while Tiamat is, as has been shown, like Hebrew **תהום**, from a stem **ת-ה-ם**. Enoch, however, it is generally admitted, was written in Hebrew or Aramaic, then translated into Greek, and our Ethiopic version is but a translation of the Greek. It will then be easily seen that a name (perhaps sounding in its original Hebrew form considerably unlike the Assyrian form Tiamat), when transliterated into Greek and from that into Ethiopic, may well have lost its etymology in the process, both changing the guttural and transposing its radical letters. The difficulty arising from the change of the guttural is considerably lightened when we notice the looseness of the use of the gutturals in Ethiopic, and the differences in gutturals which actually appear between words of the same meaning in Hebrew and Ethiopic. As an example of the former, *haguēla* 'he perished' is spelled indifferently with **ז**, with **ח**, and with **כ**: thus, *haguēla*, *haguēla*, *haguēla*. Many other instances could be added. As examples of the latter, we have the Hebrew **זרע** 'seed,' Ethiopic *zar'ē*; Hebrew **עזאזל**, the name of a demon, Ethiopic 'azāz'ēl; Hebrew **אבנים** 'stones,' Ethiopic 'a'bān. The transposing of the radicals is, however, not so easily accounted for, being, so far as I know, unparalleled in Semitic. 3. In the Hebrew account this being is a serpent; and in the Babylonian Tiamat is once called a serpent,\* is once pictured on a seal† as a serpent, and in the fourth Creation Tablet is said to follow Mar-duk like a serpent.‡

On the other hand, the points of difference are numerous. To go into minute detail here would take too long. But the general outlines of the furious monster Tiamat, the bold opponent of the gods, and of the subtle sneaking serpent of Eden are certainly very different, and but for the Oannes story of Berossos (*supra*, p. 18) and the testimony of Enoch, the connection between them would seem very slight indeed.

Again, in the Babylonian story the bi-sexual nature of water produces all life, divine and human, while in the later Hebrew

\* Cf. Pinches's *Babylonian Duplicates of Tablets i. and ii.*, *Creation Series Bab. and Oriental Record*, Jan., 1890.

† This seal was first published by Dr. William Hayes Ward of New York City, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of April, 1881, and is reproduced in Sayce's edition of Smith's *Chaldean Genesis*, p. 90.

‡ Cf. *supra*, p. 12.

thought the union of these same elements destroys\* the agents and representatives of evil.

Notwithstanding these great differences, we can, with the Oannes story and the testimony of Enoch in mind, discern a considerable probability that the serpent story of Genesis is connected with the Tiamat story of Babylon, though, in the long development which the story must have undergone, several strata of ideas which we cannot now trace must have intervened between the two, if this conjectured identity of origin really exists.

We will next compare the Old Testament passages relating to Rahab and Leviathan.

In Job iii. 8, a passage in which Job is cursing the day of his birth, he says: "Let them that curse days curse it, them that are skilled to rouse up לִיָּתֵן." It is now conceded on all sides that לִיָּתֵן must be some mythical dragon, something which could obscure the orbs of light, render a day dark, and intensify the darkness of the night. Again, in Job ix. 13, we read: "If God will not withdraw his anger, the helpers of Rahab (רָהַב) do stoop under him; how much less shall I answer him?" Here it is admitted by modern commentators even of the conservative school that Rahab is a mythical being which with its helpers has come into conflict with God, and been overcome by him. Again, Job xxvi. 12, 13: "He quellereth the sea with his power, and by his understanding smiteth through Rahab; by his breath the heavens are bright, his hand pierceth the fleeing serpent (נָחִישׁ)."

In this passage Rahab is further explained by being connected with the sea, by being made the synonym of serpent, and by being explained as one whose conquest is a synonym for making the heavens bright.

In Job xli. we have a long passage, embracing the whole chapter, in which leviathan (לִיָּתֵן) is described at length. It begins: "Canst thou draw out leviathan with a hook?" etc. This whole chapter is often explained as a description of the crocodile, and most of its imagery is perhaps thus satisfactorily accounted for. Verses 19-21, however—"Out of his mouth go burning lamps, and sparks of fire leap out. Out of his nostrils goeth smoke as from a seething caldron. His breath kindleth coals, and a flame goeth out of his mouth"—is inexplicable if it refers to a crocodile, but natural enough if we see in leviathan, as before, a storm-dragon, whose breath is lightning.

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\* i. e. in Enoch, 100-50 B. C.

Again, in Isaiah li. 9, "Art not thou he who hewed Rahab in pieces, who pierced through the dragon (רַהַב)?" Here two things are to be observed: first, Rahab is a synonym for the dragon, which points to a mythical origin for the word; and second, the context, which speaks of the passage through the Red Sea, indicates that Rahab is figuratively applied to Egypt.

Again, Isaiah xxvii. 1, "In that day shall Yahveh visit with the sword the hard and great and strong, the leviathan the fugitive serpent, and the leviathan the wreathed serpent, and he shall slay the רַהַב in the sea." The prophet is describing a great day of judgment, and his imagery of "fugitive serpent," "wreathed serpent" (both leviathans), and the dragon (רַהַב), while evidently referring in metaphor to forms of evil, quite as evidently are borrowed from a story of a mythical dragon. In Isaiah xxx. 7, "Yea, the Egyptians—in vain and empty is their help, therefore I proclaim concerning it, Rahab! they are utter indolence." Here once more Rahab seems to be a synonym for Egypt.

In Ps. lxxxvii. 4 we read: "Rahab and Babylon I proclaim my votaries; behold Philistia and Tyre with Ethiopia—this one was born there." The name Rahab here occurs in a list of countries, Babylon, Philistia, Tyre, Ethiopia, and is therefore thought, as in passages already cited, to be a metaphorical name for Egypt. In Ps. lxxxix. 10, "Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces as one that is slain; thou hast scattered thy enemies with the arm of thy strength," Rahab from the context would seem to be a mythical enemy of God, though possibly the reference is again to Egypt. In Ps. lxxiv. 13, 14 we read: "Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength; thou brakest the heads of the dragons (רַהַבִּים) in the waters. Thou brakest the head of leviathan in pieces, thou gavest him to be meat to the people of wild beasts." Again (vv. 16–17), it is said in the same connection: "Thou hast prepared the light and the sun, thou hast set the borders of the earth, thou hast made summer and winter." It is evident in this passage that the dividing of the sea does not refer primarily to the passing of the Red Sea by the Israelites, and that the "dragons in the waters," if they refer figuratively to the Egyptians, did not refer to them primarily. If they did, the reference to the creation of the sun and moon, the bounding of the earth, and the establishment of summer and winter, would be entirely out of place. The dividing of the sea is rather the dividing of the waters in the creation (Gen. i. 6), and the breaking of the heads of the dragons is the exploit of the fourth Creation Tablet; then the reference to the sun and moon, etc., follows naturally from the

sequence of the events as narrated both in Genesis and in the fourth and fifth Creation Tablets.

In Ps. civ. 25, 26, "Yonder is the sea great and wide, wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts. There go ships; there is leviathan, whom thou hast formed to take his pleasure therein." Here the word leviathan seems to be applied metaphorically to some sea-monster, as the whale. In Ps. xl. 4 we read: "Blessed is the man who maketh Yahveh his trust, and respecteth not Rahabs, and such as turn aside to lies." Rahab seems here to represent in metaphor simply the arrogant or the proud. Once more, in Ps. xc. 10, we read: "The days of our years are threescore years and ten, and if by reason of strength fourscore years, yet is their Rahab labor and sorrow; but it is soon gone, and we fly away." Here again Rahab seems to mean simply pride or arrogance.

In Enoch, sec. x., ch. lx. 7, 8, we read: "In that day there shall be separated two monsters, a female monster whose name is leviathan, who dwells in the depths of the sea above the springs of water, and a male whose name is behemoth, who possesses on his breast the invisible wilderness." This passage gives us again a connection between leviathan and the sea, makes leviathan a female, and also hints at a difference of sex in water.

The same remark applies to the following from 2 Esdras vi. 49-52: "Then thou didst preserve two natures; the name of one thou didst call Enoch,\* and the name of the second thou didst call leviathan. And thou didst separate these from each other, for the seventh part where the waters were collected was not able to contain them. And thou gavest Enoch one part, which was made dry on the third day, that he might dwell in it, where there are a thousand mountains. And thou gavest leviathan the seventh part, which was wet, and thou didst save her to bring destruction on whomsoever thou wishest whenever thou wishest."

To restate the facts brought out in these various passages: we have leviathan (the coiler) represented as a serpent in the sea pierced by God at a time when he divided the sea and created sun and earth, as a fleeing serpent, as a storm-dragon able to darken a day and intensify the darkness of night, as a female ruler of the sea, and as a לִיָּאָן or a great dragon. Then in other connections leviathan is simply the crocodile or the whale. Rahab is a being smitten when the sea is quelled and the heavens made bright, a being accompanied by helpers who like their leader are subdued, also a serpent, and a לִיָּאָן or

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\* Probably an error for *behemoth*.

great dragon. Then, in other connections, Rahab is sometimes Egypt, once an arrogant man, and once pride or arrogance itself. Rahab and leviathan are both רַהַב, and hence, as their origin and character show, are but two names for the same thing.

Upon comparing these conceptions with the Tiamat story, we find the following points of resemblance: 1. Both the Babylonian and the Hebrew dragons were connected with the dividing of the sea and the creation of the heavens and earth. 2. Both are at once sea-dragons and storm-dragons. 3. Both are called serpents. 4. Both are females. 5. Both are accompanied by a host of attendants, who with themselves are conquered by the opposing divinity. In fact there are no characteristics of Rahab and leviathan which are not characteristics of Tiamat. True, leviathan means in some connections a crocodile or a whale, and Rahab means Egypt, pride, and an arrogant man; but these are clearly metaphorical uses, in which the poetical and rhetorical force gains all its significance from the hideous form, evil nature, gigantic power, and grim history attributed to the mythical being with whom the name originated.

When all these things are considered, and the kinship of the Babylonians and Hebrews with their historical periods of contact is taken into account, there can remain little doubt that the origin of Rahab\* and leviathan† is to be found in that of Tiamat.‡

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\* Cheyne, in his note on Ps. lxxxvii. 4, compares רַהַב to the Assyrian *rahābu* 'a sea monster.' This would indeed be strong evidence in point, but the word is unknown to me. In Assyrian the form would be *ra'-a-bu*. In II. R. 35 this word occurs several times, but in such connection that its meaning is uncertain. If, however, Cheyne has authority for his reading in some unpublished tablet, it supplies an important bit of evidence, which would make the identification of Rahab with Tiamat practically certain.

† W. Robertson Smith, in the *Religion of the Semites*, i. 161, note, suggests that leviathan is only the personification of the waterspout. When, however, we remember that in Ps. lxxiv. leviathan is distinctly connected with the creation, the simple personification of the waterspout does not seem a sufficient explanation. It would appear rather that the waterspout may have first suggested to the Semitic imagination the personification as a dragon of the storm which probably first suggested their idea of cosmogony (*supra*, p. 17), and that leviathan comes from that cosmological conception.

‡ There is of course a possibility that such ideas as those of Rahab and leviathan came from Egypt. Cheyne, in his note on Isa. li. 9, compares a passage in the Egyptian book of the dead, where the sun-god Ra is addressed thus: "Hail, thou who hast cut in pieces the scorpion, and strangled the Apophis (i. e. the evil serpent)." It is not the purpose of the present paper to enter into an examination of Egyptian ideas. It is perhaps sufficient to remark that, whatever resemblances may be found in Egypt to Rahab and Leviathan, the kinship of race between Hebrews and Babylonians, and their intimate historical connections, favor the opinions expressed above.



It would seem that these Semitic mythical notions were so wide-spread among the Hebrews that the Hebrew poets and prophets could find in references to them some of their most powerful illustrations, as Milton and other Christian poets find many of theirs in the Greek mythology.

We will next compare Tiamat with the dragon of the New Testament Apocalypse.

Rev. xii. 3 reads: "And there was seen another sign in heaven; and behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his heads seven diadems;" vs. 7. sq. "And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels *going forth* to war with the dragon; and the dragon warred and his angels, and they prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast down, the old serpent, he that is called the devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world; he was cast down to earth, and his angels were cast down with him." Again, Rev. xiii. 1: "I saw a beast coming up out of the sea, having ten horns and seven heads, and on his horns ten diadems, and on his heads names of blasphemy. And the beast that I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion; and the dragon gave him his power and throne and great authority." Again, in Rev. xvii. 8: "The beast that thou sawest was and is not, and is about to come up out of the abyss and go into perdition." Lastly, in Rev. xxi. 1, we read: "I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth are passed away; and the sea is no more."

There is to be noted in these passages a very different conception from any we have hitherto met with in this investigation. The imagery is used not to reproduce an old idea, but to paint a new and more spiritual picture. It is our present task to enquire whence the materials for this picture came; whether the inspired author created them all, or found most of them at his hand ready made?

In his language the following conceptions stand out clearly: evil is personified first as a dragon in the sky, then as a beast in the sea—a beast with the form of a leopard, the feet of a bear, and the mouth of a lion. The dragon comes up out of the abyss, is conquered and cast down, and the characteristic of the new age of freedom from sin is that the sea is no more. This dragon, like Tiamat, appears in the sky, and like her comes up out of the abyss. The sea is thought of as a source of evil, and when sin is destroyed the sea is consequently annihilated. The beast which comes up from the sea, with its leopard form, bear's feet, and lion's mouth, appears very much

like the Tiamat of Assyrian sculptures and seals. And lastly, like Tiamat, the dragon and beast are overcome and cast down.

Does it not seem probable, then, that we have in these conceptions the old Babylonian Tiamat taken as the basis of this grand imagery of our Apocalypse? Though breathed upon by a new spirit, and appearing in a somewhat modified form, they are still the conception with which we have become familiar.

The Apocalyptic author goes further than any Jewish writer had ever done, and identifies this dragon with Satan. We not only find here a picture of Tiamat, but we can trace the channel through which these ideas probably reached the Apocalyptic writer. We have seen how centuries before there was in Israel such a popular familiarity with these ideas that poets and prophets could find in them some of their most forcible illustrations. The book of Enoch, written perhaps not more than a century before the beginning of our era, is replete, as the quotations already made from it show, with these old conceptions. They therefore were still entertained in the Jewish popular mind when our book of Revelation was written. More than this, it is certain that the author was familiar with Enoch itself. The Apostle Jude had quoted from it (cf. Jude 14 with Enoch, sec. i., ch. i. 9); Christ had once expressed himself in its language (cf. Matt. xxvi. 24 with Enoch, sec. vii., ch. xxxviii. 2); and John himself, while he borrowed from Ezekiel and Daniel imagery which they had taken from the winged lions and bulls of Babylon, borrowed also from Enoch much of the imagery of his theophanies (cf. e. g. Enoch, sec. vii., ch. xl. 1 with Rev. vii. 9), and, it would seem, this dragon imagery also.

And can we not find much more force in the Apocalyptic imagery when we see in the dragon which personifies for its author all the wickedness of his age and of the world a being like Tiamat, which opposed creation, at every step resisted God, tempted and seduced man, and was the popular personification of hideousness, arrogance, and evil?

ARTICLE II.

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ARABIC PROVERBS  
AND  
PROVERBIAL PHRASES,  
COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ANNOTATED \*

BY

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Presented to the Society May, 1891.

INTRODUCTION.

In 1886, while in Syria, I began to collect Arabic proverbs, and obtained a considerable number, which were for the most part handed to me in writing by various friends. These proverbs were then read aloud to me by a native, at whose dictation I wrote them in transliteration. I had obtained several hundred in this way when I was so fortunate as to secure the services of Yūsuf Nāṣir, who, combining peculiar qualifications for the work with a genuine interest in adding to my collection, proved a most efficient helper. He was in my employ some time, and day by day would bring me fresh material, which, as well as my lists of proverbs given me by friends, he would read aloud for me to write in transliteration. I had so thoroughly impressed on him the fact that I wanted common proverbs in the common dialect that he very faithfully avoided the use of High Arabic words and forms. Proceeding in this way, and writing at his dictation,

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\* This article was presented to the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Strassburg as a dissertation for the purpose of obtaining the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It was accepted by that Faculty March 1st, 1890.

I formed a large collection, of which the following are a part. I may here state that Nâsir and all my other authorities for these proverbs are Christians.

My next step was to read the proverbs and phrases aloud to Mu'allim Selîm Mughabghab, Mu'allim Miḥâil Rustum, and Mu'allim Ghuṣn Ghuṣn, teachers in the Presbyterian mission school in Zahleh, and, whenever one of them did not know a proverb or phrase, to note that fact. Variants were also noted. In this way I was able to check what I had written, and be sure of the character of my material. I then selected some of the proverbs and phrases which seemed most desirable, and read them aloud to Nâsir, who wrote each at the head of a sheet of paper, I myself writing the transliteration. The Arabic text is thus the text as written by Nâsir, and it has been thought best to leave it as he wrote it, instead of giving the correct classical forms.

I have not attempted to draw any dividing line between proverbs and phrases, because they are both valuable as specimens of the common dialect, and because, as Socin has pointed out (*Arabishe Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, Einleitung, iv. c.), the Arabic word which we translate 'proverb' has a broader application than our word proverb. Nor have I attempted any arrangement of the proverbs according to subjects or otherwise; it has seemed that such an arrangement would not add especially to the usefulness of the collection.

Of the transliteration little need be said. It has been thought that a system as simple as possible is most desirable, and no attempt has been made to render the utmost niceties of the pronunciation. Long practice with natives rarely enables a foreigner to pronounce Arabic perfectly, and there is little hope that any system, however complex, could enable scholars unacquainted with spoken Arabic to reproduce the sounds indicated by the transliteration. The difficulties of rendering in transliteration the sounds which one hears have been sufficiently set forth by others, and I will only say that I wrote the transliteration with care, and, while not daring to hope that it is free from mistakes and inconsistencies, I do hope that it will be found to be in the main correct, and to render the sounds with sufficient exactness.

In the translation literalness rather than elegance has been aimed at. Some of the explanations were given me by natives on the spot, and in some cases I have given without native au-

thority what seemed to be the obvious meaning of the proverb or phrase under consideration. In many other cases I have relied on notes furnished me in Arabic by Ibrāhīm Haurānī, the well-known scholar and poet. These notes were made necessary by the fact that I was unexpectedly called away from Syria in 1887 some time before I had planned to leave, and thus very much remained to be done, and many points to be cleared up. Haurānī's notes I have marked with the letter H. It may be fair to state that I have neither given in full nor translated literally the material which he furnished me, but have given simply that which seemed useful for my purposes. In work of this kind questions often arise which can be settled satisfactorily only by natives, and one is at a great disadvantage who in a foreign country and after a lapse of time attempts to finish a work which can be completed properly only where the language of which it treats is spoken.

Count Landberg's valuable *Proverbes et dictons du peuple arabe*, Vol. i., I have had constantly by me, and am greatly indebted to it in various ways. I understand that the second volume of this work is in press. Its appearance will be welcomed, and it is to be hoped that Count Landberg will publish as rapidly as may be the rest of his large collection of Modern Arabic materials.

I am indebted to Prof. Socin for his lists of books in his *Arabische Sprichwörter*, and in his article in the *Zeitschrift der Deut. Morg. Gesellschaft*, xxxvii. 189.

To Prof. Nöldeke I am under obligation for valuable suggestions, and I wish not only to thank him for these suggestions, but also and especially to express my gratitude to him for the unfailing courtesy and kindness which he has shown me ever since I first had the privilege of studying with him.

I hope I may be able to publish later at least a part of the materials which I have on hand, but I wish to thank now all those who have helped me in one way or another in making my collection, and especially the three Zahleh teachers whom I have mentioned above. Conscious as I am of the many imperfections of the following pages, I hope the work may be at least a slight contribution to the happily growing literature of the Modern Arabic dialects.

## LIST OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES REFERRED TO.

- Ali=Ali's hundert Sprüche, arabisch und persisch paraphrasirt von Reschideddin Watwat, nebst einem doppelten Anhang arabischer Sprüche, herausgegeben, übersetzt, und mit Anmerkungen begleitet, von H. L. Fleischer. Leipzig, 1837.
- Berg.=Guide français-arabe vulgaire des voyageurs et des Francs en Syrie et en Égypte, par J. Berggren. Upsal, 1844.
- Boethor=Dictionnaire français-arabe par Ellious Boethor, égyptien, revu et augmenté par Ibed Gallab. Le Caire, 1871.
- Bt.=Arabic Proverbs; or the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, illustrated from their proverbial sayings current at Cairo; translated and explained by the late John Lewis Burckhardt. Second Edition, London, 1875.
- Burton=Unexplored Syria, visit to the Libanus, etc., by Richard F. Burton and Charles F. Tyrwhitt Drake. Vol. i., London, 1872, pp. 263-294.
- Cuche=Vocabulaire arabe-français à l'usage des étudiants. Beyrouth, 1883.
- Dozy=Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes, par R. Dozy. 2 vols. Leyde, 1881.
- Durra=Ed-durrat el-yetîme fil-amthâl el-qadîme. Beirût, 1871.
- Fr.=Arabum Proverbia vocalibus instruxit, latine vertit, commentario illustravit, et sumtibus suis edidit G. W. Freytag. Bonnae, 1838-43.
- Hartmann=Arabischer Sprachführer für Reisende, von Dr. M. Hartmann, Leipzig.
- Kall.=Arabum philosophia popularis sive sylloge nova proverbiorum a Jacobo Salomone Damasceno dictata excepit et interpretatus est perillustris vir Fridericus Rostgaard. Edidit cum adnotationibus nonnullis Johannes Christianus Kallius. Hafniae, 1764.
- Landberg=Proverbes et dictons du peuple arabe, matériaux pour servir à la connaissance des dialectes vulgaires, recueillis, traduits, et annotés par Carlo Landberg. Vol. i., Leide, 1883.
- Lane=Arabic-English Dictionary by E. W. Lane. London, 1863 ———.
- M. S.=Miḥā'îl Sabbāgh's Grammatik der arabischen Umgangssprache in Syrien und Aegypten. Nach der Münchener Handschrift herausgegeben von H. Thorbecke. Strassburg, 1886.
- Muḥīṭ=Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ, by Butrus al-Bistānî. Beirût, 1870.
- Must.=Mustaṭraf, Vol. i., pp. 33-50. Bûlâq, 1285.
- Nofal=Guide de conversation en Arabe et en Français par Georges Nofal. 3me édition, Beyrouth, 1876, pp. 500-543.
- Sand.=Die Maltesische Mundart, von Dr. C. Sandreczki, II., ZDMG. Vol. xxxiii.
- Scaliger=كتاب الأمثال seu proverbiorum arabicorum centuriae duae ab anonymo quodam Arabe collectae et explicatae cum interpretatione Latina et scholiis Josephi Scaligeri et Thomae Erpenii. Leidae, 1614.



- Snouck=Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten, gesammelt und erläutert von Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje. Haag, 1886.  
 Soc.=Arabische Sprichwörter und Redensarten, gesammelt und erklärt von Dr. A. Socin. Tübingen, 1878; also ZDMG. xxxvii. 189 ff.  
 Sp.=Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten, von Dr. Wilhelm Spitta-Bey. Leipzig, 1880. There is a collection of proverbs in this work, pp. 494-516.  
 Sp. Contes=Contes arabes modernes recueillis et traduits par Guillaume Spitta-Bey. Leide, 1883.  
 Tant.=Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire par le Scheikh Muhammad Ayyad el-Tantavy. Leipsic, 1848, pp. 110-133.  
 Vassalli=Motti, aforismi, e proverbi maltesi; raccolti, interpretati, e di note esplicative e filologiche corredati da Michelantonio Vassalli. Malta, 1828.

Unless the contrary is stated, the figures in any reference indicate the number which the proverb corresponding to the one under discussion bears in the collection referred to.

#### TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION.

ا = 'a	ز = z	ف = f
ب = b	س = s	ق = q
ت = t	ش = š	ل = l
ث = th	ص = ṣ	م = m
ج = j (pronounced as in French)	ض = ḍ	ن = n
ح = ḥ	ط = ṭ	ه = h
خ = ḫ	ظ = ṭ̣	و = w
د = d	ع = 'a	ي = y
ذ = dh	غ = gh	
ر = r		

a = a in German *Mann*.

ā = a in English *lack*.

ä = a with *imḍā* ('deflection' towards the sound of i), nearly like ä in German *Hände*.

æ = the preceding sound lengthened, a sound more nearly like the prolongation of the sound of a in English *lack* than like ā in German *Väter*, though not very different from either.

e = e in English *met*.

*ē* = *e* in English *they*, German *See*.

*i* = *i* in English *pin*, German *in*.

*ī* = *ee* in English *seen*, *i* in German *ihn*.

*o* = *o* in English *obey*. This sound is deflected from an original *u*.

*ō* = *o* in English *note*, German *gross*. This sound comes from an original *au*.

*u* = *u* in English *put*, nearly like *u* in German *stumpf*.

*ū* = *oo* in English *school*, German *u* in *Stube*.

*û* = a sound intermediate between the *u* and the *i*, but not quite the same as the German *û*.

*ai* = *i* in English *mind*, German *ei* in *Eis*.

*āi* = a peculiar sound which may be approximately rendered by pronouncing *lack* with a very short *i* after the *a* (*la'ck*), and running the two sounds together. As Prof. Nöldeke suggests, this is about the same as the Suabian pronunciation of *ei* in *Wein*, *Eis*.

*au* = *ow* in English *cow*, German *au* in *Haus*.

*āu* bears the same relation to *au* that *āi* bears to *ai*.

The circumflex accent over a vowel indicates that the vowel is long and has the accent. Syllables with *æ* always have the accent. The accent is on the first syllable, unless otherwise indicated.

#### PROVERBS AND PHRASES.

##### العنزة الجربانة ما بتشرب الا من راس النبع

1. *il-'anzt ij-jirbæni mā btišrab illa min rās in-neb'.*

'The mangy goat will drink only from the head of the spring.'

Said of people who are accustomed at home to the plainest and simplest living, and who, when away from home, are the hardest to please, demanding the best of everything, and finding fault, often simply to give the impression that they know what the best is, and are wont to have it.

'*anzt* for '*anzit* in rapid pronunciation. Words ending in *ä*, when standing alone or before a consonant, are pronounced with final short vowel; but before a vowel the original *t* returns.—*ij*. The *l* of the article is assimilated with following *j* in the common dialect: cf. Spitta, p. 30. The vowel of the article is always slurred over, as the voice naturally dwells longer on the noun.—*jirbæni*, fem. of جربان. In the common dialect the feminine of all adjectives of the form فعلان is فعلانة: cf. Spitta, p. 129. On this formation cf. also Landberg, p. 7.—I have written *mā* and not *mā*, because little stress is laid on this word, the voice passing over quickly to the next word. The *mā* has a partial *imāla* in such cases, although Landberg, p. 22, states that



the *ma* when alone has no *imāla*.—*neb'* in meaning of 'fountain, spring,' seems to be post-classical ("Vielleicht aus d. Aram.?" Nöldeke).

Nāṣir has written this proverb elsewhere with omission of the article of 'anzi. On this omission cf. Landberg, p. 5; also Wright, Arabic Grammar, vol. ii., § 95, e.

كل شي اذا ربيتو بينفعك الا بني آدم اذا ربيتو ييقلعلك

2. *kull šī iza rabbāitu byinfā'āk illa bini Ādām iza rabbāitu byiqṭa'āk.*

'Whatever you bring up will benefit you, except man; if you bring him up, he will uproot you.'

šī for šāi. For analogous change of *ē* to *i* cf. Spitta, § 18, d ("selymān statt selēmān = sulaimān").—For pronominal suffixes, cf. Hartmann, pp. 13-15.—For *bini Ādām* as singular, cf. Snouck, pp. 67, 68; Landberg, references cited in glossary s. v. بني; Spitta, *Contes arabes modernes*,

Glossaire, s. v. بني; Spitta, *Grammatik*, § 71, d; Vassalli, Nos. 117-125 (*bn̄ydem*) et al.

Nāṣir has written آدم, but in my other notes I have it transliterated Ādām. Elsewhere he has written خبيتو (*habbāitu*) instead of the first *rabbāitu*.

Cf. Spitta, 217; Burton, 143; Kall. 375; Tantavy, p. 110.

بحاكيكي يا جارا تا تسمعي يا كتي

3. *bḥākikī yā jāra tā tisma'ī yā kinnī.*

'I speak to you, O neighbor, that you may hear, O daughter-in-law.'

That is, the daughter-in-law is whipped over the neighbor's back.

Instead of the above, some say *bḥkīlik yā jāra l'tisma'ī yā kinnī*, or *il-ḥakī lik yā*, etc. (H).—حكي, from the old meaning of 'relate, narrate, tell, giving one's authority,' has come to mean simply 'speak.' The third form means 'speak to,' cf. كاتب and كتب. For an example of its use cf. Wetzstein, ZDMG. xxii. 76, l. 11.

نا is the Persian تا, according to Prof. Nöldeke, who remarks that the use of this word is no more surprising than the employment of the Persian یا 'or.'

Cf. Soc. 554 : ZDMG. xxxvii. 197 : Mustaṭraf, p. 47, last line but one ; Fr. i. p. 72 ; iii. 2557 ; Nofal, p. 510.

### خطرة البتلم ما بتخسر

#### 4. *ḥaṭrit il-bit'āllim mā biṭḥassir.*

'The time (occasion) which teaches does not cause loss.'

The meaning is : If I make an unwise purchase, this time I lose ; and yet, if I am warned by my experience this time to avoid such purchases in the future, I am not in the long run a loser.

خطرة for الخطرة ; خطرة = مَرَّة *Muḥīṭ*.—*il* is contracted from *illī*, which is from old Ar. *illēdhī* (cf. Landberg, p. 297 ; Spitta, p. 81), and is indeclinable.

In my notes I have : *il-kāff illī bi'āllim mā biḥīṭ* 'the slap that teaches causes no diminution.'

Cf. Fr. ii. p. 439, No. 108 ; Nofal, p. 520. Bt. 330 has a somewhat similar meaning.

### المكتوب ببيان من علوانه

#### 5. *il-mektāb bibāen min 'alwānu.*

'The letter (i. e. its contents) appears from its address.'

Applied, for example, in case a man comes to another on an errand, and by his very first words shows of what character his errand is.

Instead of *bibāen*, *byinqiri* 'is read,' or *byin'irif* 'is known' is used. In Syria the second form of *bāen* is used almost exclusively : cf. Landberg, p. 278, and Glossaire s. v. بان ; also Spitta, *Contes*, Glossaire, s. v. بان ; Hartmann, *Vokabular*, s. v. *scheinen*. In my notes stands *bibaiyyān* as variant of *bibāen*. Cf. also Bt. 50 on use of بَيِّنَة.

Cf. Bt. 252 ; Berg. under *adresse* ; Kall. 361 ; also the proverbs quoted by Dozy under عنون.

الديك الفخيم من تحت امه يصيح

6. *id-dik il-fhîh min taht immu biṣîh.*

‘The lively cock crows from under its mother.’

In early childhood the future character of the man may be discerned.

For *fhîh* cf. Landberg, p. 220.

Cf. also Bt. 48 and 50; Tant. p. 115; Burton, 88; Fr. iii. 1001; Landberg, 139; Sp. 28; Soc. 422; Nofal, 528.

الحرب بالنضارات هين

7. *il-harb bin-naḍḍārāt haiyyin.*

‘(To carry on) war with spy-glasses is easy.’

It is very easy to give advice and to say how one would have done if one had been in such and such circumstances; it is quite another thing to act, if one be placed in those circumstances. It is easy to survey a combat with a spy-glass, it is quite another thing to be in the combat.

Nāṣir has spelled *naḍḍārāt* as it is pronounced, with ض instead of ظ. *Naḍḍārāt* is used in Syria in the meaning of ‘spy-glass, telescope.’ In Egypt it means ‘spectacles’: cf. Spitta, p. 20, l. 4, also p. 265, l. 13.

Cf. Fr. ii. p. 734, No. 547, also p. 897, No. 175.

القلوب شواهد

8. *il-qulūb šwāhid.*

‘Hearts are witnesses.’

If a person loves another, the heart of the second person bears witness to this fact, and *vice versa*. This saying is used in expressions of mutual love or esteem.

Cf. Fr. iii. 2526; Tant. p. 115.

اللي تصاهره لا تقاهره

9. *illī tṣāh'ru lā tqāh'ru.*

‘Do not anger him whose father-in-law or brother-in-law you become.’

Because he will vent his spite on his wife and thus revenge himself on you. H.

H. writes *يَتَصَاهَرُ*. — *قَاهَرَ* = *غَالَبَ* 'strive with,' acc. to Muhiṭ. Acc. to Freytag it means 'violenter tractavit.' H. says that *المقاهرة* means in Classical Arabic *النفالفة*, but the common people use it in the meaning of *الاغاطة* 'to make angry.' Cf. Landberg, *Glossaire*, s. v.

### اعطوا للدب حرير يكب

10. *a'tu lid-dabb harir y'kabb.*

'They gave the bear silk to wind into balls.'

Winding silk requires skilled hands and delicate fingers, neither of which a bear has.

Applied in case a man is notoriously unfit for work he is trying to do.

For meanings of *كَبَّ* cf. Lane, *Dictionary*, s. v.

### وكل القط بالجبنه و زنه بالسحق

11. *wäkkil il-qutt bij-jibni n zenn'rū bis-sijūq.*

'Put the cat in charge of the cheese, and girdle him with the sausage.'

The *sijūq* is the cleanest part of the gut of sheep. This is stuffed and eaten like our sausages. *Sijūq* means either the sausage or the gut before it is stuffed: cf. Dozy, s. v. Cf. also Soc. 686 (ZDMG. xxxvii. 210)

ضارب في الاسحق من تحت الى فوق "Beulen im Darm von oben bis unten. Ganz faul."

Cf. Bt. 825.

### خدوا البنات من صدور العبات

12. *ħudu 'l-bānæt min ṣdūr il-'ammæt.*

'Take girls from the breasts of their fathers' sisters.'

That is, in choosing a wife, judge of her by her father's sisters; for the Arabs suppose the girl to resemble her father's sisters and the boy his mother's brothers.

*ḥuḍu* for *ḥuḍhu*. The change of *dh* to *d* and of *th* to *t* is, as Nöldeke points out, regular, the change of *dh* to *z* and of *th* to *s* occurring only in words from the literary language. E. g.: *dihib* 'gold,' *dīb* 'wolf,' etc.—*ḥuḍu* is here used in the meaning 'take in marriage, marry.' Cf. Snouck, p. 57, note; Landberg, p. 45, etc.

البيدر الما هو الك لا تحضر كيله بتتعب دقنك و بتتعب  
بيشيله

13. *il-baidar il-mā hu ilāk lā tiḥḍar kailu btitghabbar daqnāk u btit'ab bīšēlu*.

'Do not be present at the measuring of the grain which does not belong to you; you will get your beard dusty, and will get tired in carrying away the grain.'

Don't meddle with what does not concern you.

*baidar* is applied both to the threshing floor and to the grain which is on it.—*ilāk* common for old Arabic *lekā*.

Cf. Bt. 89; Sp. 195; Berg. under *boisseau*; Tant. p. 110.

البندق الباب يسمع الجواب

14. *il-bīduqq il-bāb byismā' ij-jāwāb*.

'He who knocks on the door will hear the answer.'

If one addresses another politely, he will get a polite response; if harshly, a harsh response.

Cf. Bt. 604; Burton, 116; Berg. under *porte*; Soc. 191; Kall. 480.

الصبي لو بار تلتينو للخال

15. *iṣ-ṣabī lū bār tillaīnu lil-ḥāl*.

'The boy, if he turn out poorly, belongs two-thirds to his mother's brother.'

That is, two-thirds of his traits are like those of his uncle.

The Arabs think that a man's characteristics descend to his sister's son. Cf. Wilken, *Das Matriarchat bei den alten Arabern*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 44 ff. (quoted by Snouck). Cf. Snouck, 48.

*Bār* means 'be or become in a bad state, or uncultivated (of land); be or prove vain (of work); be or become unsaleable (of goods),' Lane. Cf. also Landberg, pp. 133, 134, and Glossaire, s. v.; also Snouck, pp. 101, 102.

بدال ما تقول للجاجة كش ضربها كسر رجلها

16. *bdæl mā tqāl lij-jæji kišš drubha ksir ijrha.*

‘Instead of saying to the hen *hish*, strike her and break her leg.’

If a person asks another to do what he can just as well do himself, the person replies with this proverb.

*bdæl* is the vulgar form of the classical بدل, and is very common. Cf. examples in Landberg. See Landberg, Glossaire, and Dozy, s. v.—*jæji* is the vulgar form of the classical دجاجة, of which the first vowel, and then later the first consonant, were dropped.—According to Dozy, *kiš* is an interjection of Persian origin.—On *ijr* for رجل cf. Landberg, p. 99. Nāṣir has written *rijlha*.

Cf. Soc. 124, 125; Burton, 21.

منفعة ما منك دخانك بيعي

17. *menfa' mā minnāk u duḥḥānāk byi'mī.*

‘There is no benefit to be obtained from you, and your smoke blinds.’

You not only do no good, but you do injury. Used, for instance, if a man has another to help him, and finds himself hindered rather than helped by him.

Nāṣir has written *menfa'a*, but in my notes stands *menfa'*. He has also omitted the و.

Cf. Burton, 176; Kall. 227; Mustatraf, p. 45, l. 18; also Sp. 110.

البيعتاز الكلب بيقول له صبحك بالخير يا سيدي

18. *il-byi'tæz il-kālb biqūllu ṣābbḥak bil-ḥair yā sīdī.*

‘He who needs the dog says to him “Good morning, my lord”.’

Instead of *byi'tæz*, Nāṣir has written elsewhere *bī'auwiz*.—On the shortening of the vowel in *biqūl* cf. Landberg, p. 2; Spitta, § 23, a, § 105. d.

Cf. Fr. iii. 1696; Sp. 197; Burton, 73; Kall. 477.

مطرح سا بترزق الزق

19. *maṭraḥ mā btirzaq ilzaq.*

‘Where you get a living, remain.’

That is, stick to the place where you get a living.

*maṭraḥ*, originally ‘place where anything is thrown down,’ has come to mean ‘place’ or ‘spot’ in general.—*mā* is here a relative pronoun.—*btirzaq* is for *turzaq*, the passive of *razaqa* I.

روح فاضي و تعا ملآن

20. *rūḥ fāṭi u ta‘ā mel‘æn.*

‘Go empty and come back full.’

Go from your house empty-handed and come back with your hands full. Used of a man niggardly towards his family. H.

*Rāḥa*, originally meaning ‘go or come in the evening,’ has come to mean ‘go’ in general. *rūḥ* for old Arabic *ruh*. Verbs *medīx* و *ي* have the long vowel in the imperative in the common dialect: cf. Spitta, § 105, c, d; also Landberg, p. 286.—On *ta‘ā* cf. Spitta, p. 27; Landberg, p. 109.—Instead of *mel‘æn*, H. writes *melæn* مَلَّان. *Milyæn* or *melyæn* is also a common form: cf. Landberg, Glossaire, s. v.; Hartmann, Vokabular, under *voll*.

كانت ها القدرة ناقصة ها البيت نجانہ صارت مطلقه ملآنه

21. *kænit hāl-gidri nāq‘ša hāl-bāit-injæni, šārit mṭaffha mel‘æni.*

‘This kettle was wanting this egg-plant (in order to be full); it has now become full and running over.’

This only was lacking to complete our pleasure or our misery.

*Bait injæni* is the vulgar form of the classical بَادَنْجَان or بَادَنْجَان, from the Persian بَادَنْجَان, and in Egypt is used for both the egg-plant and the tomato (Lane). In Syria *bait injæn* is used for egg-plant, and *banadūra* for tomato, (from Italian *pomi d’oro*, Landberg, p. 297). The Muḥitṭ gives as the vulgar forms بَتَنْجَان and بِيدَنْجَان.—Instead of *mel‘æn* I have in my notes *melæn*.

كثير النط قليل الصيد

22. *k'tīr in-naṭṭ qalīl is-ṣaid.*

'He jumps about a great deal, but gets little game.'

He who keeps moving from place to place will earn but little.

Nāṣir has written this elsewhere *مثل قطاط العبي*, etc. i. e.

'Like the blind cats, he jumps about a great deal but catches little.'

*naṭṭ* means 'leap, jump': cf. Dozy, and Muḥṭṭ; M. S. p. 71, l. 11; Landberg, Glossaire, s. v.

Cf. Landberg, p. 232.

اكل و نط مثل خيل الرط

23. *ākl u naṭṭ miṭl ḥail iz-zaṭṭ.*

'He eats and plays like the gypsies' horses.' (Literally, eating and jumping like, etc.)

Used of one who receives benefits but confers none himself; just as the gypsies' horses, being unsuited to work, are left to feed and play, while their owners are busy elsewhere, and so do nothing in return for their food. H.

Instead of *zaṭṭ*, H. gives *zuṭṭ*, which is the better form: cf. Dozy, s. v., and Landberg, p. 101.

Cf. Bt. 663, Soc. 269, as showing the low opinion in which *zuṭṭ* are held.

ان كان ها الغزله غزلتك حرير بدك تلبسي

24. *inn kæn ḥāl-ghazli ghazltik ḥarīr beddik tilbsī.*

'If this thread is your thread, you are going to dress in silk.'

Used ironically to one who is doing poorly the work in which he is engaged, and means: if you do not do better than you are doing now, you will not succeed.

It will be noticed that I have written *inn* with reduplicated *n*. On doubling of consonants cf. Landberg, p. 2; but cf. also Landberg, *Critica Arabica*, No. I. p. 69, where he says: "Im ersten Bande meiner Proverbes et Dictions habe ich Unrecht gehabt überall *minn* zu schreiben."

On the origin of *beddī*, *beddāk* compare Landberg, p. 4, and the references given by him. It is interesting to note that Kall. 66:

أَيْشَ بَوْدَ الْأَعْمَى قَفَّةُ غُيُونِ occurs in my notes in the form *hal-a'ma šū beddu ? jauz 'iyūn*, where the *beddu* = the *بَوْدَ* of the proverb as given by Kall.



## كل طلعه مقابيلها نزله

25. *kull ṭalʿa mqābīlha nezli.*

‘Every ascent has opposite to it a descent.’

If one is at present in trouble, he may be sure of final relief.

*mqābīl* for *muqābīl* ‘opposite to, in face of’: cf. Dozy and Muhiṭ, s. v. Nöldeke suggests an explanation for this form by asking: “Is it perhaps in the plural = مقابيل؟ In that case the absence of the feminine ending would also be explained.”

Cf. Burton, 25; Nofal, p. 540.

## قالوا له ليش عمال تنفخ اللبن قال كاويني و هو حليب

26. *qālūlu laiṣ ‘am bitneffih il-lebin qal-lhun kāwīnī u hū ḥalīb.*

‘They said to him: Why are you blowing the *leben*? He said: it burnt me while it was milk.’

A burnt child dreads the fire.

Nāṣir has written ‘*ammæl tneffih*, and I have given in transliteration ‘*am bitneffih*. He has also written *qāl* where I have written *qal-lhun* = قال لهم. On ‘*ammæl*, cf. Dozy, s. v.; and Spitta, § 165. 4; also M. S., 16. 8 ff.; 30. 7 ff.; 46. 2.—*leben* means properly ‘milk,’ and is still used in this sense in Egypt; but in Syria, Arabia, and North Africa it is used for soured milk or soured buttermilk (Dozy). For an account of the preparation of *leben* see Berg. under *lait*.

Cf. Soc. 461, 172; Fr. iii. 2855; also Fr. ii. p. 702, No. 388; Vassalli, 402; Sand. 74; Nofal, p. 512.

## فوق الدكة شرطوطه

27. *fauq id-dekki šarṭūṭa.*

‘On top of the charge a rag.’

One trial after another. H. It never rains but it pours. Misfortunes never come singly.

*Dekki* is the charge or load of a gun.—*šarṭūṭa*, pl. *šarṭīṭ* means ‘rag,’ from *šaraṭ* ‘tear in pieces’: cf. Dozy, and Landberg, Glossaire, s. v. Cf. also *šarmūṭa*, Landberg, Glossaire; Hartmann, Vokabular.

Cf. for meaning Fr. ii. p. 237, No. 115; Fr. ii. p. 4, No. 4 (given by H.); Bt. 493; Burton, 116; Soc. 646 (ZDMG, xxxvii. 206), 697 (ib., p. 211); Vassalli, 221, 284.

الصنعة مزراب ذهب

28. *iṣ-ṣan'a mizraḥ dihib.*

'Handicraft is a spout which sends down gold.'

Cf. No. 184, also the following from my notes: *iṣ-ṣan'a imm hanāni* 'a trade is a tender mother'; *iṣ-ṣan'a, illi bil-kāff fīha lil-fuqr kāff* 'in a trade which is in the hand there is a safeguard against poverty' (cf. Boethor, under *métier*; Nofal, p. 541); *iṣ-ṣan'a mitl in-neb'a* 'a trade is like a spring.'

For meaning, cf. Fr. i. p. 752, No. 183; Fr. iii. 1710.

الموش دايق المغرايه ما بيعرف شو الحكاية

29. *il-muš dāyiq il-mughrāyi mā bya'rif šū 'l-ḥkāyi.*

'He who has not tasted the glue-pot does not know what the story is.'

A man who has not tried does not know the difficulties attending any given enterprise.

*muš* contracted from *mā hū š*: cf. Landberg, pp. 236, 237.—*mughrāyi* from *مِغْرَاة*. Cf. *miṣfāyi* from *مِصْفَاة*.—*šū* from *ēš hū* from *ai šai hū*.

For meaning, cf. Bt. 612.

عند البطون ضاعت العقول

30. *'ind il-butān dā'it il-'uqāl.*

'When people are eating they lose their wits.'

Said, for example, in case a man is eating and forgets something which he ought to attend to.

Cf. Bt. 418; also Kall. 77; Nofal, p. 542.

عائل شيطان مثل حمار المطران

31. *'āqil šitān mitl ḥmār il-mutrān.*

'Quiet outside but a devil inside, like the archbishop's donkey.'

Said of a man who appears quiet and well-behaved, but is really the opposite.

'*āqil* means 'intelligent, quiet, well-trained,' when used of animals. Cf. Burton, 121.

## لا تفرع الا من نهر الهادي

32. *lā tifza' illa min nahr il-hædī.*

'Fear only the quiet river.'

هَادِي for old Arabic هَادِي.

Cf. Berg. under *mer*; Sand. 73, 76; Nofal, p. 518.

## طابخ السم آكله

33. *ṭabīḥ is-samm æklu.*

'The one who cooks the poison is the one who eats it.'

The man who tries to injure another is injured himself.

Cf. for meaning Fr. ii, p. 867, No. 163; p. 658, No. 256; Fr. iii. No. 638; Soc. 154; Sp. 218; Bt. 640; Ali, p. 89, No. 10; Nofal, p. 509, 535.

## بعد عزي بيتوني بخان

34. *ba'd 'izzī bēyyātūnī bhān.*'After I had been in honor and power they made me spend the night in a *khān*.'

Used of one whom misfortune has brought low. H.

According to H., this is a hemistich of a *mauwuæl*, and some say *nāyyāmānī* instead of *bēyyātūnī*.

Cf. No. 193. Cf. for meaning Fr. iii. 2150, 2792.

## تا تحج القعقان و ترجع بلا سيقان

35. *tā ṭhiḥ il-qa'qān ū tirja' bela siqān.*

'Till the crows make a pilgrimage and return without legs.'

Such and such a thing will never happen till etc., i. e. never. This meaning is expressed in many ways in Arabic.

Cf. Fr. i. p. 359, Nos. 58, 59; p. 378, No. 110, and often.—Instead of *qa'qān*, I have in my notes both *qu'qān* and *qīqān*, the latter being the pl. of *qāq*: cf. Hartmann, *Vokabular*, under *Krāhe*. *qu'qān*, written above *qa'qān*, is pl. of *qa'q*: cf. Cuhe, s.v.—Elsewhere Nāṣir has written

تا يحجوا القيقان و يرجعوا بلا سيقان

Cf. Nofal, p. 509.

الشكادة كيما لكن الوقفة عا الباب صعبة

36. *ix-šlādi kīma ləkin il-waqfi 'al-bæh ʕa'bi.*

'Begging is a philosopher's stone, but standing at the door is hard.'

Used of wished-for objects which can only be obtained by debasing one's self. H.

On *šlādi* cf. Thorbecke, *Al-Hariri's Durrat-al-Ghawwāḡ*, Einleitung, p. 45.—*كيما = كيميا*.

Cf. Berg. under *mendier*.

متل بقرة جحا

37. *mitl baqarit Jiha.*

'Like Jiha's cow.'

Jiha slaughtered his cow, sold the meat, and received his pay. After a while he again demanded pay from each purchaser and received it. He kept doing this till he died. Used of an affair which is long drawn out. H.

H. writes *baqrit*.

شعنيہ بلا شتي متل العروس بلا جلي

38. *ša'nīni bela šiti mitl il-'arās bela jili.*

'Palm Sunday without rain is like a bride without her *jili*.'

In wedding festivities, when the bride has been painted and decked out, she walks about the house supported on each side by a woman carrying a candle, and followed by a number of women carrying candles and singing wedding songs to her. This ceremony is called the *jili*.

*ša'nīni* is the sing. of *ša'anīn*, and is applied by the Christians to the branches, etc., which their children take on Palm Sunday, and to the day itself (*Muḥit*). On *ša'anīn* and its origin from the Hebrew *הושענה* cf. Dozy and *Muḥit*.

متل سجرة ام شرايط

39. *mitt säjārit imm šrūtīt.*

'Like a tree called the mother of rags.'

Said of a ragged person.

*Imm šrūtīt* is the name given to each of certain trees in Lebanon on which the Druses hang rags in expectation of receiving a blessing.

ضرب ها الحجر بها الجوزة

40. *ḍrub ḥāl-ḥajar bhaj-jauzi.*

'Throw this stone into this walnut tree.' (If you bring down any nuts, well; and if not, well.)

Used in case a man is about to engage in an enterprise the success of which is doubtful, but the failure of which would entail little or no loss. A person talking to him uses this proverb.

ضرب ها الطينة بها الحيط ان ما لزقت بيعلم مطرحها

41. *ḍrub ḥaṭ-ṭini bhāl-ḥaiṭ inn mā lezqit bi'allim maṭrāḥḥa.*

'Throw this piece of mud at this wall; if it does not stick, it will show where it hit.'

Do the best you can, and you will accomplish something, even if it is not all you wished. Also used of the effects of slander. Slander leaves its mark.

In place of the last two words, I have in another version: *biḍammī-ṭha atar* 'its mark will remain'; also *ḥamīri* 'leaven' instead of *ṭni*. Cf. Bt. 255; Kall. 244.

من كثر الطباخين شوشط الطعام

42. *min kitr iṭ-ṭabbāḥīn šauṣaṭ iṭ-ṭ'am.*

'From the multitude of cooks the food burned.'

Too many cooks spoil the broth.

Instead of *šauṣaṭ*, I have in my notes also *šāṭ*, of which *šauṣaṭ* is a reduplicated form.

Cf. Berg. under *bruler*; Tant. p. 116; Burton, 178; Bt. 15; Fr. ii. pp. 782-3, No. 585; Fr. iii. 2602, 2603, 2611, 2614; Sp. 69; Kall. 21, 22; Vassalli, 129, 130; Sand. 60.

متى وقعت البقرة بيكتروا السلاخين

43. *meta waqa'it il-baqara byiktaru is-sillāḥin.*

'When the cow falls, the skimmers multiply.'

When a man is in misfortune, his enemies increase.

In my notes stands also : *bess tūqa' il-baqara*, etc., 'no sooner does the cow fall than, etc.'

Cf. Tant. p. 128 ; Burton, 56 ; Kall. 83.

زعت الفارة من السقف قالت لها البسيني الله الله قالت  
لها شيلي ايدك عني و شو بدك مني

44. *waqa'it il-fāra min is-saqf qālīt-lḥa il-bsaini Allah! Allah! qālīt-lḥa šīlī idik 'annī u šū beddik minnī.*

'The mouse fell from the roof. The cat said : Allah ! Allah ! The mouse said to her : Take your hand off me, and what do you want of me ?'

In my notes stands 'smallah (for *bism-Allah*), instead of *Allah Allah* ; and instead of the last four words : *u ānā b'ālf ḥair min Allah* 'and I have a thousand blessings from Allah,' i. e. I am thoroughly provided for. And again : *u mā 'alēki minnī* 'and you have nothing to do with me.' Another version is : *waqa'it il-fāra min is-saqf qallha 'l-quṭṭ 'smalla! qālīt-lu int dešširni u āna b'elf ḥair min Allah.*

Landberg, Glossaire, under شول, regards شال as a 4th form ; but this seems unnecessary : cf. Lane, *Dictionary*, s. v., where we have an infinitive شيل given. Cf. also Cuche, s. v.

Cf. Burton, 55 ; Bt. 488.

الضرورة بتحل من الناموس

45. *id-durūra biṭḥill min in-nāmūs.*

'Necessity frees from the law.'

Cf. Berg. under *nécessité* ; Kall. 242 ; Nofal, p. 524.

كتر الايادي في الكصيدي غنييه و عا الاكل ظليمه

46. *kitr il-äyædî fil-ḥaṣîdî ghanîmî û 'äl-äkl zalîmî.*

'A multitude of hands in the harvest is a gain, but at the table a drain.'

*ghanîmî* 'gain obtained without work; prey, booty, windfall' (Cuche). —*zalîmî* is what is unjustly taken away: Cf. Cuche.—Nâsir has written *ḥaṣîdî*, but the final *i* is short.

Cf. Fr. iii. 1248; and the same. 'Ali, p. 67.

الهريبه تلتين المراحل و ان صحت المراحل كلها

47. *il-ḥarîbî tiltain il-mrâjîl winn ṣaḥḥit il-mrâjîl kallha.*

'Flight is two-thirds of courage, and, if it succeeds, the whole of courage.'

Discretion is the better part of valor.

Instead of *ṣaḥḥit*, I have in my notes *ḥallaṣt* 'if you escape.'—*mrâjîl* pl. of *merjâlî*, 'courage.'—On *ṣaḥḥa*, 'succeed, turn out well,' cf. Dozy, s. v.

Cf. Berg. under *évasion*, *fuite*; Kall. 515; Tant. p. 119; Bt. 492; Sp. 98; Fr. ii. p. 237, No. 114; p. 481, No. 266; Fr. iii. 2316; Vassalli, 28; Sand. 1.

متى باتت فانت

48. *meta bætit, fætit.*

'When it has passed the night it is gone.'

If an action is postponed, the proper time for doing it passes away. Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day. H.

مثل الخوارنه اب هات موش اب خد

49. *mîll il-ḥwârni äbb hæṭ muš äbb ḥud.*

'Like the priests, father of "give," not father of "take."'

Used of or to one who is always asking for favors from others but does not grant them himself.

*ḥwârni* pl. of خوري which, acc. to Seetzen, iv. 35, quoted by Dozy, is an abbreviation of *χωρεπίσκοπος*, "vicaire d'un évêque à la campagne, curé."—On the doubling of *b* in *äbb* cf. Landberg, pp. 1, 2, 266, 267; Spitta. p. 85: *yadd*, *damm*, *fumm*, *siffe*.

صباح النوري و لا صباح الخوري

50. *ṣabāḥ in-nūrī u lā ṣabāḥ il-ḥūrī.*

‘A morning visit from a gypsy is better than a morning visit from the priest.’

The former comes to beat the drum and dance, either on account of a wedding or on account of the birth of a child; while the priest comes either on account of sickness or on account of death in the family.

*Nūrī*, pl. *nawar*, ‘gypsies,’ a name slightly changed, as de Goeje thinks (see Dozy, s. v.), from *Lurī*, the name borne by the gypsies in Persia.—In my notes I have as variant to *ṣabāḥ duḥūl*; also *fautt* for *fautit*.

Cf. for meaning Bt. 372, and Mustāṭraf, p. 45, l. 9.

الدهر دولاب يوم معك عليك

51. *id-dāḥr dūlāb yom ma‘ak yom ‘alāk.*

‘Time is a wheel, a day with you, a day against you.’

*dūlāb* is a word of Persian origin. It meant originally a ‘water-wheel,’ and is now used for any wheel: cf. Lane and Dozy, s. v. In my notes I have *بيك* as a variant to *dūlāb*, ‘Time is a bey,’ etc.; also *yomāin*, ‘time is two days,’ etc.

Cf. Soc. 426, 427; Fr. ii. p. 935, No. 111; Fr. iii. 974; p. 639, No. 153; Kall. 160; Nofal, pp. 518, 521, 527.

قال له ليش عمتبكي و انا عمك قال له انا عمتبكي عاشد

عمي

52. *qallu laiṣ ‘am btibkī u ānā ‘ammāk qallu ānā ‘am bibkī ‘ašinnāk ‘ammī.*

‘He said to him: Why are you crying while I am your uncle? He said to him: I am crying because you are my uncle.’

Used of one who injures another while seemingly exhibiting towards him friendship and love. H.

“Why do you cry when I am your uncle to ward off harm and to bring you what will benefit you?” “I am crying just because you are my uncle; because you pretend before people that you are my benefactor and helper, while in reality you are an enemy.” H.



Another version of the last part is : *kull bkæyi 'ašinnak 'ammi*. H. In my notes I have : *qālū lā tibki ya bnéyya nah̄n mghârība qālit kull bākæyi 'ašinnakum mghârība*. Instead of *bnéyya*, *bnéyyi* would be more exact, as Prof. Nöldeke suggests ; likewise *mghârībi* instead of *mghârība*.—*'ašinnak* from *أَنَّكَ عَلَى شَأْنٍ* (H.), and not, as M. Barthélemy (Journal Asiatique, viii. Série, Tome X. p. 280, note on *'aychinno*) affirms, from *حَيْثُ إِنَّكَ* (in this case *حَيْثُ أَنْكَ*)

### بعد عن الشر و غنيله

53. *b'ūd 'an eš-šarr u ghannīlu*.

'Withdraw from harm and sing to it.'

That is, avoid harm and rejoice on account of it, because it happened without striking you. Used in warning against exposing one's self to danger or to strife. It may also be used to one who undertakes to interfere between two disputants. H.

Instead of *b'ūd*, H. gives *b'ūd*, but says *b'ūd* is also used.—In my notes is the following addition to the above : *qāl lā y'ghannīlī u lā bghannīlu* 'he said : let it not sing to me, and I will not sing to it.'

### اللي بيدري بيدري و اللي ما بيدري بيقول كف عدس

54. *illī byidrī byidrī willī mā byidrī biqāl kāff 'adis*.

'He who knows knows, and he who does not know says : A handful of lentils.'

Used of one who wishes to speak but is hindered by some reason. H.

According to H. it is like

قيل للصفدع لماذا لا تُصَوِّتِينَ فقالت فمي ملآن من الماء  
or, as the poet puts it,

قالت الصفدع قولاً فسرتة الحكماء

في فمي ماءٌ وَ هَلْ يَنْطِقُ مَنْ فِي فِئِهِ ماءٌ

Cf. Sp. 40 ; Tant. p. 116.

لا تكسب سنتك تا تستغلها

55. *lā teḥṣub sintāk tā tist'ghállha.*

'Don't reckon your year's earnings till you gather its crops.'

Cf. Nofal, p. 520.

ذكر الديب و هيي القضيـب

56. *dhkār id-dīb u haiyyi 'l-qaḍīb.*

'Speak of the wolf and get your stick ready.'

Speak of angels and you will hear the rustle of their wings.

Nāṣir has written elsewhere هيي له القضيـب.

Cf. Soc. 199; Burton, 80; Fr. i. p. 188, Nos. 483, 486; Fr. iii. 1015; Scaliger, p. 96; Boethor, under *loup*; Nofal, p. 533.

ابن الحلال عند ذكره بيبان

57. *ibn il-ḥalæl 'ind dhikru bībæn.*

'The honest man appears when he is spoken of.'

Used of one who enters while people are talking of him. This proverb is used of one who is agreeable to the speakers. No. 56 is used of one who is disagreeable, but may be said in the way of pleasantry. H.

*ibn il-ḥalæl*, literally 'the legitimate son,' means 'the honest, well-bred, polite man': cf. Lane, *Dictionary*, s. v.; also Landberg, *Glossaire*.

Berg. under *bâtard*, *honnête*, *renommée*; Tant. p. 111; Burton, 81; Kall. 528; also Fr. i. p. 505, No. 23.

قال له صبحك بالخير يا قرع قال له هذا باب الشر

58. *qallu ṣabbḥak bil-ḥair yā 'qra' qallu hædā bæb iṣ-šarr.*

'He said to him: Good morning, O scald-head. He said to him: This is the door of strife.'

That is, by calling him scald-head he is made angry at once, and the door of strife is opened.

Instead of *bæb iṣ-šarr*, I have also in my notes *bæb in-nqār* 'the door of dispute, strife;' and *bæb in-nekrazi*.

Cf. Soc. 276; Mustāṭraf, p. 45, l. 9.

## لا تدبر المخلاية قبل الفرس

59. *lā tdebbir il-mihlāyi qabl il-fārās.*

‘Don’t procure the nose-bag before the horse.’

On *debbār* ‘procure,’ cf. Hartmann, Vokabular.—مَخْلَايَة for classical Arabic مَخْلَاة; for analogous forms, cf. No. 29.—*faras*, applied in classical Arabic to both horse and mare (prevailing to the latter, according to Prof. Nöldeke), is now used for mare alone.

## نزلت العبدہ للسوق و ما استحلت الا شفاظير مسعود

60. *nizlit il-‘abdi lis-sūq u mā ‘stahlit illa šfātīr Mes‘ād.*

‘The (black, H.) slave-woman went down to the market and only admired Mes‘ād’s (her son’s, H.) thick lips.’

Used of a man’s pleasure in his own family, relatives, and friends.

*šfātīr* is pl. of *šeftūra* ‘thick, projecting lip:’ cf. Dozy, and Landberg, Glossaire, s. v.—H. gives the following modern proverbs as of like meaning: *il-qird fī ‘ain ummuh ghazāl* ‘the monkey is a gazelle in his mother’s eyes’ (cf. Sp. 52, Bt. 60); *ḥabībāk min ṭhubbuh u lū kæn* ‘*abd aswād* ‘thy darling is he whom thou lovest, were he a black slave’ (cf. Burton, 131; Landberg, 47); *il-ḥunfsih šæfit ibna ‘al-ḥaiṭ qālīt-luh kunnāk* (sic) *lūliyyi bhaiṭ* ‘the beetle saw her son on the wall; she said to him: It’s as if you were a pearl on a string.’ Nāṣir has written this with the last part somewhat different:

## قالت ما احلى سواده عا بياض الحيط

‘She said: How sweet his blackness is on the white wall (literally, on the white of the wall).’

## قالوا لجحا استرزق باب الله راح و قعد على باب الفرن

61. *qālū li-Jiḥa istérziq bāb Allāh rāḥ u qa‘ud ‘ala bāb il-furn.*

‘They said to Jiḥa: Ask alms at the door of God. He went and sat at the door of the oven.’

‘To ask alms at the door of God’ means here to implore God’s aid, and exert one’s self to attain what one wishes.

This proverb is used in case a man is urged to exert himself, but remains inactive and asks for help.

A slightly different version is as follows: *qālū li-Jiḥa rāḥ istérziq Allāh rāḥ barak* ‘a bāb il-furn.

ناس بياكلوا جاج ناس ييقعوا بالسياج

62. *næs byæklû jæj næs byiqā'û bis-s'yæj.*

'Some people eat chickens, some people fall into the hedge (in pursuing and catching them).'

Used of one who undergoes hardships while others reap all the fruits of his labor. H.

*byûqa'û* is a variant of *byiqā'û*.

Cf. Fr. iii. 2300.

قالوا للجمل شو صنعتك قال كباب حرير

63. *qālû lij-jemil šû şan'utâk qâl kebbæb ḥarîr.*

'They said to the camel: What is your trade? He said: A silk-winder.'

Said in case a man takes up a trade for which he is manifestly utterly unfit.

In my notes I have in addition to the above: *qālû mbaiyyin* (also *bîbaiyyin*) 'a *idaik haṭ-ṭay'in*, 'They said: This is evident from these swiftly-moving hands of yours.'

Cf. Berg. under *chameau*; Soc. 472, 598 (ZDMG. xxxvii. 200); Kall. 305.

قالوا للبقر لما تموتوا بيكنفوكم بحرير قالوا بدنا جلودنا  
تسلم علينا

64. *qālû lil-baqar lemma tmûtû bikeff'nûkrum bḥarîr qālû beddna jlādna tislām 'alēna.*

'They said to the cattle: When you die they will shroud you, in silk. They said: We want our skins to remain on us whole.'

Used of one who makes another fine promises while intending to rob or otherwise injure him. Like No. 44. H.

Instead of *tmâtû* H. gives *bitmâtû*.—H. gives as an Egyptian version:

قالوا لبقر الديوان اذا متتم يكنفوكم في حرير قالوا اشتھينا

(see Mustatraf, p. 46, l. 7).

Cf. Berg. under *linceul*; Soc. 287; Bt. 521.

نروح بجلودنا

عَا هَا الْحَمَص مَا فِي عِيد

65. 'a *hal-ḥummuṣ mā fī 'īd*.

'According to these chick-peas there is no feast.'

Used of that from which it is inferred that something will either not occur for a long time or not occur at all. H.

Acc. to H. the origin of this proverb is as follows: A village curate with a weak memory used to put in his pocket, when the fast began, as many chick-peas as there were days in the fast, and each day that passed of the fast he would throw away a pea; and if one of his flock asked him how many days remained till the feast-day, he would count the peas which remained, and tell him. Now it happened one fast that his wife saw the chick-peas in his pocket, and, supposing he liked them, brought a handful of them and put them in the pocket. It happened that day that one of his flock asked him how many fast-days remained, so he put his hand in his pocket and found a great many peas, and couldn't tell how many days remained. So he said: "My son, according to these chick-peas there is no feast." And his words became a proverb.

Cf. Soc. ZDMG. xxxvii. 206.

كَلَك مَنَافِع مَتَل زَيْت الْغَار

66. *kullāk mnæfi' mitl zait il-ghār*.

'You are entirely beneficial, like the oil of the bay-tree.'

Used in praising one who has done well.

أَلْف عَدُو بَرَات الْبَيْت وَ لَا عَدُو جَوَات الْبَيْت

67. *ālf 'adū barrāt il-bait u lā 'adū jūwæt il-bait*.

• 'It is better to have a thousand enemies without the house than to have one enemy within.'

For meaning, cf. Landberg, p. 33, No. 20.

عِيش يَا كَدِيش تَا يَطْلُع الْحَشِيش تَا تَاكُل وَ تَعِيش

68. *'iš yā g'diš tā yitla' il-ḥašīš tā tækul wī'īš*.

'Live, O nag, till the grass grows, so that you may eat and live.'

Used when a man in need of anything is put off with promises.

كدش is a word of Persian origin, and is used of a horse of inferior breed : cf. Dozy, s. v.

Cf. Bt. 425 : Sp. 102 ; Burton. 91 : Fr. iii. 2216-2217 ; Mustāṭraf, p. 42, l. 5 *ab imo* ; Scaliger, p. 49, No. 69 ; Nofal, p. 509.

عصفور باليد و لا عشرة عا السجرة

69. 'asfār bil-yādd u lā 'ašara 'as-sejara.

'A sparrow in the hand is better than ten in the tree.'

In my notes I have also : 'asfār bil-yedd u lā kirkī ṭāyir 'a sparrow in the hand is better than a crane which is flying at liberty.'

Cf. Fr. iii. 2029 ; also Fr. iii. 266 ; Bt. 8 ; Soc. 136-8 ; Snouck, 45 ; Nofal, p. 541.

جارك القريب و لا خيك البعيد

70. jārāk il-qarīb u lā ḥaiyyāk il-b'īd.

'Your neighbor who is near is better than your brother who is far away.'

Cf. Berg. under *voisin* ; Burton, 40.

احفظ عتيقك جديدك ما بيبقالك

71. ḥfaz 'atīqak jdīdāk mā byibqālāk.

'Take care of your old things ; your new things will not remain to you.'

Take care to keep your old friends, for you have not tried your new ones, and they may leave you at any time.

In my notes I have the following version : *rjæ' la'tīqāk jdīdāk mā yibqālāk kul nhāli* (variant *mahlūṭa*) *u ḥallī er-ruzz* 'an bælāk 'return to your old, your new will not remain to you ; eat bran (on *mahlūṭa* cf. Landberg, p. 79), and dismiss rice from your mind.'

Cf. Berg. under *vieil* ; Burton, 170 ; Fr. ii. p. 520, No. 372 ; Fr. iii. 1920 ; Landberg, 167 ; Kall. 426.

كل جديد و له رهجة كل عتيق و له دفشه

72. *kull jdīd ū ilu rāhji kull 'atīq ū ilu defši.*

'Every new thing has beauty, every old thing has a push aside.'

البهجة, according to H., is vulgarly used in the sense of

اي الحسن. For رَهَج 'dust raised, excitement of evil, of conflict,

etc., see Lane; cf. also Dozy, s. v.—On دَفَش, in meaning of 'drive away, push forward,' cf. Dozy and Landberg, s. v.

Cf. Landberg, 50; Sp. 229; Soc. 435; Fr. ii. p. 576, No. 582; Fr. iii. 2674; Burton, 169; Tant. 127; Mustāṭraf, p. 36, l. 14; Vassalli, 629; Sand. 90.

الحايك عريان والسكاف حفيان

73. *il-ḥāyik 'aryæn wīs-sikkæf ḥafyæn.*

'The weaver is naked and the cobbler is barefoot.'

*ḥiyyæk* is a variant of *ḥāyik*.

Cf. the proverb: *ḥmār il-moi 'aṣṣæn* 'the donkey that carries the water is thirsty.' Cf. also Snouck, 44; Bt. 148, 404, 563; Berg. under *menuisier*; Fr. ii. p. 54, No. 87; p. 920, No. 54; Mustāṭraf, p. 35, l. 22; p. 36, ll. 11-12; Sp. 37; Kall. 337; Nofal, p. 520.

الي بيشرب البكر ما بيغص بالساقية

74. *illī byiṣṣrab il-baḥr mā biḡhuṣṣ bis-sæqyi.*

'He who drinks the sea will not choke at a brook.'

He who does a great act will not shrink from a less.

Cf. the following proverb taken from my notes: *il-gharqān bil-baḥr lā y'ḥæf mnin-nīda* 'the man who has been drowned in the sea does not fear dew.

Cf. Berg. under *rigole*.

بده يزق البكر بصفده

75. *beddu y'ziqq il-baḥr bṣafadi.*

'He wants to transport the sea in a shell.'

Used of one who wishes to accomplish something great with very inadequate means. H.

According to H. some say :

يَنْقُلُ = يَزِقُّ. - مَثَلُ الْبَيْزِقِ الْبَحْرُ بَصْفَةٌ. H. — *şafad* vulgar

for *şadaf*: cf. Dozy, s. v.

Cf. Kall. 189.

### اخذ التار موش معيار

76. *aḥd it-tār muš mi'yār.*

'Taking revenge is no disgrace.'

*tār* = تَارٌ.

Cf. Fr. ii. p. 465, No. 208.

### شينا وما تبنا

77. *šibna u mæ tibna.*

'We have grown white-headed and have not repented.'

We have not learned wisdom by age, but still cling to our bad habits.

Cf. Soc. ZDMG. xxxvii. 199, No. 593 ; Fr. iii. 1588 (referred to by Socin).

### الشيب ما هو عيب

78. *iš-šaiḥ mā hū 'aiḥ.*

'White hair is no disgrace.'

Cf. Bt. 352 ; Fr. iii. 2204.

### حط قبل ما تتعب وحمل قبل ما تستريح

79. *ḥuṭṭ qabl mā tit'ab waḥmāl qabl mā tist'riḥ.*

'Put down your load before you are tired, and load up before you are rested.'

A man should not work all the time, neither should he rest all the time.



## القتل بـيَعْلَم الدب يرقص

80. *il-qatl bī'allim id-dibb yirquṣ.*

'Beating teaches the bear how to dance.'

Said in speaking of the use of the stick in training children.

*qatal* has come to mean 'beat,' though it also retains its meaning of 'kill.'

## يا بيتنكه يا بيكسر مخه

81. *yā bitūḥḥu yā byiksir muḥḥu.*

'He either pats him or breaks his head.'

I have translated *bitūḥḥ* by 'he pats.' There seems, however, to be doubt as to the meaning of this word. H. says he asked many persons about it, but no one knew its real meaning. Some thought the meaning 'pat' suited the connection. The word, at any rate, is not used elsewhere in this meaning. H. thinks the meaning of this word is the same as that of *وَتَحَ* 'strike with a stick.' The *Muḥṭṭ* gives

تَحَ يَتْنُكُهُ تَحَ رَمَاهُ وَابْعَدَهُ وَالْجَارِيَةُ جَامِعَهَا.

H. says that the people of Homs and many others use *طَلَحَ* in the sense of *ضَرَبَهُ شَدِيدًا*; and others use *تَنَحَّ* in the same sense. Interesting are the words *طَحَ* or *تَحَ* (both of which H. has heard rarely out of Homs), *أَطَحَ* (which is more common there), *طَحَ* and *طَاخَ* (which are somewhat used), all in sense of *انحنى* 'bend down, bow.'

*muḥḥ* ("Gehirn," Nöldeke) is used vulgarly in sense of head. H.

## المعنى بـقلب الشاعر

82. *il-ma'na bqalb iṣ-ṣa'ir.*

'The meaning is in the heart of the poet.'

The poet knows what meaning his lines have, even if others do not understand them.

Cf. Soc. ZDMG. xxxvii. 219, No. 772; Nofal, p. 496.

ما بعد الصبر الا المكرفة والقبر

83. *mā ba'd is-ṣabr illa 'l-mejrāfi wil-qabr.*

'After patience there remains only the shovel and the grave.'

After one has wearied one's self out with waiting, death comes.

This pessimistic proverb is more than counterbalanced by optimistic ones, such as Ali, p. 65 :

بشر نفسك بالظفر بعد الصبر

Cf. Fr. iii. 1619 ; Sp. 241 ; Tant. p. 129.

فرخ الديب ما بيكرى

84. *ferḥ id-dīb mā bījaūwī.*

'The wolf's cub will not become tame.'

On *تَكْبَرَى*, *جَرَى* 'become tame,' cf. Cuche, s. v.

Cf. Soc. 420-1 ; Snouck, 29.

مثل الصتل بلا علاقة

85. *mitl is-ṣatl bela 'ilæqa.*

'Like a pail without a handle.'

Used of a sluggish man who moves about but little.

Notice how Nâsir has written *سطل*. On origin of word *safl*, from Latin *situla*, cf. Dozy, s. v.—'allæqa is a variant of 'ilæqa.

مثل الاربعاء بنص الجمعة

86. *mitl il-arb'a bnusṣ ij-jüm'a.*

'Like Wednesday in the middle of the week.'

Used to one who sits idle in the middle of the week. They say to him *mā lāk mitl* etc. 'what is the matter with you, (sitting) like Wednesday in the middle of the week?' or *int mitl* 'you are like,' etc. H.

مثل حية التبن بتلسع ويتخبي رأسها

87. *mitl haiyyit it-tibn btilsā' u biḥabbī rāsha.*

'Like the snake in the *tibn*, which inflicts a bite and then hides its head.'

Used of one who inflicts an injury and covers up his tracks. H.

The last part of this may be varied to suit the connection, as, for example: he is like the snake in the *tibn*; he inflicts a bite, and then hides his head.

Instead of *لسع* Nāṣir has written elsewhere *عقص*, and he has also given the following version:

مثل حية التبن بتلسع من تحت لتحت 'like the snake in the *tibn*, he bites from underneath.'

Cf. Berg. under *paille*; Sp. 80; Kall. 141; Soc. ZDMG. xxxvii. 208, No. 669; Sand. 69.

توب العيارة ما بيدني وان دني ما بيدوم

88. *taub il-'iyæri mā bideffī winn deffu mā bīdām.*

'A borrowed garment will not warm, and if it warms it will not last.'

'*iyæri* is a verbal noun meaning 'lending, borrowing.' For analogous forms cf. Sp. § 45, b. As Nöldeke suggests, this form is from *إعارة*.

Cf. Berg. under *chaud*; Bt. 171; Burton, 155; Soc. 72 (cf. ZDMG. xxxvii. 191); Fr. ii. p. 435, No. 92; Kall. 306; Mustāṭraf, p. 43, l. 18; Nofal, p. 587.

طلع عا دينين القف

89. *ṭili' 'a dainain il-quffī.*

'He climbed out on the handles of the basket.'

Said of one who takes on airs unsuitable to his position, as when a servant becomes saucy and insubordinate.

According to H., it is the custom to put chickens, as soon as they are hatched, into a *quffī*. As soon, then, as they become a little strong, they get to the top of the basket; hence the proverb, the person referred to being compared to a chick which has climbed up to the handle of the basket.

*dainain* literally 'ears.'

بالوجه حليس وبالقفا قريص

90. *bil-wijh ḥillaís u bil-qafa qurraís.*

‘To one’s face caressing and behind one’s back pinching.’

Said of a person who acts differently behind one’s back from what he does to one’s face.

Instead of *ḥillaís* and *qurraís* respectively I have in my notes *tilmís* ‘caressing,’ *qaríṣ* ‘pinching’; *mræyi* ‘a mirror,’ *midræyi* ‘a pitchfork.’

مثل الاطرش بالزفة

91. *mitl il-aṭraṣ biz-zeffī.*

‘Like a deaf man in the wedding procession.’

Used of one who sees but does not understand. H.

On زَفَّة cf. Bt. 422.

اجوا بيت السلطان تا يبيطروا خيلهم قامت الحنفسه مدت  
اجرها

92. *ijū bait is-sultān ta-ybaiṭrū ḥailhum qāmit il-ḥinfsi meddit ijrha.*

‘They came to the house of the Sultan to shoe their horses; up stood the beetle and put out her foot.’

Used of one who undertakes what he is unsuited for, or of one who imitates one who is greater than himself, or of the insignificant person who imitates the great one. H.

For the use of *baiṭar* in the common language in the meaning ‘shoe a horse,’ cf. Hartmann, *Vokabular*, Cuche, Muḥit, s. v.—Some say: *ijit il-ḥinfsi* ‘the beetle came.’ H.—*lā* is a variant of *ta*.

Cf. Berg. under *ferrer*; Bt. 183; Mustāṭraf, p. 43, l. 9 *ab imo*.

ضيف المسا ما له عشا

93. *ḍaiṣ il-mesā mā lu ‘aša.*

‘The guest who comes at evening gets no supper.’

It is the custom of the Arabs, when a guest comes, to prepare for him special food. In case, however, he arrives after sun-

set, there is no time to prepare special food, and the host, in setting before him whatever there happens to be on hand, excuses himself for the scantiness or poor quality of the food by repeating this proverb.

بيت السبع ما بيخلا من العظام

94. *bait is-seb' mā byihla min il-'adām.*

'The lion's den is never free from bones.'

The rich man always has money in his house. This proverb is used, for example, when a man asks another to lend him something. The second man says he hasn't it by him. The first man then says: Impossible! the lion's den, etc.

Cf. Kall. 98.

بدء من الدواق سبع واق

95. *beddu min id-dwāq seba' wāq.*

'He wants seven *wuqīyyi* for a taste.'

Said of a great eater.

*dwāq* = ذواق. — *wāq* = أواق, pl. of أوقية, vulgarly *wuqīyyi*, the twelfth part of a roṭl, the roṭl being 2.56 Kg. Cf. Hartmann, p. 354.

قال الحلو انا بحلي قالت المي انا ما بحلي

96. *qāl il-hilu ānā bhallī qālit il-moi ānā ma bhallī.*

'Said the sweet: I sweeten. Said the water: I do not allow your sweetness to remain.'

That is, when one has eaten something sweet and drinks water, the water takes away the sweet taste. H.

H. says he heard some one use this figuratively of a foul action effacing a fair one, but declares this use very rare (و هذا من اندر ما سبعة).

قطع نعلك شي ما ضاع لك

97. *qattī' na'lāk šī ma ḍa'lāk.*

'Wear out your shoe (although) you have lost nothing.'

According to H., the origin of this was that a rich man lost a horse, and sent his slave to seek it; and when a poor youth wished to go with one of them to search with him, his mother said to him *qattī' na'lāk* etc., and her words became a proverb. Her meaning was: if you go with that servant to search with him, you will wear out your shoe with much walking, and you will get no return for your pains and for the loss of your shoes.

Used of one who simply wishes to, or really does, exert himself to benefit one who does not need his help, and thereby injures himself by losing his time, his trouble, and his money.

ضاع is pronounced here *ḍa'*, as I have written it, not *ḍā'*.

جنب العقرب لا تقرب جنب الحية فرش و نام

98. *jemb il-'aqrab lā tiqrab jemb il-ḥaiyyi frāṣ u nām.*

'By the side of the scorpion do not come; by the side of the snake spread your bed and sleep.'

The explanation of this proverb is, if I remember correctly, that the people believe that scorpions keep coming back to the same spot, while a snake, once frightened away, does not come back; so that a man may safely sleep on the spot where he has seen a snake, a thing which he cannot do in the case of a scorpion.

*ḥadd* and *maṭraḥ* are found in my notes as variants of *jemb*.

ما لك صاحب الا من بعد قتله

99. *mā lāk ṣāḥib illa min ba'd qatli.*

'You never have a friend till after you have come to blows.'

Used when two men, formerly enemies, become friends after having come to blows.

The meaning is that when two men are hostile, especially from jealousy, they will grow more and more hostile till they come to blows, when, of course, one will conquer the other. The con-

quered one, having learned the other's superiority, will seek to become his friend, so as not to be exposed to a second beating.

Cf. Bt. 733; Tant. p. 180.

### المكبة خصائص والبغضة عموم

100. *il-mḥabbi ḥṣāyis wil-bughḍa 'imām.*

'Love is special and hatred general.'

That is, a man cannot love everybody, or even many, equally, but he can hate all equally. H.

Instead of *ḥṣāyis*, some say *ḫṣāyī*, which is better. H. *ḥṣāyis* seems to be a plural of *ḫṣāyī*, which means, according to Lane, 'property or peculiar virtue.'—*'imām* for *'umām* 'universality, generality.'—In this proverb the abstract nouns *ḥṣāyis* and *'umām* are used instead of the corresponding adjectives.

### بيسال عا البيضة مين باضها والجاجة مين جابها

101. *byis'āl 'an il-baida mīn bādha wij-jæji mīn jæbha.*

'He asks about the egg: What hen laid it? and about the hen: Who brought her?'

Used of an inquisitive man.

Nâsir has written *'al-baiḍa*.

Cf. Bt. 749.

### بيكاسب الديك على نقده

102. *bihāsib id-dik 'ala naqdi.*

'He reckons with the cock about a single grain.

Used of a skinflint.

*naqdi* is from *نقد* 'peck,' and means 'a single peck.'

Cf. for meaning Fr. ii. p. 942, No. 152.

### زيادة الخير خير

103. *ziyædit il-ḥair ḥair.*

'The increase of blessing is a blessing.'

Cf. Fr. iii. 1286; Tant. p. 123.

خالع الباب ومزتر بالعتبة

104. *hālī il-bāb u mzennar bil-‘atabi.*

‘He takes away the door and girdles himself with the thresh-old.’ (Literally, removing the door and girdled with the thresh-old.)

Used of a shameless reprobate who does evil deeds and then talks of them without the least concealment.

H. says that by *bāb* here is meant the غَلَق ‘lock,’ but there seems no reason why it should not mean simply ‘door.’

H. says the Arabs say : خَلَعَ الرَّجُلُ عِذَارَهُ , and خَلَعَ رَسَنَهُ , اى عدا على الناس بالشر وتهتك وانتضم , i. e. has brought harm upon people and covered himself with opprobrium and dishonor (cf. Fr. ii. p. 300, No. 159).

النفس بتطلب والمعدة ما بتقطع

105. *in-nefs btutlub wil-mi‘di ma btiqta.*

‘The appetite desires, but the stomach does not digest.’

Frequently a man desires to eat what he can digest only with difficulty, if at all ; accordingly this is used in speaking of men who desire what they will not be able to manage ; whose desires are greater than their powers.

Cf. Snouck, 6.

عيني فيها وتفر عليها

106. *‘ainī fiha witfā ‘alēha.*

‘My eye is on it (i. e. I want it), but pshaw on it !’

That is, I am between turning towards or liking this thing and turning away from or disliking it. Used of one who is wavering in a matter, wanting it at one time and not wanting it at another. H.

Instead of *fiha* and *‘alēha*, *fiḥ* and *‘alēh* are also used. H.—*tfā*, according to H., is a corruption of نُفَا or نُفَى , and is used vulgarly



to express the sound made by the lips in spitting: cf. the verb تَقَّ يَتَّقُ تَقًّا 'cracher (du sang),' Cuche.

H. compares with this the proverb تَقَدَّمُ رَجُلًا وَتَوَخَّرَ أُخْرَى, used to the hesitating or wavering man (Fr. ii. p. 941, No. 146). Nöldeke says that this phrase (يَقْدَمُ, etc.) is often made use of in old narrative prose in the sense of 'er schwankte stark,' or rather, 'benahm sich unsicher.'

Cf. Kall. 815.

### اصلك فعلك يا سفرجل

107. *aṣlāk fī'lāk yā sferjil.*

'Your pedigree is what you yourself do, O quince.'

The Arabs and Syrians are very proud of having a good pedigree, but the meaning of this proverb is: Do not boast of your pedigree; what you are to be judged by and to take pride in is your own deeds.

Cf. Tant. p. 181; Ali, p. 79, No. 198.

### من هالك لمالك لقباض الروح

108. *min haelik lā-maelik lā-qabbād er-rwæh.*

'From Halik to Malik to the taker of souls.'

Used of what is taken from its owner, then taken from the one who has taken it from its owner, and so on without ever being returned. H. For example, a man borrows a book, a second borrows it from him, and so on, while the owner does not know what has become of it. On being asked about it, the owner says *min haelik*, etc.

*qabbād er-rwæh* (or *il-erwæh*) = قَابِضُ الْأَرْوَاحِ 'the taker of the souls' (Angel of Death, Izrá-eel or Azrá-eel. Lane).

Cf. Sp. 141.

### اللقمة التي في تمك ما بتعرف لمين هي

109. *il-liqmi illi fī timmāk mā bta'rif l'mîn hî.*

'You do not know to whom belongs the morsel which is in your mouth.'

Used of the uncertainty of human affairs.

The following two proverbs from my collection express the same idea somewhat differently :

*il-'arūs taḥt il-klīl* (for *iklīl*) *mā bta'rif l'mīn hī* 'the bride, even under the wedding-wreath, does not know to whom she belongs';

*il-'arūs bijlāha mā bta'rif mīn byihwāha* 'the bride, even in the midst of her *jili*, does not know who will possess her.'

### العنزة الجربانه بتعدي القطيع كله

110. *il-'anzt ij-jirbāni bti'di il-qatīṣ kullu.*

'The mangy goat infects the whole flock.'

A bad man will corrupt all his associates.

Cf. for meaning Fr. i. p. 648, No. 154 ; Nofal, p. 541.

### طبني طببتك العافية

111. *ṭubbnī ṭabbtak il-'āfyi.*

'Be my physician, and may health be yours.'

A simpleton who was sick said these words to a physician. They are used vulgarly of a sluggard and of a simpleton. H.

*ṭubbnī* 'treat me, prescribe for me.'—'May health be your physician' means 'may you not be sick.' H.

So H. explains the proverb. He, however, gives the following explanation, given to him by one of the prominent common people :

### (واحد من نبيهاء العامة)

The one who said the words was a lazy simpleton, not a sick man. This lazy simpleton was the sultan of the people of laziness, so that from his excessive laziness he used, when he lay down, to remain on his back a long time, and feel his back pain him, and not be able to change to one side or the other or to turn over. It happened that he lay once for a long time on his side so that it pained him, and he said to a man there *ṭubbnī*, etc., i. e. 'turn me over on my face, and may you never need any one to turn you over, and may health free you from that necessity.'

If this explanation were correct, we should have to translate 'turn me over, and may health turn you over.'

كفأً is vulgarly used in the sense of قلب, كب, and كفاً 'overturn, turn over on the face.' H.

الهدية بليّة

112. *il-hdiyyi bliyyi.*

‘A present is an affliction.’

It was, and is to some extent, the custom in Syria for a man who wanted something another had to take a present, go to the other and present it, and then ask him for the desired article. The present was often worth only a fraction of the object asked for. Moreover, when a man receives a present, even if it be something for which he has not the slightest use, he is expected to give a present in return. Hence the proverb.

One of those to whom I read this proverb added: *u ṣāḥibha ta'bæn* ‘and its possessor is weary.’

Cf. Soc. 210; Bt. 556; Sand. 70.

الخير مرزوق

113. *il-haiyyir merzûq.*

‘The generous man is always lucky.’

God always sends gain to the generous man who gives to the poor and aids them.

Cf. *il-haiyyir byækul mælu u mæl ghairu* ‘the generous man enjoys his own property and the property of others.’

*haiyyir* ‘generous, benevolent’: cf. Landberg, Glossaire; Dozy, s. v.

قوم يا عبدي تا قوم معك

114. *qām yā ‘abdī tāqūm ma‘ak.*

‘Get up, O my servant, that I may get up with you.’

This proverb, which is put into the mouth of God, means ‘exert yourself, so that I may help you.’ Cf. our “God helps those who help themselves.” It is used of one who is indolent and asks God for support (رزق), but does not exert himself. H.

H's version is *يا عَبْدِي قَوْمٌ مَعِي تَا قَوْمٌ مَعَكَ*.

Notice *قوم* for Old Arabic *قَم*.  
Cf. Kall. 354; Nofal, p. 506.

كل وقت واعطيه حكمه

115. *kull waqt wa'fih hukmu.*

'Give to every time what it requires.'

That is, do and speak as circumstances require : cf. Eccl.

iii. 1. H.

In my notes *yin'āfa* and *bya'fī* stand as variants for *wa'fih*.  
Cf. Soc. 381 ; Fr. iii. 2452, 2678-80.

الرشوة بتعمي البصر

116. *ir-rašwi bti'mī 'l-baṣar.*

'Bribes blind the sight.'

Nöldeke compares this with Ex. xxiii. 8, Deut. xvi. 19 ; and says that in the translation of the London Bible Society (1848) stands

الرشوة تعمي ابصار الحكام.

*debli* is a variant of *rašwi*.

Cf. *il-barṣūl biḥill šašt il-qāḍi* 'a bribe will undo the cadi's turban.'

For other proverbs on bribes, cf. Landberg, 26, and p. 48, top; Soc. 118.

حساب الحقله ما اجا عا حساب البيدر

117. *ḥṣeb il-ḥaqli mā ija 'a ḥṣeb il-baidar.*

'The field's account did not turn out according to the threshing-floor's account.

The matter did not turn out as well as was expected.

Cf. *ḥṣeb il-qarāya mā byiji* 'a *ḥṣeb is-sarāya* 'the account of the villages does not turn out according to the account of the palaces.'

Cf. Burton, 84.

الفلاح نزل عا المدينة ما استحلا الآ الدبس والطحينه

118. *il-fellāḥ nizil 'al-mdīni mā 'stahla illa 'd-dibs wiṭ-ṭḥīni.*

'The fellah went down to the city, and liked only the molasses and sesame flour.'

Of the viands of the city the fellah liked *dibs* mixed with sesame flour, because he had been used to the sweets obtained

from figs, grapes, raisins, and *dibs*, and had not been accustomed to other sweet dainties, the former being cheap and abundant at his home. Hence the proverb is used of one unaccustomed to the manner of living and to the taste of cultivated people. H.

*ṭahīni* is used especially of the sesame flour. H. Cf. Landberg, p. 242.

### كن بالاول يا جحا ولو كان بقص اللحا

119. *kān bil-awwāl yā Jiḥa wā lau kawn bqasṣ il-liḥa.*

‘Be first in everything, O Jiha, even if it were in cutting off your beard.’

Be first in everything, even though it be something which will injure you.

*liḥa* for لُحْيَة.

Cf. Fr. iii. 2798; Soc. 566; Berg. under *barbe*; Kall. 895.

### تعلم البيطرة بحمير الكراد

120. *t'allām il-baiṭara bḥamīr il-krād.*

‘He learned the veterinary art by practising on the Kurds’ donkeys.’

Used of one unskilled in his work.

*krād* for اكراد, pl. of كُرْدِيّ.

Cf. Fr. iii. 1070; Bt. 752-3 (which seem to be identical in meaning, although Bt. declares, on what authority he does not state, that the second is in opposition to the first); Kall. 284-5.

### رعاية يوم بتيسنة سنة

121. *r'āyit yaum blaisānit sini.*

‘Pasturing goats one day makes a man a boor a whole year.’ (Literally, is at the price of boorishness for a year.)

Used of the stupidity of shepherds. H.

*laisani* for تَيْسِيَّة ‘goatishness.’ Lane. Cf. Dozy, s. v.

Cf. Fr. i. p. 885, No. 189; p. 404, No. 178; p. 701, No. 142; Durra, 17.

البيير الفارغ ما ببتلبه النداء

122. *il-bîr il-færigh mā byitlîh in-nidi.*

‘Dew will not fill the empty well.’

Used of what is insufficient to answer the manifest requirements in any given case.

Variant: *mā byimtili min in-nida*.—With the form *yitlîh* cf. *talla* ‘füllen,’ Hartmann, Vokabular.—H. compares this proverb with Fr. ii. p. 586, No. 1.

Cf. Bt. 185; Burton, 114.

إذا فاتك عام ترجى بغيره

123. *iza faetāk ‘ām trājjā bghairu.*

‘If a year escape you, put your hope in another.’

If you do not succeed this time, hope to do so another time.

Variants: *ija* (for *idha*), and *ghairu* without *b*.

Cf. Soc. 440-1, and Bt. 662, quoted by Soc.

اللي بياخذ الاجرة بيتطالب في العمل

124. *illî byæḥrud il-ijra byittāḏlāb fil-‘amil.*

‘He who takes hire is held responsible for his work.’

This sentence, originally a legal saying, has been adopted in the common language. It is used of one’s duty to one’s employer. H.

Cf. Sp. 289.

كل عنزة بتعرف قطيعها

125. *kull ‘anzi bta‘rif qaṭī‘aha.*

‘Every goat knows her own flock.’

البيشتغل بيديه بيسترخ قلبه

126. *il-byištighil bida‘ih byist‘riḥ qalbu.*

‘His heart is at ease who works with his own hands.’



That is, if, instead of hiring a man to do work, a man does it himself, he is sure to have it turn out as he wishes, and his heart will be at rest.

Another version of this is : *il-byištāghlu dāiyyætu byifraḥu qlaibætu* 'he whose hands are busy has a glad heart.'

Cf. Soc. 530 ; Fr. iii. 293.

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كل من عقله براسه بيعرف خلاصه

127. *kull min 'aqlu brāsu bya'rif ḥalāṣu.*

'Everyone who has his wits in his head knows what is best for himself.'

Cf. Tant. p. 128.

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بين البطي والرهوان طلق عنان

128. *bain il-butī wir-rahwæn talq 'inæn.*

'Between the slow horse and the pacer is only a loosening of the reins.'

That is, between the two is a distance the passing of which depends on loosening the reins of the slow horse. This proverb is used in urging one who is being left behind to exert himself to catch up with him who is in advance, and in encouraging him in so doing. H.

Cf. Sp. 111 ; Bt. 52.

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لا خير في الرزق اللي ما بيدق الباب

129. *lā ḥair fir-rizq illi mā bīduqq il-bæb.*

'There is no good in property which does not knock on the door.'

This is used in many ways, among them the following : 1. To express a preference for income accruing from real estate, for this income comes to the house of the owner, and the bringer thereof knocks on the owner's door to give it to him. And its continuance is more secure than that of other kinds of property. 2. Others use it to express preference for cattle to other kinds of property, for these go away and feed, then return to the house of their

owner, and it is as if they brought him their wool, their milk, and their other products, and knocked at his door to enter to him. (3) Some use it to express a preference for the property which God decrees without a man's exertion. And the ground for preferring it is that it is the gift of a generous and wise being who knows what is most beneficial for a man better than the man himself does, and that he does not repent of his generosity. There is in that property a virtue such as there is in no other, so that the virtue of other kinds is counted as naught in comparison with it. (4) Others use it of the man for whom another gains, like the proverb *خير المال عين ساهرة لعين نائمة* (Fr. i. p. 442, No. 60). It is very rarely used in other than these four ways. H.

In my notes I have the following version of this proverb:  
*ir-rizq il-mā byidfus il-baeb u bifāt muš lazim 'alaih* 'property which does not push open the door and enter is to be avoided.'

### ان كنت سيد لا تزيد

130. *inn kunt sīd lā tẓīd.*

'If you are lord, don't lord it.'

If you are master, do not unnecessarily increase the labor of those under you.

Cf. Fr. iii. 1420.

### الحية لما بتنعض بتقرض دنبها

131. *il-haiyyi lemma btin'aṣṣ btigrud danēbha.*

'When a snake is caught fast, it gnaws off its tail.'

Used of one who injures himself or his relatives from necessity (H), just as a snake gnaws off its tail to escape when its tail is held fast.

*btin'aṣṣ* means 'to be pressed, squeezed': cf. Dozy, s. v.—According to H. some say *الحيّة اذا أنزركت يتقطع دنبها* زرر = 'serrer, presser,' Cuche. *إنزرك* = 'être acculé, mis à l'étroit,' Cuche.

Cf. Landberg, No. 25; also, for meaning, Vassalli, 718.



البغض بين الاهل والحسد بين الجيران

132. *il-bughḍ bain il-ahl wil-ḥasad bain ij-jūrān.*

'Hatred is between members of a family, and envy between neighbors.'

Cf. Fr. i. p. 418, No. 242.

وقعت مئدنه في مصر قالوا الله يجيرنا من طراطيشها

133. *waqa'it maidani fi Maṣr qālū Allah yjīrna min trāṭiṣṣha.*

'A minaret fell in Egypt; they said: God protect us from its débris.'

Used of a disaster whose injurious consequences affect those who are distant from the scene of its occurrence. H.

Instead of *waqa'it*, H. has وَقَعَتْ, and instead of *maidani* مَائِدَةٍ, but says that مَيْدَنَةٍ and مَيْدَنَةٍ are used.—{rāṭiṣ is pl. of طَرَطَشَةٌ 'a splash,' from طَرَطَشَ 'sprinkle, splash,' Dozy. Cf. Landberg, p. 88. Cf. Bt. 720.

كثير المسأله وقلل الدوران

134. *kettir il-mes'āli u qallil id-dawarān.*

'Ask many questions, but search little.'

If, for example, you are looking for something that you have lost, ask as many questions as you can, and go about but little; you will save yourself trouble and will accomplish just as much. H.

For *dawarān* H. has دَوْرَان. Elsewhere Nāṣir has written الدوران, instead of التفتيش.

مثل المصاري جوابه تحت باطه

135. *miṭl il-mṣaricī jawabu taht bātu.*

'Like the Egyptians, his answer is under his arm (ready for immediate use).'

Used of one quick in answering.

In my notes I have written *tahat*, instead of *taht*. I also have in my notes the following: *il-miṣrī j'wæbu bitimmu wil-halabī j'wæbu bi-kimmu wiš-šamī j'wæbu 'ind immu* 'the Egyptian's answer is in his mouth, the Aleppine's in his sleeve, and the Damascene's in his mother's keeping.'

ان صَحَّ المنام اخذنا المرا والحيوان وان ما صَحَّ المنام  
كله كلام بكلام

136. *inn ṣaḥḥ il-māncem aḥadna il-mara wil-ḥūwæn winn mā ṣaḥḥ il-māncem kullu kälæm bkälæm.*

'If the dream turn out true, we have gained the woman and the animal, and if the dream do not turn out true, it's all mere words (no harm is done).'

According to H. the origin of this is that a fellah and his wife went to the city on a donkey, and they saw on the road a blind man. They took pity on him, and the fellah, dismounting, let the blind man ride in front of his wife. When they reached the city, the fellah said to the blind man: "Dismount, my brother, for we have reached the city." But the blind man replied: "Go about your business, man, the donkey is my donkey and the woman is my wife. When we want to we shall go on foot (and not before)." Thereupon the fellah began to cry out, and the people began to revile him, because, seeing the woman and the blind man on the donkey, they supposed he was wronging the blind man. So the fellah went to the court and complained of the blind man, and the bailiff (شُرَطيُّ) brought the blind man, the woman, and the donkey. The cadi asked the woman: "Whose wife are you?" She replied: "The fellah's." "To whom does the donkey belong?" "To my husband." Then the blind man spoke up and said: "Do not believe her, my lord. She said that in order to get rid of me, because I am blind and poor, and in order to take this man, who can see, and is able to work or scheme for his support in some way, as he has just now done with me." The cadi said to the bailiff: "Take the blind man to such and such a room and return quickly." He did so, and the cadi said to him: "Return where the blind man is,

without his perceiving it, hear what he says, and come back and tell me." He did as the cadi commanded, and heard the blind man say *inn šahh*, etc. He informed the cadi, who gave the fellah his wife and his donkey, sent him away, and dismissed the blind man with a sound scolding.

*kālæm bkālæm* = 'mere words, without any damage from them,' because he believed the cadi would not punish him for such a small matter, as he would a man with good eyesight. H.

Used of the schemer who does not fear the consequences if his scheme is found out. H.

### الكلمة اللي ما بتنقد يا دل قايلها

137. *il-kilmît illî mâ blinfud yâ dill qâyîlha*.

'Alas for the speaker of the word (or command) which produces no effect!'

Cf. the following from my notes: *as'ad iyyæmâk nfûd kâlæmâk* 'the happiest of thy days are the days when thy words produce the effect thou wishest.'

Cf. Berg. under *parole*.

### لا تأمن دهرک تا تنزل قبرک

138. *lâ t'âmmîn dahrâk tâ tinzal qabrâk*.

'Do not trust your lot till you go down to your grave.'

Do not think you will be out of danger of misfortunes till you die.

*t'ammîn* for تَتَأَمِّنْ؟

### کل بلاد ولها زې وکل سجره ولها فې

139. *kull blâd u leha zai u kull sâjâra u leha fai*.

'Every country has its own customs, and every tree has its own shade.'

زې, vulgar زَي, 'mode, taste, costume, usage': cf. Dozy and Cuche,

s. v.

Cf. Berg. under *mœurs*.



طلع الليل عا قد الحرامي

140. *ṭili' il-lail 'u qadd il-ḥarāmī.*

'The night has turned out to suit the thief.'

If a man goes to a store, for example, and says to the merchant: "I want twenty yards of blue silk," the latter, taking down the only piece he has, and finding that it measures just twenty yards, uses this proverb, meaning that he happens to have exactly what the customer wants, no more, no less.

لا تسكن الا مطرح ما بتتزاخم الاقدام

141. *lā tiskun illa maṭraḥ mā btitzāḥm il-aqdām.*

'Dwell only in the place where feet tread against each other.'

That is, dwell only in large centers, for there there is more business.

*tiq'ud* and *t'is* are variants of *tiskun*.

ها اللي بياكل ها الاكلات بيموت ها الموتات

142. *hālī byækul hāl-āklæt bīmūt hāl-mawtæt.*

'He who eats these kinds of food must die these kinds of death.'

This proverb is used if, for example, a man does what he ought not to do and falls into trouble. He who dances must pay the piper.

ما في ولا حورة وصلت لعند ربها

143. *mā fi u lā ḥaura wuṣlit l'ind rabbha.*

'There is not a poplar which has reached its Lord.'

No matter how high poplar trees may grow, no one of them has ever reached the sky. This is said of proud persons.

Nöldeke quotes: "Es ist dafür gesorgt dass die Bäume nicht in den Himmel wachsen."

Cf. Landberg, p. 263; Berg. under *jamais*.

ما يعرف كوعه من بوعه

144. *mā bya'rif kā'u min bū'u.*

'He does not know his elbow from his wrist.'

Cf. Soc. 681 (ZDMG. xxxvii. 209), where قُوع (Nöldeke says that this word is probably wrong) occurs, and is rendered كعب الرجل.

Cf. the next proverb; also the following from my notes: *mā bya'rif tilt it-tlæti qaddaiš* 'he doesn't know how much a third of three is.' Also: *ṭaltamīs mā bya'rif ij-jum'a mūl ḥamīs* 'a dolt not knowing Friday from Thursday.'

Cf. No. 213.

ما يعرف الطمس من الخمس

145. *mā bya'rif it-ṭams min il-ḥams.*

'He does not know B from a broomstick.'

H. gives *ḥums* and *ṭums*, *ḥums* meaning 'a fifth,' and *ṭums* being regarded by him as a word manufactured to sound something like *ḥums*. This is probably the correct view. There is, however, a verb طمس, with an infinitive طَمَسَ 'be effaced, disappear,' used vulgarly in the sense of 'sink into the water': cf. Cuhe and Dozy, s. v. In my notes I find a suggestion (made by Ghuşn, I believe) that this *ḥams* is a corruption from the original form *ghams*.

Cf. *mā bya'rif il-ālif min il-maidni* 'he does not know an elif from a minaret.'

Cf. Spitta, 204; Fr. ii. p. 580, No. 612; p. 581, No. 614; p. 596, No. 18; p. 605, No. 49; p. 636, Nos. 155-6; p. 669, No. 284.

كل عرس وله قرص

146. *kull 'urs u ilu qurş.*

'Every wedding has a cake.'

This proverb is used to declare that there is no banquet or joyful gathering, or the like, without something to disturb the general satisfaction.

*qurş* is 'a round loaf,' H.: 'a round cake of bread,' Lane.

In my notes I have also the following version: *mā bīṣir 'urs bela qurş u lā 'aza bela ka'ki* 'there is no wedding without a round loaf, and no funeral without a cake.'

مثل الجوز ما بيتاكل غير كسر

147. *mittl ij-jawuz mā byittækāl ghair kās.*

‘Like the walnut, he cannot be eaten without being cracked.’

Said of a miser. Money cannot be gotten from him except by force.

Instead of *kās* alone ‘*al-kās*’ is also used.

مثل الغرير ما يبسم الا عا القتل

148. *mittl il-ghrair mā byismān illa ‘al-qatl.*

‘Like the badger, he gets fat only on blows.’

The common people suppose that the badger fattens on blows ; and so this proverb is used of one whose health is good, although he receives many blows, or is in sorrow on account of calamities. H.

*il-ghrair* = التُّفَّة or التُّفَّة or Eng. *badger*. H.

انت قتل وانا بلقا وايش بيعمل القتل مع ها اللي عينها بلقا

149. *int qtāl u ānā bilqa u aiš bya‘mil il-qatl mā‘ hallī ‘ainha belqa ?*

‘You beat and I will bear ; and what effect does beating have with a shameless woman ?’

Used of one who will not turn from the error of his ways or reform, although you give him the severest reproof or the severest beating. H.

*ma‘ hallī ‘ainha belqa*, literally ‘with her whose eye is black and white.’ العين البلقاء means ‘impudence’: cf. Dozy. H. says the reason for this is that the impudent person stares and does not cast down his glance, so that, whenever you look at his face, you see the black and the white of his eyes, while the modest person, on the other hand, casts down his eyes.

## ها اللي ما لوش ما بيرحلوش

150. *hälli mā lūš mā birehlūš.*

‘He who has nothing loses nothing.’

*birehlūš* = *bīrālū lu š*; *byirhalūš* is also used.

## متل حبة العدس ما بينعرف له بطن من ظهر

151. *mitl ḥabbt il-‘adis mā byin-‘arīf lu baṭn min ḍahr.*

‘Like a grain of lentils, his belly can not be told from his back.’

Used of a changeable, tricky person, of whom we say “you never know where to find him”; one on whose promises no reliance can be put.

Cf. Soc. ZDMG. xxxvii. 221, No. 790.

## هيي الفلوس قبل العروس

152. *haiyyi ‘l-flūs qabl il-‘arūs.*

‘Prepare the money before the bride.’

Before you get your bride, see that you have money enough to pay her dowry and the other wedding expenses. So, in general, make all necessary preparations before engaging in any enterprise.

## رزق الكسيس لبليس

153. *rizq il-ḥasīs lāblīs.*

‘The miser’s money belongs to the devil.’

*lāblīs* = *lā Iblīs*.

Cf. Soc. 229.

## الاصل الاصل

154. *il-aṣl il-aṣl.*

‘The main thing is the pedigree.’

Used of the importance of paying attention to the race or lineage. H.

H. says the first *aṣl* means عُمْدَة and the second النسب والحسب.

زوجت بنتي لإخلص من بلاها اجاتني واربعه من وراها

155. *zauwójt bintī laḥlas min bālæha ijitnī u arb'a min waráha.*

'I married off my daughter to get rid of the trouble of her; she came to me with four behind her.'

Said of one who takes measures to better his condition but only makes it worse.

Cf. Mustāṭraf, p. 44, ll. 10-8 from the bottom; Soc. 98-95.

ادار الهدار فيه الزلازل والامطار فيه سبع تلجات كبار  
من عدا الزغار

156. *adār il-hāddār fih iz-zālæzil wil-amṭār fih seb' teljæt kbār min 'ada 'z-zghār.*

'March is the blusterer. In it are earthquakes and rains; in it are seven great snow-storms besides the small ones.'

بيادار طيليع بقراتك للدار

157. *bī ādār ṭaili' baqarātāk lid-dār.*

'In March drive your cows out into the court.'

Notice how Nāṣir has written the Arabic.

لا تستعجب الثلج بينيسان ياما شلناه عن الكدسان

158. *lā tista'jib il-tälj bī nīṣæn yæmā šilnæh 'an il-kitsæn.*

'Do not be surprised at snow in April. How many times we have removed it from the threshing-floors!'

البيادار = الكداس, i. e. H. Nöldeke says this is more accurately 'heaps of sheaves,' or 'heaps of the yet unthreshed grain.'



## البدك منه بده منك

159. *il-beddāk minnu beddu minnāk.*

‘He from whom you wish something wishes something from you.’

H. compares this with No. 279.

Cf. for meaning Landberg, 73.

## فالج لا تعالج

160. *fælij lā ‘ālīj.*

‘Don’t try to cure a paralytic.’

He cannot be cured, and your efforts will be vain. Do not waste your strength in trying to cure what cannot be cured, or in trying to do what cannot be done. H.

On *fælij* cf. Dozy, s. v.

Cf. Soc. 545; Berg. under *apoplexie*.

## كمل النقل بالزعرور

161. *kimil in-nuql biz-za‘rār.*

‘Now that the *zarour* has come, the dessert is complete’ (literally, the dessert is complete with the *zarour*).

Said jokingly to an intimate who comes and finds all his friends or a number of them gathered together. H.

H. says this proverb is like No. 21, and to show the use of the two proverbs says: “I happened to be at the house of one of my friends, and a number of our friends came in. We remembered one who was not with us, so one of us wrote to him saying: *القدر ناقصة بأذنجانة*,

and will you be it (فهذه لك ان تكون إياها)? As soon as the letter reached him, he came quickly, and when he entered we said *كمل النقل بالزعرور*, and we all laughed.”

Cf. Bt. 627, where the *zarour* is described.

## الف دعوي ما خزقت قميص

162. *alf da‘wi mā ḥazaqit qamīs.*

‘A thousand curses never tore anyone’s shirt.’



Instead of *hazaqit* H. has *hazzaqit*.—Notice that Nāṣir has written *da'wi*.—In my notes I have also the following addition : *u ālf ghinnīyyi mā jauwūwazit* 'aris 'and a thousand songs never married a bridegroom.' Compare also the following from my notes : *lau kēnit id-da'wi bitjāz mā kēnit biṭhallī lā ṣabīyyi u lā 'ajūz* 'if cursing were allowed full swing, it would leave neither girl nor old woman alive.'

\* Cf. Burton. 18 : also, for meaning, Soc. 32-3.

الف عين تبكي ولا عيني تدمع

163. *ālf 'ain tibki u lā 'aini tidma* '.

'Let a thousand eyes weep, provided mine shed not a tear.'  
(Literally, and let not mine shed tears.)

Used of indifference to others' sorrows provided one escape them one's self. H.

Cf. Berg. under *pleurer* ; Fr. iii. 83 ; Bt. 2 ; Mustaṭraf, p. 42, l. 20 ; Soc. ZDMG. xxxvii. 200, No. 605 ; Nofal, p. 528.

ان حبتني حماتي عا التنور وان بغضتني عا التنور

164. *inn ḥabbītnī ḥamātī 'at-tennār winn baḡḥadītnī 'at-tennār*.

'If my mother-in-law loves me, (I must sleep) on the *tennār*, and if she hates me, (I must sleep) on the *tennār*.'

According to H. the origin of this is as follows : A man became poor, sold his house and lived in the house of his mother-in-law. Now she had but a small house which would only hold two beds, so she used to let her daughter sleep with her, while her son-in-law slept on the *tennār*. So the people used to say to him : "don't vex your mother-in-law and she will love you," and he would reply : *inn ḥabbītnī*, etc. That is, if she loves me, I sleep on the *tennār*, and if she hates me, I do the same. That is, she can neither benefit nor injure me at all, so her hating me and her loving me are equally without effect.

The proverb is used of one who does not injure when he hates or benefit when he loves. H.

Cf. for meaning Soc. ZDMG. xxxvii. 218, No. 768.

ان راحت بغني وان اجات بغني

165. *inn rāhit bghannī winn ijit bghannī.*

‘If she goes I sing, and if she comes I sing.’

H. says the origin of this saying was that a certain person was singing, although his step-mother’s she-ass had been lost and could not be found, and some one said to him : “Are you singing while your step-mother’s she-ass has not been found?” He replied : *inn rāhit*, etc.

Used of something the existence of which or the lack of which is a matter of indifference.

This like the saying : *mitl illī* (or *il*) *mādiyyi* ‘*jāhīt hāltu inn laqāha bighannī winn mā laqāha bighannī*. H. (This saying is also found in my collection.) *hāltu* here means ‘his step-mother,’ خالة being used in this sense, as well as in the sense of ‘mother’s sister,’ in the common language. H.

بيع الدنيا بالآخره بتربح

166. *bī id-dini bil-āḥiri btirbah.*

‘Sell this world for the next ; you will gain.’

Cf. Ali, p. 65 ; p. 69, No. 64 ; p. 77, No. 148.

جبل عا جبل ما بيلتقى لكن انسان عا انسان بيلتقى

167. *jebīl ‘a jebīl mā byiltāqa lakin insān ‘a insān byiltāqa.*

‘Mountain never meets mountain, but man meets man.’

That is, mountains never move, while men go often from place to place, and are sometimes in straits among strangers. Now every one should assist the stranger, for perhaps he may become rich, return to his own country, and some day help those who helped him, in case they come to his country and need his assistance. H.

H. has *byiltiqi*, but says *byiltāqa* is also used.

Cf. Soc. 87.

خد الاصيله ولو كانت عا الحصريه

168. *ḥod il-aṣīli u lau kænīt ‘al-ḥaṣīri.*

‘Marry the girl of good family, though she be seated on a mat.’

That is, though she be so poor that her father's house is spread only with mats. H.

H. writes خُودٌ and لُوْ.

Cf. Berg. under *noble*; Burton, 108; Fr. iii. 1231.

عَوْدَ كَلْبٍ وَلَا تَعَوَّدَ بَنِي آدَمَ

169. 'auwid kâlb u lâ t'auwid bini *Ædim*.

'Accustom a dog to your kindness, but don't accustom a man to it.' (The dog will be grateful, the man will not. H.)

This proverb is used of the faithlessness of man, and of his ingratitude for favor and kindness. H.

On *bini Ædām*, *Ædim*, cf. No. 2.

Cf. Kall. 298; Mustāṭraf, p. 46, l. 11.

رَفِيقِي عَا الطَّاحُونِ زَحْمَةً

170. *rafiqī 'at-tāhūn zahmi*.

'Even my companion to the mill makes too much of a crowd.'

That is, when I go to mill, I would rather be alone, even one companion interfering somewhat with me. (Men in the same pursuit are liable to interfere with one another. H.)

H. compares with this the proverb

شَهِادٌ لَا يَحِبُّ صَاحِبَ كَشْكُولٍ

or, as I have it in my notes, *ṣaḥḥād mā biḥibb ṣāḥib miḥlīyī* (same as in Kall. 207).

Cf. also Bt. 238, 419.

زَوَانُ بِلَادِنَا وَلَا قَمْحُ الصَّلِيبِي

171. *zawæn blādna u lâ qamḥ is-ṣalībī*.

'The tares of our country are better than the wheat of?'

According to H. the meaning is that what you know, have tried, and become accustomed to, is better for you than something superior which you are not acquainted with, because you can make the most of whatever advantages it offers and guard against its defects. It is like their saying

النَّحْسِ الَّتِي بَتَّعَرَفُ أَحْسَنُ مِنْ أَلْسَعِدِ الَّتِي بَتَّتَعَرَفُ فَبَةُ

'Ill luck which you know is better than good luck which you get acquainted with.'

It is generally used to express a preference for a bride, companion, partner, or servant from one's own home.

H. gives also the following version : زوان بلدك ولا قمح الغريب .

On *zawæn* cf. P. Ascherson, Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Band 18, Heft 3, pp. 152 ff.

Cf. Berg. under *avoine* ; Soc. 498 ; Vassalli, 338.

صَمِ وَصَلِّي بِتَرْكَبِكَ الْقَلَّةَ

172. *ṣām u ṣallī btirkābāk il-qilli.*

'Fast and pray—want will come upon you' (literally, will ride you).

Notice that Nāṣir has written *ṣum*.

Cf. Fr. iii. 1719-20.

سَاقِيَه مَا بَتْعَكِرْ بَحْرَ

173. *sæqyi mā bit'akkir bahr.*

'A brook can not make the sea turbid.'

Used of the wise, well-balanced man whom a fool treats badly. It may be used of the intelligent man to whom some slight disagreeable thing happens. Again, it may be used to express admiration for the fortitude of one on whom a severe calamity has fallen. H.

Instead of *sæqyi* سَاقِيَه and سَاقِي are used. H.—*bit'aukir* is a variant of *bit'akkir*.

Cf. Fr. iii. 512.

الغَايِبُ عَذْرُهُ مَعَهُ

174. *il-ghāyib 'idhru ma'u.*

'The absent person has his excuse with him.'

That is, do not blame an absent person for his slowness or for the length of his absence till he returns, for perhaps he has a sufficient excuse, which can not be known till he comes back. H.

Instead of 'idhru *hijtu* (حُجَّتْ) is used.

Cf. Tant. p. 114; Mustatraf, p. 85, ll. 4, 16, also 4 from the bottom; Kall. 331; Scaliger, pp. 70-1, Nos. 8-12 inclusive; Nofal, p. 530.

عذر اقبح من ذنب

175. 'udhr aqbaḥ min dhenb.

'An excuse viler than the original fault.'

It appears that this proverb dates from the time of Harūn er-Rašīd, and its origin was as follows: Harūn er-Rašīd said to Abu Nawās: "I want you to make me an excuse viler than a fault." So after a time Abu Nawās approached the Caliph and pinched him. Thereupon Harūn er-Rašīd turned upon him angrily, and Abu Nawās said: "Pardon me, my lord, I thought it was my lady the queen." Er-Rašīd said: "This is an excuse viler than the fault itself." He replied: "This was what my lord the king wanted," whereupon the Caliph laughed heartily. H.

Cf. Tant. p. 114; Fr. iii. 1968; Soc. 381.

كل جيل مع جيله يلعب

176. kull jīl ma' jīlu yil'ab.

'Every generation plays with its own generation.'

Cf. Fr. iii. 440-1.

ما عندي كبير الا الجمل

177. mā 'indī k'bīr illa 'j-jemil.

'I deem nothing great except the camel.'

Used of one who does not honor and respect those greater than himself, so that it seems as if he saw greatness only in the possessor of a great body, such as the camel. H.

Instead of 'indī H. has 'indu.

Cf. Berg. under *grand*; Soc. ZDMG. xxxvii. 203, No. 629.

الله يساعد اللي ما له ضافير تحك له

178. Allah y'saw'id illī mā lu dāfir ṭhakkillu.

‘God help him who has no nails to scratch himself with.’

Said of the weak person who has no helper. H.

*dāfir* = أَطَافِير — Instead of *ṭhakkillu* H. has تَحْكُ لَّهُ.

Cf. Fr. ii. p. 602, No. 39; Fr. iii. 237; Landberg, 106; Mustāṭraf, p. 35; Soc. 114; Sp. 181; Scaliger, p. 28, No. 26; Kall. 467; Lane under حَك; Durra, 60.

### هي ليلة يا مكاري

179. *hi lēli yā mkærī*.

‘It’s only for one night, O muleteer.’ (Literally, it is a night, O muleteer.)

The *mukærī* is the man who lets animals for hire, and who usually goes with his animals to attend to them. He generally remains only one night in a place, so that, however badly off he may be there, he consoles himself with the words *hi lēli*, etc. That is, it is only for one night, which will pass away quickly, and its discomfort will pass away with it. H.

Used of the adversity which afflicts a man only a short time. H.

### بينتفش مثل ديك الكباش

180. *byintīfīš mitl dik il-ḥabiš*.

‘He swells up like a turkey-cock.’

Said of one who shows marks of pride in his conversation and in his movements. H.

نَفَش = ‘ruffle’ or ‘shake’ (feathers, said of a bird), Lane. In the common language form i. means ‘swell in water’ (as a pea, for example); form viii., ‘ruffle up, be swollen:’ cf. Cuche, and Landberg, Glossaire, s. v.

H. says the children often sing the following words to the child who “puts on airs:”

يَا دِيكَ وَأَنْفَشُ قَنْبَرَتَكَ يَا دِيكَ وَالْجَاحِ مَرَّتَكَ

‘O cock, bristle up your comb; O cock, the hen is your wife.’

القرعا بتفتخر بشعر بنت خالتها

181. *il-qar'a btiftiḥir bṣa'r bint ḥālitha.*

'The scald-headed woman glories in the hair of her aunt's daughter.'

Cf. Sp. 270; Tant. p. 115; Soc. 280; Burton, 8; Mustatraf, p. 48, l. 15; Fr. ii. p. 404, No. 328; Bt. 570.

من جرب المجرب كان عقله مكرب

182. *min jarrab il-mjarrab kæn 'aqlu mḥarrab.*

'He who tries what has already been tried is crack-brained.'

Cf. Burton, 106; Fr. ii. p. 730, No. 518; Fr. iii. 892.

زاد واحد بيقرى تنين

183. *zæd wæḥid byiqri tnain.*

'Food for one will keep two.'

Cf. the following from my notes: *zæd il-mâ yiqri tnain wæḥid aula fih* 'the food which will not keep two is more suitable for one.'

Cf. Fr. iii. 1284; Ali, p. 89, No. 18; Berg. under *un*.

الصنعة سواره بالأيدي

184. *iṣ-ṣan'a swāra bil-îd.*

'A trade is a bracelet in the hand.'

Cf. No. 28.

ليوم الله بيعين الله

185. *l-yaum Allah bi'in Allah.*

'In God's day God will help.'

Do not trouble yourself about what is still far in the future.  
"Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

Cf. Fr. iii. 842; Burton, 163; Soc. 513; Bt. 298; Kall. 320, 545.



## الحيط الواطي بتركبه كل الناس

186. *il-haiṭ il-wāṭī btirkābu kull in-naēs.*

‘A low wall is mounted by everybody.’

This proverb is used of a weak person whom everyone oppresses and treats unjustly. H.

Instead of *btirkabu kull in-naēs*, *kull in-naēs btirkabu* is used, also  
 كل الناس بَتَفْشَح عَلِيَّة *‘everybody treads on it.’* H.—Another  
 variant is *kull in-naēs biṭṭṭḥu*.

Cf. Berg. under *mur* ; Sp. 45 ; Soc. 465.

## الك عنب يما تقتل الناطور

187. *ilāk ‘inīb yāmma tiqtul in-nātūr?*

‘Have you grapes, or will you kill the watchman?’

Used of one who is promised or guaranteed something, and begins to ask all kinds of questions, and to concern himself with what he has no right to concern himself about. For example: X. wanted to hire a house and had not found one to let, so one of his friends said to him: “I will look for a fine house for you and will let you know when I find one.” He said: “How will you look for it when you are busy in your trade, and whom will you charge with this matter? etc., etc.” He replied: *ilāk ‘inīb*, etc. H. As we say in colloquial English: “that is my lookout.”

*yāmma* = يَا إِمَّا.

Cf. Soc. 163 ; Fr. iii. 1236.

## من مدح نفسه ذمته الناس

188. *min mādah neṣṣu dhemmtu ‘n-naēs.*

‘Whoever praises himself, him other people blame.’

Notice that *naēs* is here of the feminine gender (Nöldeke).  
 Cf. Fr. iii. 514.

الليل طويل والرب كريم

189. *il-lail ṭawīl wir-rabb. kārīm.*

‘The night is long and the Lord is generous.’

He will freely give His aid.

اعقل من البرغوث بالإذن

190. *a‘qal min il-berghāt bil-idn.*

‘More cunning than a flea in the ear.’

Instead of *idn*, *dæn* and *daini* are used.

مثل خيل العسكر اكل ومرعى وقلة صنعة

191. *mitl ḥail il-‘askar ākl u mar‘a u qillit ṣan‘a.*

‘Like the army horses, (with) fodder and pasturage and little to do.’

Used of one who, living at his ease, does not tire himself with work, and of one who lives at another’s expense without being of much use to him. H.

Like Proverb 28.

*mes‘a* is a variant for *ṣan‘a*.

النزول اهيّن من الطلوع

192. *in-nzūl āhyān mnit-ṭlā‘.*

‘It is easier to go down hill than up.’

*s‘ād* is a variant of *ṭlā‘*.

من بعد ما كان سيدها صار يطبل بيعرسها

193. *min ba‘d ma kān sīdha ṣār yṭabbil b‘irsha.*

‘After having been her husband, he beat a drum at her wedding.’

Said of one who becomes reduced after having been powerful, or poor after having been rich.

H. thinks this proverb must have originated in Damascus, or in some of the neighboring villages whose speech is like that of Damascus, because there the women always call their husbands **أسياد**, and a woman speaking of her husband says **سيدى**.

Cf. Fr. iii. 2150, 2792; *Mustaṭraf*, p. 48, l. 6.

الله يبعث لك مثل ما بعث للطبل بالنهار خبيط وبالليل  
تعليق

194. *Allah yib'āt-lāk mīl ma ba'at liṭ-ṭabl bin-nhār ḥabīṭ u bil-lēl tu'liq.*

'May God send you what he sent the drum, beating by day and hanging up by night.'

Cf. Fr. ii. p. 166, No. 280.

ستي بتمرح وانا بفرح

195. *sittā btimrah u āna bifrah.*

'My mistress is gay and I am glad.'

The reply of a maid-servant who was asked how she got along in the house of her mistress.

Used of one who is excessively gay, and who does what he wishes, because those who are over him, busied in their own pleasures and joys, have their attention called away from him; or it is used to remove the blame from such a one and to cast it on those who are over him. H.

H. quotes the following :

إذا كان رب البيت بالطبل ضاربا  
(Mustaṭraf, p. 37, l. 5.)  
فَلَا تَلُمُ الصَّبِيَّانِ فِيهِ عَلَى الرِّقْصِ

'If the master of the house is beating the drum, don't blame the boys in the house for dancing.'

*marah* means 'rejoice overmuch' (Lane), 'rejoice extravagantly, be intoxicated with joy.'

كل شي واله وقت

196. *kull šī u ilu waqt.*

'Everything has its proper time.'

كل ممنوع حلو

197. *kull memnū' ḥilū.*

‘Whatever is forbidden is sweet.’

*maṭlūb*, *maḥbūb* and *mārghūb* are variants of *ḥilū*.

Cf. Fr. ii. p. 390, No. 248; Bt. 557.

الما بده يعطي بنته بيجلي نقدھا

198. *il-ma beddu ya'tī bintu biḡhallī naqdha.*

‘He who does not wish to give his daughter in marriage increases her dowry.’

Cf. Burton, 136.

المليم لربه تسيم والردي بلاش غالي

199. *il-mlīḥ l'rabbu tesbīḥ wir-redī bālæš ḡālī.*

‘What is of good quality is (a cause of) praise to its Lord, and what is of poor quality is dear even if it costs nothing.’

Cf. Vassalli, 751; Sand. 101.

اجاوا الملايكة راحوا الشياطين

200. *ijū 'l-mlæyiki rāḥū 'š-šayātīn.*

‘When the angels came, the devils went away.’

Compare the following from my notes: *aiš ma rāḥ min iš-šiyāṭīn biḡiṭf* ‘*al-mlæyiki* ‘the more of the devils go away, the easier it becomes for the angels (?).’—*ḡaḡaru* is a variant for *ijū*, and *inṭaradu* for *rāḥu*.

Cf. Bt. 23.

اعور لا تفاكر واقرع لا تجاكر

201. *a'wār lā tfækir u aqra' lā tjækir.*

‘Do not dispute with a one-eyed man, or quarrel with a man with a scald-head.’

According to H. the common people think that the one-eyed man is much given to discussion, and that he persists against the manifest truth, not yielding his position however many convincing arguments

are brought against it. They think that the man with a scald-head is passionately fond of quarreling, and that he will not leave his adversary till he has roused him to burning anger.

According to H. تناظر او تجادل = تفاكر

تواغر اي تغاضب = تجاكر  
Cf. Soc. 560.

قال له قنطار مسك بدقنك قال له كترته مش خير

202. *qallu qantâr misk bdaqnâk qallu kitrtu muš t'ḥair.*

'He said to him : There is a *kantâr* of musk in your beard. He replied : Its abundance is no advantage.'

This is used of one who promises what he cannot perform, whence it is inferred that he is lying, and is like the saying 'من كبر الحجر ما يرمي به' 'he who increases the size of the stone does not throw it.' H.

اكل الرجال على قد افعالها

203. *âkl ir-rjæl 'ala qadd âf'âlha.*

'Men's eating should be proportional to their achievements.'

مكتوب علي باب الجنة ما عمر حما بتحب كته

204. *mektûb 'ala bâb ij-Jinni mâ 'umr ḥama biṭḥabb kinni.*

'It is written on the door of Paradise : Never does a mother-in-law love a daughter-in-law.'

Cf. Landberg, p. 87 ; Soc. 237.

لا تعامل النكس على عمله

205. *lâ t'âmil in-naḥs 'ala 'amahu.*

'Do not treat the unlucky man as he treats you.'

The meaning is : Do not punish the unlucky man for his evil doing. He harmed you just because he was so unlucky, and he

injured himself thereby ; so do not increase his ill luck by taking vengeance on him. He is an enemy to himself. H.

Used to ward off the vengeance and appease the anger of one who wishes to take vengeance on a wretch (الشقي). H.

### اللي بيسكن القرايا بده يحتمل البلايا

206. *illī byiskun il-qarāya beddu yihtmil il-bālāya.*

‘Whoever lives in villages must endure afflictions.’

Used of the discomforts of village life.

Compare the following taken from my notes: *winn jār ‘alaik iz-zamān la tiskun illa ‘l-mudn* ‘and if fortune is unjust to thee, live only in cities.’ It is said that this is sung, but it is also used as a proverb. Also *skūn il-mudn u lū jārīt* ‘live in cities even if they oppress you.’

Cf. Fr. iii. 181 ; Kall. 200.

### دورة المستحيه من عا بكرة لعشيه

207. *daurit il-mistḥīyyi min ‘a bukra li ‘aṣḥīyyi.*

‘The modest woman’s walk lasts from morning to evening.’

The modest woman rarely goes out or meets anyone, and, when she does get the opportunity to go out, she is as delighted with the various sights as if she were a stranger ; and she spends a long time in looking at them, and in chatting with those of her intimate woman friends whom she meets, so that the length of her absence from the house has become proverbial. H.

Used of one who goes for a walk, a call, or anything of the kind which usually takes only a short time, and is absent a long time. H.

Instead of *daurit* H. has *دُورَةُ الْمُسْتَحِيَّةِ*, and says many use *حَيَّة = مستحيه* — غيبة المستحية H.

### القط بياكل عشاء

208. *il-qutt byækul ‘aṣāh.*

‘The cat eats his supper.’

Said of a dupe.

H. says that **قط** is pronounced in the three ways **قَطْ**.

Cf. *ij-jæji btækul ghadaḥ* 'the hen eats his dinner.'

## اللي عنده فلفل بيرش عا التليع

209. *illī 'indu filful bīrišš 'at-tillai'.*

'He who has pepper sprinkles the clods with it.'

Used of the rich spendthrift. H.

Instead of *tillai* H. has **الخُبَيْرَة** 'mallows,' and says some use instead of *filful* **بهار** 'spice, pepper': cf. Cuhe, Hartmann.—*tillai* = **قَرَامِص** and **قُرَيْص**, for which see Muḥīt and Dozy, s. v. Cf. **تَلَاع**, 'nettle,' Cuhe, s. v.; also *nḥāli*, *nḥaili*, No. 217.—In my notes a second part of the proverb is given: viz., *uillī 'indu bhār bīrišš 'al-biṣār* (doubtless a mistake for *biṣār*: cf. infra) 'and he who has spice sprinkles the *biṣār* with it.'—For *biṣār* cf. Landberg, p. 79, and Dozy, under **بيصر**.

Cf. Kall. 418; Vassalli, 568; Sand. 83; also, for meaning, Sp. 81; Fr. ii. p. 740, No. 592.

## بعد حماري ما ينبت حشيش

210. *ba'd ḥmārī ma yinbut ḥašīš.*

'May no grass grow after my donkey is gone.'

That is, I need grass only so long as my donkey is alive or in my possession. H.

Said by one who does not concern himself about others' interests after his own interests have ceased to be concerned. This is its original meaning, but some of the common people have given it a wider application, and have begun to use it of one who attains his own wish, or strives to attain it, without troubling himself about others' wishes. H.

Instead of **ما** H. has **لا**.

ما بتعرف خيرة تا تجرب غيره

211. *ma bla'rif hairu tā tjerrib ghairu.*

'You will not know his (its) excellence till you try some one (something) else.'

Instead of *hairu, ghairu*, H. has *خَيْرُهُ غَيْرُهُ*.

Cf. Berg. under *hanter*; Soc. 4; also Mustafraf. p. 38, l. 2 *ab imo*; p. 39, l. 16.

إذا حلق جارك بل انت

212. *iza halaq jārāk bill int.*

'If your neighbor shaves, moisten your face.' (That is, prepare to be shaved in your turn.)

Used of a general calamity which afflicts people one after another. The proverb originated from the fact that at the barber's each one is shaved in his turn. H.

H. writes *بَلْ أَنْتَ*.

Cf. Berg. under *savonner*; Fr. iii. 668; Bt. 10.

ما بيعرف التيمح من البطيمح

213. *mā bya'rif it-tiḥ min il-baṭṭiḥ.*

'He doesn't know W from a watermelon.'

"*طيمح* is a word imitative of the sound of laughter," Lane.

*قالوا طيمح طيمح* 'they uttered a reiterated laughing,' Lane. But, as

H. says, the word was probably chosen here with reference, not to its meaning, but to its sound, as it rhymes with *baṭṭiḥ*. Instead of *tiḥ* some say *tiḥ*. H. Notice that Nāṣir has written *tiḥ*.

Cf. Nos. 198-9.

لحم تعلق

214. *lahm ta'lab.*

'Middling.' (Literally, 'fox's meat.')



This is said in answer to an inquiry after one's health, and means 'not very well and not very ill.'

جهدك ما تركد وتكوش غير رزقك ما بتكوش

215. *jahdāk mā tirkud witrkūš ghair rizqak mā biṭhūš.*

'However much you may run, and however eager you may be, you will only gain what has been predestined for you.' H.

طمع كثيرًا في خيراتها = فلان كاش على الدنيا H. طمع = كاش

'was very eager for its pleasures.' Some use كاش in the sense of

أولع وانهمك, 'be enamored with, and wholly given up to,' and some

use it in the sense of جمع 'collect.' H. Cf. Muḥṭṭ and Dozy, s. v.

According to Dozy the word is of Persian origin. Cuhe renders كاش by 'avoir beaucoup d'activité dans (ses affaires).'

—Instead of tkūš and ṭhūš some say تَكُوش and تَحُوش H.—In this proverb

Nāṣir has written ركض; elsewhere he has written it correctly ركض.

—In my notes I have the following: *is-s'adi muš bir-rakḍ* 'happiness is not to be obtained by running.'

Cf. Soc. 424; Sp. 20; Kall. 14.

كل شي عا بابه بيشابه صاحبه لاجرم عود الحطب

بيشابه الجابه

216. *kull šī 'a baebu biš'ebih ṣḥābu f'jurm 'ad-il-ḥaṭab biš'ebih ij-j'ebu.*

'Everything after its kind resembles its owners; even the stick of fire-wood resembles the one who brought it.'

What a man chooses and possesses gives an indication of his intellectual range and of his real condition, for the intelligent and the learned choose what is beautiful, while the ignorant and simple choose what is ugly, and so on. H.

The proverb is used mostly of the fool whose folly is indicated by what he chooses and inclines to. H.

H. writes جَرَمَ (as Nāṣir does in another place) = حَتَّى. Its origin is لا جَرَمَ, which is like لا جَرَمَ, the more widely known form.

Cf. Sp. 274; Berg. under *ressembler*; Burton, 53; Tant. p. 127; Kall. 376; Fr. ii. p. 735, No. 553; Mustaṭraf, p. 46, l. 12.

### علينا نصيح ما علينا نطيلع الضر

217. 'alēna nṣiḥ ma 'alēna ṇṭaili' id-dau.

'(Said the cocks): It's our business to crow, not to bring the dawn.'

At the beginning H. writes قَالَتِ الدُّيُونُ.—H. writes ṇṭali', but says that some use ṇṭaili'.

### تهفا ولا يردها بليق

218. *tihfa u lā y'riddha Blaiq.*

'Let her perish, but Bulaiq shall not bring her back.'

According to H. the origin of this is that a certain man had a blooded mare which got loose and ran away. Now there happened to be a swift horse there, and some one advised him to mount it and overtake the mare. But there was something about that horse which he disliked, and he said: *tihfa*, etc., and his words became proverbial.

The saying is used of a disdainful refusal to accomplish one's purpose by means of one who is disliked. H.

H. writes this تَهْفَا وَلَا يُرْدَا بَلَيْقٍ = هَفِي. 'perish of hunger,'

Cuche; cf. also Dozy.—On Bulaiq cf. Fr. ii. p. 908, No. 21; Fr. iii. 2218; Mustaṭraf, p. 47, l. 19.

### كلمة لو زرعناها ما طلعت

219. *kilmit lau zara'næha ma ṭil'it.*

'We sowed the word *if*, and it did not spring up.'

That is, it is useless for us to say "if such and such were true, such and such would result," and the like. H. It is used to express the idea expressed by our "*if* the dog hadn't stopped, he would be running now."

Another version is : *kilmit lau zara'næha ʔil'it lækin* 'we sowed the word *if*, and it sprang up *but*.'—*lau* also means 'would that !'

Cf. Fr. i. p. 186, No. 429; Fr. ii. p. 691, No. 340; Vassalli, 507, 777; Tant. p. 128.

بدك تكذب بيعد شهودك بدك تصدق قرب شهودك

220. *beddāk tikkidib bai'id šhūdāk beddāk tiṣḍuq qarrib šhūdāk.*

'If you want to lie, remove your witnesses; if you want to tell the truth, bring your witnesses near.'

Cf. Soc. 456.

موش كل الزلقات زلاييه

221. *muš kull ez-zelqāt zlaēyi.*

'All slips do not bring to one (literally, are not) *zlaēyi*.'

H. says that an old man gave him the following explanation: A man's foot once slipped and he fell, and found on the ground some pieces of *zlaēyi* which had fallen from the hand of the person whom he had jostled when he slipped; so he picked them up and ate them. Then he slipped a second time purposely, and jostled an irritable man who struck him a hard blow. Therefore one of those who knew of his first slip laughed at him, and said to him: *mā kull*, etc., i. e. 'all slips do not result in *zlaēyi*'; and his words became a proverb.

Used of one who succeeds once in a given course, and, arguing success therefrom, fails on a second occasion. H.

Variants: *muš kull il-ḥatrāt (āklæt) la'qat (la'qit) zlaēyi*. H. writes زلاييه.—*zlaēyi* 'gâteau, beignet sucré au beurre,' Cuche.

Cf. Tant. p. 127.

وصلت لكواير العسل

222. *wiṣilt l'kwoeyir il-'asil.*

'You have reached the beehives.'

Used of one who is aiming at something which does not really offer what he wishes. H.

H. gives the first part of this saying, with the change of one word (he does not give the original word), as follows :

دَبَّوْرٌ هَذَا عَا دَنْبٍ حَمَارٍ قَلَّةٌ وَصِلَتْ الْحِمْ

'A wasp alighted on the tail of a donkey ; the latter said to him : You have reached the beehives.'

Cf. Mustaṭraf, p. 44, l. 7 *ab imo*.

من طلب الزود وقع بالنقص

223. *min ṭalab iz-zaud waqa' bin-naqs.*

'He who seeks too much falls into want.'

On *zaud* 'surcroît, surplus,' cf. Dozy, s. v.

اللّه المجير من الغني المتكبر والفقير المتكبر

224. *Allah il-mjir minil-ghanī 'l-mitjebbir wil-faqr il-mitkebbir.*

'God protect us from the haughty rich man and the proud poor man' (literally, 'God is the protector,' etc.). H.

مثل شباط ما عا كلامه رباط

225. *mill šbāt mā 'a kälæmu rbāt.*

'N. is like February weather ; no confidence is to be put in his words.'

As February weather is very changeable and cannot be depended on, so his words cannot be depended on. H.

*ribāt* 'a thing with which one ties, binds, or makes fast.' Lane.

مي مالحة وشمس قاذحة ووجوه كالحه

226. *moi mælha u šems qādha wūjūh kælha.*

'It has brackish water, a burning sun, and sour faces.'

Said of a place which lacks three most important elements of comfort, as will be seen by comparing this phrase with Landberg, p. 294.

لا تاخذ العورة ولا بنت بنتها بيحكى عا طول الزمان  
عوران ولا تاخذ العرجا ولا بنت بنتها بيحكى عا طول  
الزمان عرجان

227. *lā tawḥud il-‘aura u lā bint bintha byjīk ‘a tāl iz-zāmæn ‘ūrān u lā tawḥud il-‘arja u lā bint bintha byjīk ‘a tāl iz-zāmæn ‘irjæn.*

‘Do not marry a one-eyed girl or her daughter’s daughter, else you will always have one-eyed children ; and don’t marry a lame girl or her daughter’s daughter, else you will always have lame children.’

Nāṣir has written *bījīk*.

مثل عزيمة الحمار للعرس

228. *mīl ‘azīmt il-ḥmār lil-‘urs.*

‘Like the donkey’s invitation to the wedding.’

Used of one who is invited to what seems to confer honor, but really involves rendering service and enduring toil. H.

In my notes stands the following addition to the above : *ya līl-ḥaṭab ya līl-moi* ‘either to fetch fire-wood or to fetch water.’

Cf. Soc. 289 ; Tant. p. 122.

كلب المير مير

229. *kelb il-mīr mīr.*

‘The emir’s dog is an emir.’

الحاكم من كاخيته والمقطع من حاشيته

230. *il-ḥākim min kāḥītu wil-maqṭa‘ min ḥāṣītu.*

‘The ruler is to be judged by his lieutenant and the piece of cloth by its edge.’

According to H. the meaning is that the power of the ruler is in his lieutenant, and the strength of a piece of cloth is in its edges, and the proverb is used of a man's power derived from the power of his family, friends, and those on whom he relies.

For كَذْخَا see Dozy (in the last instance it is the Persian كَذْخَا). Nöldeke.

بتخوف البط من الغريق

231. *bithawwif il-batt mnil-ghariq?*

'Can you make ducks afraid of drowning?'

مسك الخيط ومطه كل من عليه شي بيحطه

232. *msæk il-ḥaiṭ u mūtṭu kull min 'alāh šī biḥattū.*

'Grasp the string and stretch it; whoever owes anything let him fetch it.'

This saying is used of an equal distribution of the expenses. H.

Some think that the words *msæk il-ḥaiṭ u mūtṭu* have no meaning, but are used merely to rhyme with the second part. H. This opinion, which H. declares to be ليس ببعيد, seems to be correct. H. how-

ever gives an explanation about as follows: By مَدَّ الخيط is meant 'talk a great deal,' the imperative here expressing either a declaration or a reproach, and it is as if they said to the person who was explaining the expenses at great length: "There is no need of all this talk."

H. writes *msæk* instead of *msæk*.—حَطَّ means here 'pay.' H.—H. compares this saying with 'išri ḥalabīyyi (see next number), and with كونوا اخوة وتحاسبوا بالحق.

Cf. Burton, 86.

عشرة حلبيه طق حنك وشرب مبي

233. 'išri ḥalabīyyi taqq ḥanāk u širb moiyyi.

'Aleppo sociability—gabble and a drink of water.'

الطَق = التصويت, and is a word of the common dialect. H. By *taqq il-ḥanāk* the common people mean excessive or ill-arranged talk, or empty talk good only for taking up time and wasting it. H.—By *širb moiyyi* is indicated that nothing is expended for eatables.

H. says that Aleppo sociability is not of this sort; and says further that the proverb, in its correct form, contains only the first two words of this version. By it is meant the equal distribution of the expenses, from the belief that when a party of Aleppo friends wish to eat together each one pays his part.

Cf. Burton, 87.

### ها العباية يا ما قطعت فري

234. *hāl-'abæyi ya mā qatta'it firi.*

'How many fur cloaks this 'abæyi has worn out!'

According to H. the meaning is that the 'abæyi is more lasting than the fur cloak, because the rich man often becomes poor and loses his fur coat, while the poor man's 'abæyi remains, because it is the least a man can attain to. The proverb is used to express the liability of riches to pass away, and further to urge men to be contented. H.

*firi* for فِرَاء pl. of فَرَوَة. H.

### يا جبل عالي ما يهزك ريح

235. *ya jebel 'ālī mā y'hizzāk riḥ.*

'O lofty mountain, the wind shall not shake thee.'

Said of the powerful, well-balanced (σώφρων) man. H.

### شو عا بال عكا من هدير البحر

236. *šū 'a bæl 'Akki min hādīr il-baḥr.*

'What does Acre care for the roaring of the sea?'

Used of one who does not fear threats, or of one for whom they are not feared. H.

Nāṣir has written 'Akka.

### بيطلع الضو بلا صياح الديك

237. *byiṭla' id-dau bela šiyāḥ id-dik.*

'Daylight comes without (the help of) the cock's crow.'

Used of one who can be dispensed with, or who is not necessary for the attainment of one's wish. H.

H. writes *إِنِّيْطْلَعُ*.

Cf. Vassalli, 393.

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جحا واهل بيته عرس

238. *Jeha u ähl bētu 'urs.*

'Jiha and the people of his house are a wedding in themselves.'

That is, Jiha and his wife and his children are able to get up a wedding. H. This is used of a company who are able to manage a matter without need of any one else. For example, if, after a great deal of snow has fallen in the courts of the houses, you learn that Z and the people of his house have removed the snow from their court, and some one then asks you who removed the snow from Z's court, you reply : *Jeha*, etc. H.

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موش كل العسكر بيقاتل

239. *muš kull il-'askar biqātil.*

'Not all the soldiers fight.'

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موش كل صابيعك بيديك سوا

240. *muš kull ṣābi'ak bidaik sawa.*

'The fingers on your hands are not all equal.'

H. writes *مَا كُلُّ أَصَابِيْعِكَ سَوَا*.

Cf. Tant. p. 125 ; Soc. 204 ; Kall. 231 ; Vassalli, 770.

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متل طاحون الجان قرقة وخشيش وطحين ما فيش

241. *mil ṭāḥān ij-jæn qarqa'a wi-ḥšš wi-ṭḥin mā fiš.*

'Like the mill of the Jinn, clanking and clattering, but no flour.'

Used of one who talks but does not act. H.



H. writes this as follows: مِنْدُ طَاخُونِ الْجَنِّ قَرَقَعَةً بَلَا طِخْنِ  
but says that the version given above (only with *qarq'a* instead of *qarqa'a*) is used by some of the people of Lebanon.

Cf. No. 246; Fr. i. p. 282, No. 18; Soc. ZDMG. xxxvii. 208, No. 667; Durra, 81.

### مِين بيشهد مع العروس امها والماشطة

242. *mīn byiṣḥād mā' 'l-'arūs? immha wil-māṣṣṭa.*

'Who will bear witness for the bride? Her mother and the hair-dresser.'

Used of the worthlessness of a witness's evidence in favor of one whom he likes; used also of the beauty of the faith which relatives and friends have in each other. H.

H. says some of the common people say:

مِين بِيحِي مَعَ الْعُرُوسِ أُمُّهَا وَخَالَتُهَا وَسَبْعَ بَنَاتٍ مِنْ حَارِثَتِهَا

'Who will come with the bride? Her mother, her mother's sister, and seven girls from her street (quarter).' The following variant of this occurs in my notes: *u seb'a min āhl ḥāritha* 'and seven of the people of her quarter.'

Cf. Fr. iii. 1544, 2948.

### مَا فِيهِ وَلَا عَوْدَ إِلَّا وَفِيهِ دُخَانٌ

243. *mā fī u lā 'ād illa u fīh duḥḥān.*

'There is not a single piece of wood without smoke in it.'

That is, there is not a distinguished man without a defect or something which is offensive to others. H.

Another form of this is: *mā fī u lā 'ād tā ilu duḥḥān.*

Cf. Fr. iii. 2698; Soc. 92; Kall. 404; also, for meaning, Soc. 89-91; Vassalli, 419, 427-33.

### العادة خامس طبيعة

244. *il-'ādī ḥāmis ṭabī'a.*

'Habit is a fifth nature.'

Cf. Mustāṭraf, p. 35, l. 4 *ab imo*; Bt. 133, 448; Kall. 299, 300, 419.

بيت من عنكبوت كثير عا البيوت

245. *bēt min 'ankabūt ktīr 'al-bīmūt.*

'A house of spider's web is a great deal for one who dies.'

That is, is a great deal for man, because he passes away quickly.

The proverb is used to enjoin, or to express, contentment with a little of this world's goods. H.

H. says that the common people call the spider's web '*ankabūt*'. They also use this word for the spider itself: cf. Hartmann, Vokabular, under *Spinne*.

Cf. Berg. under *araignée*.

مثل القرقة تكتك بلا رضاعة

246. *miṭl il-qarqa tiktuk bela rda'a.*

'Like the brooding hen, clucking without nursing.'

Said of one who talks but does not act, or who is unable to make good his pretenses. H.

According to H. *قرقة* is pronounced *قَرَقَة* by the people of Damascus, Homs, etc., and *قِرْقَة* by the people of Lebanon.—H. writes *قَرَق الدجاجة*, which he defines as *تِكْتِك*.

Cf. No. 241; Burton, 90.

قالوا للقرد ليش وجهك اسود قال اكثر من القرد ما مسكه الله

247. *qālū lil-qird laiṣ wjḥāk aswid qāl āktar mn il-qird mā masaḥu Allah.*

'They said to the monkey: Why is your face black? He replied: God transformed nothing more than he did the monkey.'

Used of a state of affairs which has become the worst possible. H.

The reference here is to the old story that the monkey was originally a man whom God transformed on account of his great wickedness. H.

H. gives only the last part, beginning with *aktar*, but says that the people of Lebanon add the first part.—H. writes *masah*, not *masahu*.  
 مسح = 'change from one form to another worse form.' H. As an example of its use Nöldeke cites Sûra 86. 67.

هذا كلامه عليه ترك مثل قبونة الفحم

248. *hæda kâlæmu 'alêh terk mütl q'ibûnt il-faḥm.*

'This man's words must be tared, like a weight of charcoal.'

This man's words must be received with a grain of salt.

يما سراجين وشبعة يما عا العتم جميعه

249. *yâmma sraejain u šem'a yâmma 'al-'atm jüm'a.*

'(He) either (lights) two lamps and a candle, or (sits) in darkness a week.'

Either all of one thing or all of another. Like No. 81. H.

Cf. Berg. under *lampe*; Nofal, p. 500.

قلنا لك يا خوري عمده بتخنفه

250. *qulnæ-lāk yā ḥūrī 'imīdu btiḥnqu?*

'We said to you, O priest: Baptize him; are you going to strangle him?'

Used of one who goes to excess. H.

H. writes عَمْدَةٌ.—Cf. *qulnæ-lāk ḥammṣu mā qulnæ-lāk ḥriqu* 'we said to you: Roast it; we did not say to you: Burn it.'

Cf. Sp. 180; Burton, 167.

الطفل اذا ما بكى ما بترضعه امه

251. *iṭ-tiḥl iza mā bikī mā bitrāḍ'u immu.*

'If the baby does not cry, his mother will not nurse him.'

Used in urging to exertion one who wishes something but who does not exert himself to attain it. H.

Cf. *الطفل النفاق كثير الرضاعة* 'the crying baby is nursed often.'

متل اللي اسلم الظهر ومات العصر

252. *mitl-illī aslām id-duhr u mæt il-‘aṣr.*

‘Like the man who became a Moslem at noon and died in the afternoon.’

Used of one who, turning from his own course to another, gains no benefit from it, and loses the benefits of the first course. H.

In my notes stands the following addition to the above: ‘*‘Īsa tbarra minnu u Mḥammad na t’arraḥ fih* ‘Jesus got rid of him, and Mohammed did not become acquainted with him (because he was too late for the noon prayer and died before the afternoon prayer).’ H. gives this also, but writes مَحَدَّ مَا عَرَفُو.

Cf. Burton, 151.

كثير الكارات قليل البارات

253. *ktīr il-kārāt qālīl il-bārāt.*

‘The man with many trades has few *paras*.’

يا ويل من كانت علته مرته

254. *ya wail min kænīt ‘illtu mertu.*

‘Alas for the man whose affliction is his wife.’

Cf. *min kænīt ‘illtu mertu kæn il-qabr ma’wæh* ‘the grave is the only refuge of him whose affliction is his wife.’—العلّة عند العائمة—H. البليّة اي المصيبة.

اللي بياخذ من ملّه غير ملّته بيقع بعله غير عله

255. *il-byæḥud min milli ghair milltu byiqa’ b’illi ghair ‘illtu.*

‘He who takes a wife from a sect not his own falls into an affliction not his own.’

Cf. Fr. iii. 2212; Burton, 145; Kall. 488.

فجور النسوان وكيد الرهبان

256. *fjár in-niswæn u kaid ir-rihbæn.*

'Women's immorality and monks' wiles (are to be dreaded).'

Nāṣir adds to the above: *u ẓulm el-ḥukkæm* 'and the injustice of rulers.'

Cf. Kall. 308.

افجر من نوريه مطلقه جوزها

257. *afjar min nūriyyi mṭallqa jauzha.*

'More immoral than a gypsy woman who has divorced her husband.'

Nöldeke says: Die Zigeunerinnen gelten in der ganzen Welt als فواجر 'liederliche Frauenzimmer'; also erst recht eine geschiedne.

The form given above is the common one, but the original form was *mṭallāqha jauzha* 'whose husband has divorced her' (as, indeed, stands in one version in my notes.) H. Probably *mṭallqa* is for *mṭal-*

*lāqha* in rapid pronunciation.—H. writes جَوَزَة or جَوَزَهَا.

Cf. Fr. iii. 171.

افجر من خوري محروم وقاضي معزول

258. *afjar min ḥārī mahṛūm ū qādī ma'zūl.*

'More vicious than an excommunicated priest and a deposed cadi.'

ما هو عَفّه من قلة ما في بالقفّه

259. *mā hū 'iffi min qillit mā fī bil-qiffi.*

'That is not abstemiousness, but the result of having little in the larder.' H.

That is, N's abstaining from such and such a thing results, not from his abstemiousness, but from his inability to obtain it, owing to the lack of money and the like. The saying is used in general of one who abstains, not because he will, but because he must. H.

Cf. *mā hū min ḥiṣmitha ləkin min qillit il-izār* 'that arises, not from her modesty, but from lack of an *izār*.'

نحن صايينا مثل البالع الموس

260. *naħn šāyibna mitl il-baʿli il-mūs.*

‘We are in the same plight as the man who swallows a razor.’

If the man pulls the razor from his throat, it pains him, and if he swallows it with its handle, it pains him even more. H.

We are in a great dilemma.

H. begins the proverb with *mitl*, omitting the first two words, and adds *لَنْصَابَهُ* ‘as far as its handle.’—In my notes is the following addition: *inn balaʿnaħ byjraħna winn šilnaħ byjraħna* ‘if we swallow it, it wounds us, and if we pull it out, it wounds us.’—Cf. *mitl is-sekrān inn šalla ħarām winn ma šalla ħarām* ‘like the drunken man: if he prays, it’s a sin, and if he doesn’t pray, it’s a sin.’

Cf. Soc. ZDMG. xxxvii. 220, No. 779.

ان بزقنا لتحت عا دقنا وان بزقنا لفرق عا شواربنا

261. *inn bazaqna l-taħt ʿa daqna w-inn bazaqna l-faruq ʿa šwārībna.*

‘If we spit downwards, it gets on our beard; and if we spit upwards, it gets on our moustache.’

Said of one in a dilemma; much like the preceding.

Cf. Kall. 54-5.

الخوات بدّة كتب حجة

262. *il-ḥawāt beddu kātḥ ḥijji?*

‘Does madness need a certificate in order to be recognized (or established)?’

H. writes *الْجَنَانُ مَا بَدَّةٌ حِجَّةٌ*, but says that the form given above is used in Lebanon.—*الجنون = الخوات* H.

معلوف موقوف مثل خيل الدولة

263. *maʿlūf mauqūf mitl ḥail id-daʿlī.*

‘Well fed and standing idle, like the government horses.’

Cf. No. 191.

## عنزة ولو طارت

264. 'anzi u lū tārīt.

'It is a goat, even if it does fly.'

Used when one obstinately defends a position shown to be indefensible; as if, for example, one should maintain that a distant black object was really a goat even after it had been seen to fly away.

Cf. Kall. 329; Fr. iii. 2175.

## هيدي طبخة بكص

265. haidi ṭabḥit baḥṣ.

'This is a mess of pebbles.'

Used of a hope which cannot be realized, so that he who expects to realize it is like him who expects to cook pebbles tender. It may also be used of what is attained after long waiting. H.

## ما بتذكر يعقوب الا تحت القوب

266. ma btidkur Ya'qūb illa taḥt il-qūb?

'Do you never remember Jacob except when you are under affliction?'

Used of one who remembers his friend only when he is himself in trouble and needs the latter's help. H.

ام قوب = قوب. H.

Cf. Landberg, 125; Bt. 632; Wetzstein, ZDMG. xi. 517.

## الما لة شقية ما لة دين

267. il mā lu šī'mi mā lu dīn.

'The man without honor is a man without religion.'

In the common language šī'mi (الشِّمَّة) = المروءة والانفة من . H. It may be rendered 'honor, self-respect, nobility of character,' etc.: cf. Landberg, Glossaire, s. v.—Variants of šī'mi are bait and šaraf.—It is interesting to note that Nāṣir has written شقية,

evidently thinking that the word is written with ق, though pronounced with ا, which very often takes the place of ق in the common speech.

Cf. Fr. iii. 116 ; Ali, p. 85, No. 265 ; p. 87, No. 270.

يا بيتي يا بويتاتي يا مستر عوباتي

268. *yā baiti yā bwaitati yā msettir 'uwaibati.*

'O my house, my dear little house, hider of my little failings.'

Applied to one in search of a quiet, retired life. H.

Cf. Fr. i. p. 208, No. 181.

هودي جاج ومناقيدهم بولاد

269. *haudi jāj u mnāqidhun būlad.*

'Those are hens, and their bills are made of steel.'

That is, they are weak and cowardly, all their strength and their boldness being in their mouths, because they are slanderers, backbiters, calumniators. H. This saying is used of those who are unable to provoke powerful enemies by slander, backbiting, and calumny. H.

Cf. *qātu biḥnaku mitl il-ḡfādi* 'like the frogs, his strength lies in his throat.'—*ḥnak* = احناك .

جاي جاي بلا لقة هلق صار يوجعك راسك

270. *jāijai bela leffi ḥalluq šār yūja'ak rāsak?*

'Having been all your life without a turban, has your head now begun to ache?'

H. says that the origin of this saying was that a poor man passed many years without a turban, and, when he had procured enough to buy one, he went to the cloth-merchant to buy it. And when the merchant began to measure, the poor man said to him : Hurry, for my head aches without a turban. Some of those who knew his circumstances said to him : *jāijai bela leffi*, etc.



Used of one who has endured the want of a thing a long time, but becomes impatient when he is on the point of obtaining it. H.

For *jāijāi* I have in my notes also *jājæ*. Instead of *jāijāi*, *kull 'umrak* is also used. H.—In my notes is the following version : *mitl illi qaḍa 'omru bla leffl şār wæhid y'kâiyyil u wæhid y'liſſ* 'like the man who passed his life without a turban, (he was so impatient when the time came for him to have one that two men had to wait on him, of whom) one began to measure and one began to wrap (it around his head).'

هذا الوقت = هلق.—جاء. جاي جاي is a participle from

### الف كلمة تفضل ما بتسرى حطة الطبق

271. *ālf kilmit tfaddal mā btisra ḥattit it-tabaq.*

'A thousand Come-to-dinner's are not equal to setting the food before us once.'

One act is better than a thousand promises.

### حط الطبق شيل الطبق حق الغنم مطرحه

272. *ḥutt it-tabaq šil it-tabaq ḥaqq il-ghanam matraḥu.*

'Bring the tray, remove the tray, as much as you will, the price of the sheep remains the same.'

The origin of this, according to H., was that a Kurd once sold a fellah some sheep, and, when he went to the latter's house to procure the pay for them, the latter made him put up at his house, and began to set food before him at the proper times, in the hope that he would be ashamed to ask for the money and would leave it. The Kurd, perceiving this, said : *ḥutt it-tabaq*, etc.

### اللي بدك تقضيه مضيه والبدك ترهنه بيعه

273. *illi beddāk tiqḍih mḍih wil-beddāk tirhnu bī'u.*

'What you wish to accomplish at all do quickly, and sell what you are thinking of pawning.' H.

Cf. Landberg, 3 ; Burton, 141 ; Vassalli, 155-6 ; Sand. 39.

خيار العطا يا امير حاضر بحاضر

274. *ḥyār il-ʿaṭa yā ʾamīr ḥāḍir bḥāḍir.*

‘The choicest gift, O Emir, is the one which is given at once.’

خير. H.—Another form is عاجل في الحال = حَاضِرٌ بِحَاضِرٍ. H.—Variants for ḥāḍir bḥāḍir are ḥarīr bḥarīr and ʿāḣil bʿāḣil.

Cf. Bt. 240 ; Nofal, p. 514.

الما مات عيبه ما فات

275. *il-mā mæt ʿaibu mā fæt.*

‘As long as one is alive one is not secure from disaster or disgrace.’

A Syrian lad to whom I read this saying added : willī ʿindu bānæt lā yʿaiyyir il-qahbæt.

لا تلم الغائب تا يحضر

276. *lā ṭām il-ghāyib tā yehḍar.*

‘Don’t blame the absentee till he comes.’

Like No. 174.

Cf. Burton, 67 ; Nofal, p. 580.

كلب محمل قروش

277. *kālb mḥammāl qurūṣ.*

‘A dog laden with piasters.’

Said of a rich miser, or of a rich man who, on account of his niggardliness, lives like a dog. H.

Cf. Burton, 72.

جنيّة الكلب كلب متله

278. *jniyyit il-kālb kālbin mīṭlu.*

‘The blood-money for a dog is a dog like him.’

That is, a dog's death is sufficiently revenged by the delivering over as payment, or by the killing, of a similar dog. Both dogs are equally worthless.

Used of any two who, on being compared, are found to be equally base and ignoble. H.

دِيَّة = جَنِيَّة , 'blood-money.' H.

Cf. for meaning Landberg, 36, 94.

### الدنيا حكاك حير حكلي وبحكلك

279. *id-dini hkæk hamír hikkillī u bhikkillāk.*

'The world resembles donkeys scratching each other (literally, is a scratching of donkeys): You scratch me and I'll scratch you.'

Cf. *sellnī u bsellik min hallaq layṣih id-dik* 'amuse me and I'll amuse you from now till the cock crows.' Variants: *weddīni bweddik*. —Cf. also *isnīd-lī ḥatta ḥammil-lak* 'lend me a hand, that I may help you load.'

Cf. Fr. ii. p. 8, No. 18; p. 356, No. 121; Scaliger, p. 113, No. 72; Vassalli, 374.

### كثير الغلبة راح عا جهنم قال الخطب اخضر

280. *ktir il-ghalabī rāḥ ʿa jhennim qāl il-ḥaṭab aḥḍar.*

'The busybody went to Hell and said: The fire-wood is green.'

كثير الغلبة عند العامة الفضولي وهو الذي يتعرض لما

لا يعنيه وتسميه ايضا الحشري H.

Cf. Burton, 172; Fr. i. p. 494, No. 71; Soc. 332.

### قيمته مثل قيمة المعاري عند العرب

281. *qīmtu mīl qīmt il-mi'mārī ʿand il-ʿArab.*

'He is of as much value as a mason among the Bedouins.'

As the Bedouins live in tents, they have no need of masons, consequently a mason is of no value to them at all.

إلى له عين موش اعمى

282. *illī ilu 'ain muš a'ma.*

'He who has only one eye is not blind.'

Used of one who has obtained only a part of what he wishes, or of one who has lost part and still retains part of something dear to him. H.

Somewhat like our "Half a loaf is better than no bread."

Cf. for meaning Vassalli, 62; Durra, 20.

قالوا للديب بدنا نرعىك الغنم صار يبكي قالوا له ليش  
بتبكي قال لهم اخ لو بيصح ها المنام

283. *qālu lid-dīb beddna nrā'ik il-ghanam šār yibkī qālāhu laiš btibkī qal-lhum āh lau bisīḥh hāl-mnām.*

'They said to the wolf: We are going to let you herd the sheep. He began to weep. They said to him: Why do you weep? He replied: Oh, if this dream only would come true!'

H. gives the following form, though he says some of the people of Lebanon use the form given above:

قالوا للديب بَدْنَا نَرَعِيكَ الْغَنَمَ بِكِي قالوا له لَيْشَ بُكَيْتَ  
قَالَ عَصَّحِيمٌ

That is, he wept for the truth of their words, because there was no truth in what they said. H.—In giving the first form, H. writes نرعىك, as I have transliterated. Nāṣir has written *nrā'ik*.

قالوا للديب لا تمشي وراء الغنم غبرتهم بتضر عينيك  
قال غبرتهم كحل لعيني

284. *qālu lid-dīb lā timši warā 'l-ghanam ghabrithun bitḍurr 'aina'ik qal-lhun ghabrithun kuḥl t'ainēyyi.*

'They said to the wolf: Do not walk behind the sheep, their dust will hurt your eyes. He replied: Their dust is *kuḥl* to my eyes.'

Cf. Bt. 520.

من القداحة شوي ومن الصوانه شوي

205. *mnil-qaddæḥa šwai u mniz-šawwæni šwai.*

'A little from the steel and a little from the flint.'

The spark is produced by the flint and the steel together, and not by either of them separately; so this phrase is used of two causes each of which contributes to bring about trouble, such as quarrels, war, insurrection, and the like. For example, if two men have a quarrel, and both are more or less in the wrong, a common friend will say of their quarrel: *mnil-qaddæḥa šwai*, etc. H.

*qaddæḥa* means in the common dialect the steel, and not, as in classical Arabic, the flint. H. Cf. also Cuche.

قالوا للجمل وين دينتك قال شحبي

286. *qāla-lu lij-jemil wain daintak qāl šahḥiyyi.*

'They said to the camel: Where is your ear? He said: Here it is.'

*šahḥiyyi* = اقشع هية = behold it (voici), the *hiyyi* being the pronoun of the third person feminine. Cf. Mgr. David in *Journal Asiatique*, September-October, 1887, p. 195.—Nâsir has written simply *qālu*.

مص القصب عقده وعقده

287. *maṣṣ il-qasab 'iqdi u 'iqdi.*

'Sugar-cane is sucked joint by joint.'

This saying is used of rendering work easy or possible by going at it gradually. H.

H. compares with this the common saying طَلَوْعَ السَّلْمِ دَرَجِي 'one must go up a ladder one rung at a time.' سلم means either 'ladder' or 'stairs': cf. Cuche, Hartmann, s. v.

ما في ولا زنزوله عا التنور الا الله رزقها كلب لقاها

288. *mā fā u lā zinzālī 'at-tennūr illa Allah razāqha kālb laqqha.*

'There is not a scrap on the *tennur* but God sends a dog to it to lap it up.'

That is, every paltry or vile thing is sought for by one of its own kind. H.

الفرزذقة = الزنزوله والزنزوله that is, a piece of the dough which falls in the *tennur* from the loaf, and which the woman who is baking picks up and throws on the top of the *tennur*.—H. writes, instead of اخذ بسرعة = لَقِف = لَقِ، لَقِ.

Cf. Mustāṭraf, p. 35, l. 17.

لولا بسكنتا والشوير كانت الدنيا بالف خير

289. *lau lā Biskinta wiš-Šwair kənt id-dini bālf ḥair.*

'Were it not for Biskinta and eš-Šwair the world would be full of blessings.'

Biskinta and eš-Šwair are two villages on the western slope of Lebanon a little north of east from Beirūt.

شباط لو شبط ولو لبط ريحة الصيف فيه

290. *šbāt lau šbaṭ u lau labat riḥt iṣ-ṣaiḥ fih.*

'However much February scratches and kicks, the breath (scent) of summer is in it.'

Instead of لَو, H. writes لُو.—*šbaṭ* means 'scratch, cut slightly': cf. Muḥiṭ and Dozy.

Cf. Kall. 205.

العجين ما بيطلع بلا خميرة

291. *il-'ajīn mā byiṭla' bela ḥamīri.*

'Dough will not rise without leaven.'

For the attainment of one's ends the proper means must be used.

Cf. Sand. 50.

#### ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

I may here call attention to the fact that a few of these proverbs (nine or ten in all), together with a number of others, were published in transliteration in Proc. AOS. Oct. 1886 (Journal, vol. xiii., p. cxxix ff.).

Dr. Karl Vollers's *Lehrbuch der Ägypto-arabischen Umgangssprache* will be found valuable for a study of the Egyptian Arabic. I did not see a copy of this work till after this article had begun to be put in type.

ARTICLE III.

THE LETTER OF HOLY SUNDAY:

SYRIAC TEXT AND TRANSLATION.

BY PROFESSOR ISAAC H. HALL,  
OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK CITY.

Presented to the Society October 30th, 1889.

IN June, 1889, I received from Urmî a manuscript, copied in 1885 from a much older one that was not to be obtained, in which are written the following compositions:

1. The narrative of Moses, Approved in Prophecy;
2. The letter of Holy Sunday, that descended from Heaven upon the hands of Athanasius, Patriarch of Rome;
3. The Martyrdom of Giwargis (i. e. George);
4. The narrative of Arsânîs (Arsenius), King of Egypt;
5. Sundry Church Services, Prayers, Rules of Magic, etc.

The manuscript (copy) consists of sixty-two pages of fair Nestorian script, the written page about  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in dimension, with eighteen lines to the page. There are many slips of the scribe, and no little false pointing; but it is not a bad modern copy.

The second of the above compositions is a different recension of the tale which I communicated to the Society in Vol. XIII. of the Journal, pages 34-48, under the title of "The Extremity of the Romans." The differences are so great that I have deemed this form of the tale worth publishing on that account, as well as by reason of its own interest, and the light and correction it furnishes for the understanding of the text of the former one.

The composition occupies about eleven pages of the manuscript. I have retained the (indifferent) interpunction of the text, adding nothing of my own, but generally omitting the pointing of the letters, as unnecessary. Abbreviations in the manuscript are marked by a sign like our colon, at the end of the abbreviated word, and sometimes in the midst of an abbre-





الحب وحباً عظمياً: اولاً حباً. مستصحب. ٢٥٥٥. موصوف  
 واولاً حباً. اولاً حباً. موصوف. موصوف. موصوف  
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صلى الله عليه وسلم: وحباً عظمياً: اولاً حباً. مستصحب: عظمياً  
 موصوف. موصوف. موصوف. موصوف. موصوف. موصوف. موصوف. موصوف  
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the south, those of every state with those of every degree, both  
 lovers of God and beloved for God's sake, spouses of the heavenly  
 bridegroom, those that are in the one gospel net—beloved, listen  
 and hear, that I may make known to you this Letter that  
 descended from heaven to men because of the laws and command-  
 ments, in order that they might keep and do them, and on  
 account of the threatenings and heavy stripes that God will bring  
 upon them if they keep not and do everything that is written in  
 this Letter ; which was sent from God to the church of Constan-  
 tinople in the days of Athanasius, patriarch of Rome. Peace be  
 with you, and favor, from God our Father and from our Lord  
 Jesus Christ.

In the year one thousand and ninety-four of Alexander, son of  
 Philip, on the twenty-fourth of Nisan (i. e. 24 April, A. D. 783),  
 this Letter descended, above the temple of the Apostles Peter  
 and Paul, when there were assembled in the temple twelve  
 bishops and a hundred priests and deacons, beside the many peo-  
 ple that were there in the temple, who were twenty-three thou-  
 sand in number, men old and young, and children and maidens ;

صلتلما خستى لعللما لعتى : طتلما صلا مصلما . سىو  
 مصللما دى متعللى سىو : مصللما مصللما مصللما . سىو  
 مصللما مصللما . سىو مصللما مصللما مصللما مصللما مصللما .  
 مصللما مصللما مصللما مصللما مصللما مصللما مصللما مصللما .  
 لا لعللما مصللما مصللما مصللما مصللما مصللما مصللما مصللما .  
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as they were standing and praying and making request from God, the daytime changed and became night, and a wonder came to pass such as never was its like.

Then a disciple of the blessed Mar Athanasius went outside, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, and he saw, not on earth nor in heaven, this Letter, that was hanging above the temple, that was written on a tablet of crystal. And he saw, and ran to the temple, and saluted (*lit.*, blessed) and did reverence to Athanasius, and said : My Lord, go out and see the wonder, the sign that is hanging between earth and heaven. But he said to him : My son, remain first, that the oblation may be offered which the living and the dead are looking for and awaiting. And after it was offered all the church poured forth and went out with Athanasius the patriarch. And he decreed a curse, to the purport that whosoever heard should not delay from coming to the holy church.







although they have no superfluity. But ye have not kept my words, ye to whom I gave holy baptism, and who know the three Persons of the adorable Trinity. Ye have become transgressors and not obedient, and neither to my words have ye hearkened nor my commandments have ye kept. Now then I swear to you by my mighty arm, if ye do not hear and turn yourselves from your evil doings and from your hateful ways, and give alms to the poor, and keep the day of Sunday from the ninth hour of Saturday even till the dawn of Monday, behold also I will send upon you savage wild beasts that will devour the flesh of men, and will devour your sons and your daughters before your eyes and beneath the soles of your feet, and they shall die. And moreover, I will send upon you flying serpents, that will devour the breasts of your women who speak falsehood and set the church in commotion. Verily, verily, I say unto you, if also ye will not hearken to these my words, which I commanded you formerly, I will send upon you serpents, I will bring down upon











مَلِكًا . هَذَا كَيْفَ يَمُوتُ مَلِكًا : هَذَا كَيْفَ يَمُوتُ مَلِكًا : هَذَا كَيْفَ يَمُوتُ مَلِكًا :  
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 هَذَا كَيْفَ يَمُوتُ مَلِكًا : هَذَا كَيْفَ يَمُوتُ مَلِكًا : هَذَا كَيْفَ يَمُوتُ مَلِكًا : هَذَا كَيْفَ يَمُوتُ مَلِكًا :  
 هَذَا كَيْفَ يَمُوتُ مَلِكًا : هَذَا كَيْفَ يَمُوتُ مَلِكًا : هَذَا كَيْفَ يَمُوتُ مَلِكًا : هَذَا كَيْفَ يَمُوتُ مَلِكًا :

and send it to the cities and the convents and the monasteries and the monastic orders, judgment shall be upon him therefrom. And those that believe in this Letter, mercies shall be upon them.

And again I swear to you, brethren and beloved, who are in every place, No ! by the Great Strength, and No ! by His mighty and lofty arm, and No ! by the voice of thunders, and No ! by the swiftness of lightnings, and No ! by the beauty of Seth, and No ! by the priesthood of Melchizedek, and No ! by the prophets that have not sinned, and No ! by the humble ones who were not enticed by luxury, and No ! by the chariots of cherubim, and No ! by the fasting of the house of Hanania,† and No ! by the inheritance that Sunday shall disclose, and No ! by the continence of Joseph, and No ! by the prayers of Moses and of Aaron, and No ! by the gospel, and No ! by the gospel that the four evangelists preached, Matthew and Mark and Luke and John, upon whom the holy church is built, No ! by that hour in which John the Baptist laid his hand on the head of Our Lord, No ! by

\* These words omitted, but supplied in margin, and on an equal footing with the rest.

† I suppose the companion of Daniel to be meant: see Daniel i. 10-21.



منك . وندك حس خلصى خلصى فموتى وكن . معه ممسك .  
 لعمركم لا اعمد ولا اعمد ولا اعمد ولا اعمد ولا اعمد ولا اعمد ولا اعمد  
 ولا اعمد ولا اعمد  
 علكم انا . وندك من علكم كك است منى اناست فموتى  
 وندك وندك . من است حبرا سها اناست اناست ممسك اناست  
 من ممسك سها من ممسك وندك . سها اناست ممسك سهاست  
 وندك : سها است وندك سهاست سهاست لا منى سهاست سهاست  
 منى منى سهاست . منى سهاست سهاست سهاست . ان سهاست  
 وندك سهاست وندك سهاست سهاست سهاست

despises) [aught] of this Letter, he is guilty therefrom. And everywhere that the Letter shall be read, let confession and praise be given to God the Lord of all, who gave to him to do and keep the commandments of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Praise to His Father, and confession to the Holy Spirit, and exaltation [to the Son]\*, now and in every season, and forever and ever. Amen.

Ends the Letter that Descended from Heaven upon the Hands of Mar Athanasius, Patriarch of Rome, the Great.

From the hands of the sinful servant, black of face, the stranger priest Zerwanda, son of the late scribe the son of priest Warda. I desire and crave in supplication your love as a friend. Is it fitting, brethren, that you should make mention of the writer as proud? No, my Lord. In your prayers in the house of perfect holiness, read, and intercede, O beloved, with Great Jesus the Delightsome, that he will forgive the debts of him [who is] full of corruption. Amen.

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\* The scribe has omitted these words, doubtless by mere accident.

## NOTES.

In comparing this recension of the legend with that published in Vol. XIII. of the Journal, pp. 34 seq., a number of things in the latter are seen to need emendation. For most of the textual emendations I am indebted, as often hitherto in many things, to the kindness of Professor Nöldeke. I will mention only the most salient matters.

In the title, the word **مِيقَاتُ** is the Arabic **قِصَّة** 'history' or 'narration.' The title, therefore, is not the 'Extremity,' but 'The Narrative of the Romans.'

That the text is late is shown not only by the above instance, but, among other things, by the word **نسخة** = Arabic **نسخة** 'copy.'

Page 38, line 5, **لِخَسْنِ** is a misprint for **لِخَسْنِ**.

" " 12, **مِنْصَبِ** is a misprint for **مِنْصَبِ**.

" 39, " 7, **مِنْصَبِ** (MS.) would be better **مِنْصَبِ**.

" 40, " 10, **مِنْصَبِ** (MS.) would be better **مِنْصَبِ**.

Translation, accordingly, p. 46, line 18, would read 'poor' or 'miserable,' instead of 'destitute,' and the foot-note would disappear.

Page 41, line 2, the better emendation of **حَلَقًا** is to **بَلَدًا**, the scribe having mistaken a *nun* for a *lomad*. Translation, p. 46, line 31, read 'Ninevites' for 'Greeks.'

Page 41, line 7, **مِنْصَبِ** should be **مِنْصَبِ**. In the MS. the first part is at the bottom of one page, and the rest at the top of the next page: a manner of (unmarked) word-division which I was not prepared for. Translation, accordingly, p. 46, line 37, 'be steadfast in' instead of 'number the full amount for.'

Page 41, last line but one, **مِنْصَبِ** (MS.) should be corrected to **مِنْصَبِ**.

Page 42, line 2, **مِنْصَبِ** (MS.) would better be **مِنْصَبِ**.

Page 43, line 3, **مِنْصَبِ** is a mistaken reading of the MS., which has, though faultily written, **مِنْصَبِ**. Translation, p. 48, line 3, for 'exhorters' read 'words;' and *dele* the foot-note.

Page 43, line 8, **مِنْصَبِ** (MS.) should be **مِنْصَبِ**. Translation, p. 48, lines 8, 9, for 'diseases in full measure hateful,' read 'incurable diseases.'

*Idem*, for ~~نصلي~~? (MS.) read نصلي. Translation, p. 48, line 10, for 'swarm' read 'issue' or 'breed.'

Page 44, line 11, ~~لحمده~~ should be emended to لحمده.

Page 45, end of first paragraph. The new text shows that instead of 'that are life and death to those who behold,' the rendering should be 'that the living and the dead behold (or, look for).'

Page 45, second paragraph, line 4, in the light of the new text, needs a comma after 'deacons.'

Page 45, last paragraph. It is evident from the new text that the passage from 'If ye do not keep the day' to the end of the paragraph is probably misplaced, and belongs in another part of the narrative.

Page 46, line 3. As I ought to have recognized, and as the new text also demonstrates, the ~~الصب~~ (*ter*) is not the Latin 'Heus,' but the Greek *ἅγιος*; just as in modern Greek. For 'Alas . . . holy,' read 'Ayos (or *ἅγιος*), Ayos, Ayos, that is, Holy, Holy, Holy.'

Page 46, second paragraph. While the two recensions agree with reference to the dates of the first and second letters respectively, they differ in regard to the date of this third letter. In the old text it is A.D. 778, December 25; in the new, A.D. 783, April 24. The difference in date, however, has no bearing that I can discover upon the verisimilitude of the fable or the age of the composition.

Page 48, line 4. For 'tread him down,' read 'overtake him.'

## THE COMPUTATION OF THE SICK.

FROM the same manuscript I give the text (along with a translation) of what appears to be a collection of excerpts relating to the magic diagnosis of diseases by means of lots or numbers. As will be seen from the reading, it is not more brilliant than other specimens of the divining art, and would be unalterable in method or result for the same individual, whatever his disease—unless, as often happens among Orientals, his name should be changed in the course of his life. The meaning of the reference to certain monasteries and writings I do not quite fathom. It may be the authority cited for the diagnostic pre-





† Read **﴿قَدْ﴾**, as a subsequent passage shows us to be necessary.



٥٠ | معدا مفعي حر صومر معدا | معدا | ١٥ سب | يعني | كله |  
 فخر | معدا | ١٥ سب \* | معدا | كله . | معدا | ١٥ سب | يعني | كله | ١٥ سب |  
 خفا | معدا | ١٥ سب : | معدا | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب |  
 مصقلا | معدا | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب . | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب |  
 صومر | معدا | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب |  
 ٥٠ | معدا | ١٥ سب |

٥٠ | معدا مفعي حر صومر | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب |  
 مصقلا | معدا | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب : | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب |  
 ٥٠ | معدا | ١٥ سب |

٥٠ | معدا مفعي حر صومر | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب | ١٥ سب |  
 ٥٠ | معدا | ١٥ سب |

And if thy remainder be seven, Saturday there fell upon him the fear of Zúchall, an infirmity (or, producing infirmity) in his trunk and in his heart and in his head. Fright has fallen upon him. Bring dust from seven ways, and from seven graves, and water from three fountains, and water from beneath a mill, and call over their heads Barshíth ; and let him wash with them in a pure place. Twenty-one days will he be sick.—Monastery, Mar Giwargís (i. e. George). Writing, Of Fear and Quaking.

And if thy remainder be eight, on Wednesday he saw an evil vision. From a stroke of Satan is all his body sick. Twenty days will he be sick.—Monastery, Chazqtêl (i. e. Ezekiel). Writing, Of an Evil Spirit.

And if thy remainder be nine, [on] Friday he sat upon a heap† of filth or upon a mass† [of it]. He did not bring the name of God

\* Read ١٥ سب .

† I am uncertain about the meaning of this word.







ARTICLE IV.  
CONTRIBUTIONS TO  
THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VEDA.\*

BY MAURICE BLOOMFIELD,  
PROFESSOR IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, MD.

Presented to the Society May 5th, 1891.

I. THE STORY OF INDRA AND NAMUCI.

IN the explanation of the legend of Indra and Namuci, the first requisite seems to me to be to deal with the materials which the Vedic writings offer us as a story, an *itihāsa* or *ākhyāna*, which is, so to speak, their face-value. There is, so far as my knowledge of the Vedic passages bearing upon our subject is concerned, nothing which justifies the interpreter in looking for anthropomorphic motives at the bottom of it; if these ever existed, they have vanished from record. Why should they, indeed, have existed? Indra, the Hercules, the demiurge of the Vedic texts, encounters, in a manner to be explained below, a demon, an *ānura*, named Namuci, and deals with him according to the fancy of the story-teller—in this case a very vivid fancy. Indra is, to be sure, very largely a storm-god, who attacks the clouds and other natural phenomena, personified as demons, but he is also the heroic person Indra, and in his latter capacity the very one to become embroiled with all sorts of uncanny beings, such as inhabited the fancy of the Vedic people. One of these was the demon Namuci, a name whose apparent etymological value was sure to be suggestive in the development of the story, and in all speculations on the same. The Hindus must have regarded this name as composed of *na* 'not' and *muçi* 'releasing'; this might be taken for granted, even if it had gone unrecorded. Pāṇini (vi. 3. 75) so

\* See the author's previous communications on kindred subjects in the Proceedings for May 1885, May 1886, Oct. 1886, Oct. 1887, Oct. 1890 (Journal, vol. xiii., pp. xlii ff., cxlii ff., cxxxii ff., ccxiv ff.; vol. xv., pp. xxxix ff.), reproduced with modifications and additions in two articles in the Am. Journal Philol., vol. vii., pp. 466-88. vol. xl., pp. 319-56, under the title given above; of these the following paper may be considered a continuation, a third series.



divides the word, and Adalbert Kuhn (in KZ. viii. 80), in accordance with the method of the time, interprets Namuci as the cloud-demon who does not let go the waters. Fick (in *Orient und Occident*, iii. 126) even goes so far as to regard Namuci as a proethnic mythological figure, and connects the word with Gr. Ἄμυκος, the son of Neptune and king of the Bebryces (Ap. Rh. 2. 48), who was slain by Pollux (Ἀμυκοφóρος, Opp. Cym. 1. 363). What is more important, this etymology of the name peeps out in the treatment of the legend at TB. i. 7. 1. 6, where it is narrated that Namuci would not let go (root *stj*) Indra unless he entered into a certain agreement with him: cf. Sāyana at RV. viii. 14. 3. For us this means for the present nothing more than that we are in the midst of story-telling about Indra and the demon 'Don't-let-go' or 'Hold-fast.'

The second requisite consists in giving up the belief that the allusions to the story which may be gathered from the scattered mantras are the only true material for its reconstruction. I would by all means place myself upon the ground that the legends of the Brāhmaṇas which deal with Namuci, as well as the manipulations of the same in the Sūtras, are based upon essentially the same conceptions as the *mantras*. With the difference, however, that the looseness in the handling of a story which is an unfailing adjunct as it passes from mouth to mouth receives an additional impulse in the direction of liberality of treatment, owing to its application to practical matters, to sacrifice and to witchcraft. To separate these more individual *ad hoc* touches in the story from those which represent, so to say, its ethnic form and development represents a critical process for which no rule or set of rules can be devised. A species of instinctive judgment, or, perhaps better, tact, which is certain to develop in the investigator with the continuous handling of such materials, will be the safest guide in this mode of criticism; the proper attitude is, on the one hand, neither implicit faith in every detail of the connected legends and in every highly symbolic employment of the legend in ritualistic practice; on the other hand, a growing faith in the synchronism of *mantra*, *brāhmaṇa*, and *sūtra*. As far as the first two are concerned, the writer is more and more inclined to the belief that *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* are for the least part chronological distinctions; that they represent two modes of literary activity, and two modes of literary speech, which are largely contemporaneous, the *mantras* being the earliest lyric and the Brāhmaṇas the earliest epic-didactic manifestation of the same cycle of thought. Both forms existed together, for aught we know, from earliest times; only the redaction of the *mantra*-collections in their present arrangement seems on the whole to have preceded the redaction of the Brāhmaṇas. At any rate, I am for my part incapable of believing that even a single Vedic hymn was ever composed without reference to ritual application, and without that environment of legendary report which we find in a no doubt exaggerated and distended form in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras.

The hymns of the Rig-Veda, like those of the other three Vedas, were liturgical from the very start. This means that they form only a fragment of a system of religious conceptions ; practices, legends, and, no doubt, in a measure theological or theosophical speculation, surrounded the hymns from the start ; a knowledge of these is essential to their interpretation, and our only means of obtaining this knowledge is to reduce the hypertrophied body of the Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras, and Upanisads to a proper form and size, by discounting liberally the tendency towards phantastic and untrammelled development which has somehow fastened itself upon every mode of Hindu thought of which we have any record.

The same freedom from prejudice for or against the commentators of Vedic texts and texts belonging to the classical literature may surely now be regarded as the true method. The old battle on the value of the so-called tradition I regard as definitely at an end. There are now no reputable Vedic scholars who would be willing to follow the "Sāyaṇas" through thick and thin ; there are, on the other hand (if there ever were any), none who would deny that late texts and commentaries may contain the correct explanation, or the key to the correct explanation, of difficult Vedic passages. But there is still in existence an unwholesome tendency towards a purely esoteric interpretation of the *mantras*, a reliance upon the *facultas se ipsam interpretandi*, without an attempt to search painstakingly and exhaustingly their native interpretation and application.

So the key to the hymn AV. ii. 27 and the explanation of the Vedic words *prāc*, *prātiprāc* and *pratiprācīta* was found by the writer in the hands of the commentator Dārila : see P. A. O. S. for May, 1885 (Journal, vol. xiii., p. xlii, and "Seven Hymns of the AV.," *American Journal of Philology*, vii. 479 ff., 14 of the reprint).\* Similarly the Vedic word *apacit*, which was translated erroneously by many scholars, was understood correctly by the medical Čāstras as reported by Wise in his Digest of Hindu Medicine : see the author in "Contributions to the Interpretation of the Veda," second series, *Am. Journ. Phil.* xi. 326 (p. 8 of the reprint). On the other hand, it is equally erroneous to deny—as some now tend to do—that time and distance obscure the view, and to assert that the post-Vedic literature has in general preserved an unchanged picture of Indian life and thought. We may liken the separate features of Vedic life to streams which start to traverse the long distance from the Vedic head-spring to modern times. Some are lost in the sand on the way. Others flow on becoming more and more muddy and sluggish as they advance. Still others have preserved throughout their long journey their

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\* In this connection I take the liberty of drawing the attention of the editors of the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* to the fact that the word *prātiprāc* treated by I. N. Reuter at vol. xxxi. 229 owes its explanation to the papers just quoted : this is duly noted by Böhtlingk in his lexicon, *sub voce*.

limpid clearness. Who shall say beforehand what is to be the fate of any of them ?

Thus, on the one hand, we fully acknowledge that the various literary types subsequent to the *mantras* can be employed successfully only with great caution and a still greater fund of what we designated above as tact, rather than judgment based upon schematic principles ; on the other hand, we cannot emphasize too much the imperative need of search for help in all kinds of later literature. Only it must be tempered by such considerations as those which have been advanced here ; the later the evidence, the more cautious must be its application to a Vedic passage. Our treatment of the legend will, it is hoped, offer various illustrations of the manner in which the interpretation of the *mantras* is benefited by the remaining literature : Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras, commentaries, and classical legends.

The story of Namuci may be best treated in five chapters : 1. The battle between Indra and Namuci, and the subsequent compact. 2. Namuci gets Indra drunk with *surā*, and robs him of strength, enjoyment of life, and the Soma. 3. Indra, with the aid of the Aṅvins and Sarasvatī, circumvents the compact and revenges himself on Namuci. 4. The Aṅvins and Sarasvatī bring back the Soma from Namuci. 5. Minor points in the story.

1. *The battle between Indra and Namuci, and the subsequent compact.*—In general, Namuci is designated as an *āsurā* or *āsura*. So at RV. x. 131. 4 = AV. xx. 125. 4 ; VS. x. 33 ; xx. 76 ; MS. iii. 11. 4 ; iv. 12. 5 ; TB. i. 4. 2. 1 ; at VS. xx. 67 = MS. iii. 11. 4 ; TB. ii. 6. 13. 1 ; at VS. xx. 68 = MS. iii. 11. 4 ; at VS. xix. 34 = MS. iii. 11. 7 ; TB. ii. 6. 3. 1 ; LQS. v. 4. 15 ; Vait. 30. 12 ; QCS. xv. 15. 13 ; at CB. v. 4. 1. 9 ; xii. 7. 1. 10 ; 3. 1 ; TB. i. 7. 1. 6 ; PB. xii. 6. 8. Not infrequently the term *dāsa* or *dāsā* is applied to Namuci ; so RV. v. 30. 7, 8 ; vi. 20. 6 ; x. 73. 7 (here *māhas-yūm dāsam*). At RV. i. 53. 7 = AV. xx. 21. 7 we have *nāmu-cim māyīnam*, 'the wily Namuci.' All three epithets place him on a level with other demons and hostile forces, the last two being frequent epithets of demons with whom Indra contends ; *āsurā* is the epithet of Svarbhānu, RV. v. 40. 5, 9 ; of *etādu*, TS. ii. 6. 9. 4, 5 ; of irreligious persons, ChU. viii. 8. 5 ; *dāsa* is applied to Čambara, RV. vi. 26. 5 ; to Čuṣṇa ; RV. vii. 19. 2 ; *māyin* is applied to Čuṣṇa, RV. i. 11. 7 ; 56. 3 ; to Ahi, RV. i. 32. 4 ; ii. 11. 5 ; v. 30. 6 ; to Vṛtra, RV. x. 147. 2 ; to Dānava, RV. ii. 11. 10 ; to Arbuda, RV. viii. 3. 19 ; to Pipru, RV. x. 138. 3. The name Namuci occurs also more familiarly without epithet at RV. ii. 14. 5 ; at viii. 14. 13 = AV. xx. 29. 3 ; SV. i. 211 ; VS. xix. 71 ; at MS. iii. 11. 4 (p. 145, l. 10) ; at TB. ii. 6. 12. 2 = MS. iii. 11. 3 ; CB. xii. 8. 1. 3 ; and at TS. i. 8. 14. 1 = TB. i. 7. 8. 2 ; VS. x. 14. Namuci appears directly in the company of demons hostile to Indra : with Vṛtra, RV. vii. 19. 5 ; with Vāla, VS. xx. 68 = MS. iii. 11. 4 ; with Pipru and Rudhikrā, RV. ii. 14. 5 ; with Pipru and Čambara, in the *Suparṇādhyāya*, *varga* 29. 5.

As clearly as this evidence places Namuci in the position of a

natural enemy of Indra, ultimately to be slain by him, there is on the other hand conclusive proof that for some reason or other a friendly agreement, in the nature of an alliance, truce, or compact, existed between the two prior to their final falling-out. This is stated roundly at ÇB. xii. 7. 1. 10 : *namucināi 'vā 'sureṇa cacāra* '(Indra) went with the *āsura* Namuci.' Mahidhara at VS. x. 34 says : *namucir nāmā 'sura indrasya sakhā 'sit* 'an Asura, named Namuci, was a friend of Indra'; so also MBh. ix. 2434 : *tene* (sc. *namucinā*) *'ndraḥ sakhyam akarot* 'Indra made friends with Namuci'; and 2435, where Namuci is addressed by Indra as *asuraḥ* *sakhe*. At PB. xii. 6. 8 this relation appears as a compact : Indra and Namuci agree not to slay one another either by day or by night, with nothing either wet or dry : *indraḥ ca namuciḥ cā 'suraḥ sam adadhātām na nāu naktām na divā hanan(!) nā 'rdreṇa na ṣuskenē 'ti*. At ÇB. xii. 7. 3. 1 Indra tells the Aṅvins and Sarasvatī that he had sworn to Namuci that he would not slay him by day or by night, with a staff or a bow, with the flat hand or with the fist, with anything wet or dry : *ṣepāno 'smi namucaye na tvā divā na naktām hanāni na dandena na dhanvanā na prthēna na mustinā na ṣuskenā nā 'rdreṇa*. The same compact is stated at MS. iv. 3. 4, and here we have for the first time a motive assigned for this unholy alliance : *indro vāi namucinā nā 'labhata sa raṣmīn kulāyam kṛtvā 'rohad amum ādityam tam vā anvamantrayata sakhyā asāve 'ti so 'bravin nā 'ham hanisyāmi 'ti so 'bravīt saṁdhām te saṁdadhāi yathā tvā na divā hanāni na naktām na ṣuskenā nā 'rdreṇa 'ti* 'Indra did not seize Namuci. He (Namuci), making the rays (of the sun) into a net-work, ascended to yonder sun. He (Namuci) addressed him (Indra), saying : "let us two be friends." He (Indra) said : "I shall not slay (you)." He said (further) : "I will make an agreement with you not to slay you either by day or by night, with any thing either dry or wet." Rather different is the account at TB. i. 7. 1. 6 : 'Indra, having slain Vṛtra, and having overcome the Aśuras, did not catch the *āsura* Namuci. But by means of Čaci (his might) Indra seized him. They closed upon one another. Namuci was more successful than this one. Namuci said : "Let us form an agreement ; then I will let you down ; you shall not slay me with anything dry nor with anything wet, neither by day nor by night." The text is : *indro vṛtram hatvā, āsurān purābhāvya namucinā āsuram nā 'labhata, tam ṣacyā 'grhṇāt, tām samulabhetām, so 'smād abhiṣunataro 'bhavat, so 'bravīt saṁdhām saṁdadhāvahāi, atha tvā 'vaḥ\* sraṣyāmi, na mā ṣuskenā nā 'rdreṇa*

\*So the text of the Bibliotheca Indica. I see no good reason for emending the adverb *avaḥ* to the preposition *ava*, as proposed by Muir (Sanskrit Texts, iv.<sup>1</sup>, p. 261) and Ludwig (Rig-Veda, v. 145) : *avaḥ sraṣyāmi* is to *ava sraṣyāmi* as *nicāḥ khananti* (AV. ii. 3. 8) is to *ny ākhanan* (AV. vi. 109. 8). Sāyana in his commentary on PB. xii. 6. 6 quotes this passage from the TB., and reads *vācaḥ* for *tvā 'vaḥ*. But the text of the Bibl. Ind. is by no means trustworthy.

*hanah na divā na naktam iti.* The same motive is assigned even more clearly by Sāyana at RV. viii. 14. 13 : *purā kile 'ndro 'surāñ jītvā namucim asurañ grahituñ na çaçāka : sa ca yudh-yamānas tenā 'surena jagrhe, sa ca grhītam indram evam avocat tvām visrjāmi rātrāv ahni ca çuṣkeṇā 'rdreṇa cā 'yudhena yadi mām mā hīnsir iti.* Very similarly Sāyana at PB. xii. 6. 8 : *indraḥ sarvān asurāñ jītvā sarvebhyo 'surebhyo 'dhikam namucyā-khyam asuram balāt jagrāha, sa cā 'sura indrād adhikabalaḥ san tam avajagrāha, grhītvā ca tvām visrjāmi yadi tvam mām ahorātrayor ārdreṇa çuṣkeṇa na hanyād (!) iti.*

The belief has been expressed above that this motive has some relation to the supposed etymology of the name *namuci*. The commentator at TB. i. 7. 1. 6, 7, cited by Ludwig, *Rig-Veda* v. 145,\* expresses with especial vividness the notion of 'holding close' or 'not letting go' which the name suggests : 'as one wrestler, when fighting, puts forth his might, and, embracing, seizes the opposing wrestler with his hands, thus then Indra and Namuci, intent upon destroying one another, having closed with their hands and their feet, grasping one another firmly, fell upon the earth like a pair of wrestlers. (Namuci) turned out more successful (*abhi-çunata*), i. e. stronger round about (*abhitaḥ*) in his hands and feet. And he said : 'I am sorry to have Indra die.'"

The *mantras* report nothing of this preliminary contest between Indra and Namuci, nor of the compact resulting from it. But an allusion to the subsequent companionship of the pair may be gathered with a great degree of probability from the verse RV. x. 131. 5 = AV. xx. 125. 5 ; VS. x. 34 ; xx. 77 ; MS. iii. 11. 4 ; iv. 12. 5 ; TB. i. 4. 2. 1 ; AÇS. iii. 9. 3. The discussion of this stanza leads to the second chapter of the story, which may be entitled :

2. *Namuci gets Indra drunk with surā, and robs him of strength, enjoyment of life, and the soma.*—The stanza in question reads : *putrām iva pītārāv aṣvīno 'bhē 'ndrā 'vāthuh kāvyaīr daṇśā-nābhiḥ : yat surāmañ vy āpibah çācibhiḥ sārāsvatī tvā magha-vann abhiṣṇak† 'as parents a child, so did both Aṣvins, O Indra, help you with their magical wonders ; when, O Maghavan, you with your might had drunk surā until sickness, Sarasvatī performed a cure upon you.' This stanza is preceded in the Sañhitās etc. (RV. x. 131. 4 = AV. xx. 125. 4 ; VS. x. 33 ; xx. 76 ; MS. ibid. ; TB. ibid. ; AÇS. ibid. ; Vāit. 30. 12) by the verse : *yuvām surāmam aṣvīnā namucāv āsuré sácā : vipipānā çubhas patiḥ indram kārmasv āvatam 'you two Aṣvins, drinking your-**

\* In the Bibl. Ind. edition of the TB., Mādhava's commentary on *prapāṭhakas* 6 and 7 of the first *kāṇḍa* is wanting.

† At TB. i. 4. 2. 1, *abhiṣṇāt*, without accent, probably for *abhiṣṇāt* 'help' (= *abhi* + *iṣṇāt*, augmentless imperfect from the root *iṣ*). The accent was lost under the influence of *abhiṣṇak* of the parallel versions. We may assume that the redactors of the TB. felt the word to be of about the same meaning as *abhiṣṇak*.

selves into a surfeit of *surā* with the *āsura* Namuci,\* helped Indra in his deeds, O ye lords of light.†

The difficult word in both verses is *surāma*. The pada-text of the RV. does not divide the word;‡ neither does the VS. Prātiçākhyā (see *Ind. Stud.* iv. 306). They were, indeed, in doubt as to its meaning. Mahidhara at VS. x. 33, 34 glosses it by *sus̥ṭhu ramayati* . . . *sus̥ṭhu ramanīyam*; at xx. 76 by *surāmāyaṇi graham*. Mādhava at TB. i. 4. 2. 1 defines it by *surayā sampāditaṁ imam pātrasthaṁ dravyaviçeṣam* (text *dravyaçeṣam*), and *surayā sampāditaṁ imaṁ rasaviçeṣam*.§ Sāyaṇa at RV. x. 131. 4, 5 has *sus̥ṭhu ramanasādhanam idaṁ havir* (st. 4) and *sukhena ramanasādhanam* (st. 5). Both stanzas play an important part in the *sūtrāmāṇi*-ceremony, as will be seen below; the explanation of *surāma* is complicated further by the employment in the same rite of certain *prāiṣas* which contain the stem *surāman*. Thus, VS. xxi. 42; MS. iii. 11. 4 (p. 145): *hótā yakṣad aṣvīnāu sārāsvatīm indraṁ sūtrāmānam imē sómāḥ surāmānaç* | *chādgāir ná meṣūr r̥abháḥ sūtāḥ*, etc. Here again Mahidhara glosses *surāmānaḥ* with *sus̥ṭhu ramayanti* . . . *ramanīyāḥ*. At AÇS. iii. 9. 3 a similar *prāiṣa* is inserted between RV. x. 131. 4 and x. 131. 5: *mārjayitvā yuvāṁ surāmam aṣvine 'ti grahānām puronuvākya, hotā yakṣad aṣvīnā sārāsvatī 'ndraṁ sūtrāmānam somānām surāmānam juṣantām vyantu pivantu madantu somān surāmno hotar yaje 'ti prāiṣaḥ, putram iva pitarāv aṣvino 'bhe 'ti yājyā*: cf. also ÇÇS. xv. 15. 8-12; KÇS. xix. 6. 20 and 23. That the stem *surāman* as an epithet of *soma* means 'delightful' seems an unavoidable assumption, and so the

\* 'With' in the sense of French *chez* in *chez moi*, etc. Cf. RV. viii. 4. 3: *kānveṣu sū sácā piba* 'drink (O Indra) bravely with the Kānvas.'

† Grassmann in his translation (ii. 498) relegates this verse to the appendix, because it differs in its metre from the rest of the hymn, and because it is not directly addressed to Indra. And yet the entire tradition of the stanzas exhibits it in close juxtaposition with stanza 5. The Yajus-samhitās and the *çrāuta*-ritual point to the fact that the two stanzas are inseparable; what is perhaps more important, the two verses are part of the same story. Similarly the especially pithy verse RV. viii. 91. 21 is treated by Grassmann at i. 567, although it is found in close connection with verse 22 at VS. xi. 73-4; TS. iv. 1. 10. 1; MS. ii. 7. 7; and above all is fixed in its place by the ritual tradition, e. g. KÇS. xvi. 4. 38-9. The clearer it becomes that the primary purpose of the *mantra*-collections was their use in connection with religious practices, as prayers accompanying the acts, the less ground will there be for such ingenious but subjective criticism.

‡ In Max Müller's editions of the padapāṭha of the RV. *surāmam* in stanza 5 is written with *avagraha*, *su-rāmam*, and Aufrecht in his second edition quotes the undivided form of the word only in the fourth stanza. In a MS. of the padapāṭha belonging to Roth, however, *surāmam* is left undivided in both stanzas, 4 and 5; see KZ. xxiii. 476.

§ Mādhava, *ibid.*, states explicitly that *surā* was employed with the recitation of these two stanzas: *atha mantradvayena surāyā 'numantranam* (!). Cf. also KÇS. xix. 6. 20.

| At TB. ii. 6. 12. 10 the same *prāiṣa* occurs, with the variant *sūtrāmānaḥ* for *surāmānaḥ*.

two Petersburg Lexicons translate the word. From the juxtaposition of *surāman* with *surāma* in the books of the Yajur-Veda we are constrained to conclude further that the authors of the *prāiśas* quoted above in some way conceived of *surāma* also as 'delightful'—in other words, that *surāma* was either misunderstood by the authors or diaskeuasts of the Yajus-works, or that they exerted themselves greatly for the sake of the pun. I incline to the latter view, because the stanzas containing the word are employed intelligently at Vāit. 30. 11, as will be shown immediately below.

The translation of *surāma* by 'surā-sickness,' or 'nausea due to the consequences of surā-drinking,' was first suggested by Roth, as cited by Garbe at KZ. xxiii. 476;\* and the latter scholar (ibid. 526) showed that this interpretation of the word was implied at Vāit. 30. 11, where the two stanzas containing the word *surāma* are employed in connection with a *graha* taken by a *somātīpūta* or *somavāmin* 'one who has taken soma to excess.'† This one is very properly ordered to take a *graha* of *surā* mixed with milk, not of *surā* "straight": *yuvam surāmam iti catasrbhiḥ* (AV. xx. 125. 4-7) *payahsurāgrahānām, na sāurānām*. In fact, the employment of the *sāutrāmaṇi*-ceremony as the expiatory performance of one who 'vomits the soma through his mouth or the other openings of the body' (Mahīdhara in the introduction to VS. xix. 1, and in his commentary on xix. 3: see QCS. xix. 1. 2; Vāit. 30. 1; cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* x. 349), and the use of the *sāutrāmaṇi*-ceremony after soma-sacrifices (e. g. KB. xvi. 10), are no doubt founded upon these two mantras (*yuvam surāmam* and *putrām iva pitārāu*), which narrate the excessive drinking exploits of Indra and the Aṅvins.‡ Conversely, the prominent rôle which the *surā* plays in the *sāutrāmaṇi* (see, in addition to the last citations, VS. xix. 5, 7, 14, 33, 84; LQS. v. 4. 11; *Ind. Stud.* x. 349) renders it likely that *surāma* also contains this word.

For the present we are only concerned with RV. x. 131. 5, the stanza in which it is stated that the Aṅvins helped Indra, and that Sarasvatī cured him of the effects of his intoxication due to *surā*-drinking. That this stanza refers to some event which had taken place in the course of Indra's companionship with Namuci is on the face of it probable, because Namuci is mentioned in the preceding stanza, and because of the mention of the Aṅvins and Sarasvatī. The environment of the stanza, the situation which it refers to, is in my opinion stated clearly at ÇB. xii. 7. 3. 1, in the

\* Previously Grassmann had translated it by 'freudenreich' (ii. 407, 498 of his translation), following the Pet. Lex., which translates it by 'ergoetzend'; Muir, OST., p. 98, note, by 'delightful'; Ludwig in his translation, ii. 266, by 'ser erfreuend,' and 'erfreuend'; Oldenberg at QGS. vi. 4. 2 by 'hocherfreuend.'

† A graphic description of this state is given at LQS. viii. 10. 7 ff.

‡ See especially AÇS. iii. 9. 3 and QCS. xv. 15. 8-12, where it is apparent that these two stanzas form the entire original *mantra*-stock upon which the ceremony is built up.

words: *indrasye 'ndriyam annasya rasam somasya bhakṣam surayā 'suro namucir aharat*, so 'çvināu ca sarasvatīm co 'pā-dhūvaḥ. . . . The translations of the passage with which I am acquainted have, it seems to me, missed the point of the passage. Muir, OST. v. 94, note, translates: 'The Asura Namuci carried off Indra's strength, the essence of food, and the draught of soma, together with wine.' Lanman in his Reader, Notes p. 397<sup>b</sup>, translates: 'N. stole I.'s strength, etc., along with his *surā*.' I would render: 'By means of *surā* the Asura Namuci robbed Indra of his strength, the taste of his food, and the enjoyment of his soma.' In other words, Namuci got Indra drunk by giving him a drink to which he was not accustomed. As the result of this, Indra came into a state which may be summed up in the German word *katzenjammer*. No better description of this deplorable condition could be presented in Sanskrit words.\* And these qualities which Indra has lost are conceived as having been robbed from him by Namuci for his own benefit. No wonder that Indra resorted to the Aṣvins, the heavenly physicians, and to Sarasvatī, the goddess of wisdom. Equally well does another passage, ÇB. xii. 7. 1. 10-12, describe Namuci's wile and Indra's mishap: *namucināi 'va saha cacāra* (sc. *indrah*): *sa āikṣata namucir apunar vā ayam abhūd dhantā 'sye 'ndriyam vīryam somapītham annādyaṃ harānū 'ti tasyāi 'tayāi 'va suraye 'ndriyam vīryam somapītham annādyam aharat sa ha nyarṇaḥ çīḥye tam devā upasam-jagmire gresṭho vāi no 'yam abhūt tam imam pāpmā 'vidad dhante 'nam bhīṣajyāme 'ti: te 'çvināv abruvan yuvam vāi brahmānau bhīṣajau stho yuvam imam bhīṣajyatam iti . . . . te sarasvatīm abruvan tvam vāi bhīṣajyam asi tvam imam bhīṣajye 'ti. . . .* 'Indra kept company with Namuci. Namuci reflected "This one has not come to his senses. Aha! I will take his strength, manhood, soma-drink, and food." By means of this very *surā* he took his strength, manhood, soma-drink and food. He (Indra) lay unloosened. The gods came up to him and said: "This one has been the best among us, (but) sin has overtaken him here. Well, then, let us cure him." They said to the Aṣvins: "You two indeed are the learned physicians, do you cure him" . . . . They said to Sarasvatī: "You indeed are remedy, do you cure him." It is to be observed that Namuci in his self-exhortation does not say anything about robbing Indra of *surā*; therefore the words *etayāi 'va surayā* in the narrative subsequently cannot mean 'along with this *surā*,' but 'by means of this very *surā*.' Upon this the understanding of the situation depends: Indra in the preceding part of this chapter (ÇB. xii. 7.

\* A similar description of the results of drunkenness at ÇB. xii. 7. 2. 1: *apa vā etasmāt teja indriyam vīryam krāmāti yah samo 'tipavata ūrdhvaṃ vā* (text *cā*) *vāñcaṃ vā* 'brilliancy, strength, and manhood goes away from him who ejects the soma either from above or from below.' As a sinner against the gods and one who stands in need of purification the *somātīpūta* is pictured at AV. vi. 51: cf. Kāu. 25. 21 and Keç. *ibid*.



1. 1 ff.) has taken the soma from Tvāṣṭar and has become drunk : cf. RV. iii. 48. 4 ; iv. 18. 3 ; MS. ii. 4. 11 ; TS. ii. 3. 2. 6 ; 4. 12. 1 ; 5. 1. 1 ; vi. 5. 11. 3 ; Kāth. xii. 10 ; ÇB. xii. 8. 3. 1 ; AB. vii. 28 ; Mahidhara at VS. xix. 12. Now his companion Namuci further incapacitates him by plying him with *surā*, so that he comes into the state of *surāma*, or intoxication from *surā*. Then he robs him of those qualities which a drunken man loses : strength, taste for food, and especially the soma, which is later on regained by arduous labors on the part of the Aṣvins and Indra.

A slightly different turn is given the same story by Mahidhara at VS. x. 33 : *namucir nāmā 'sura indrasya sakhā 'sīt sa viśvas tasya 'ndrasya vīryam surayā somena saha papāu tata indro 'ṣvināu sarasvatīm co 'vācū 'ham namucinā pītavīryo 'smi 'Namuci . . . all the time by means of surā together with soma\* drank Indra's strength.' . . . Cf. also the commentary at VS. xix. 34 : namucine 'ndrasya vīryam pītām.*

We must remember that the drink *surā* in general is, so to speak, not Indra's "tipple." In the RV., which states innumerable times that Indra gets his enjoyment and inspiration from his soma-potations, the drink *surā* is never mentioned in any especial connection with him : see i. 116. 7 ; 191. 10 ; vii. 86. 6 ; viii. 2. 12. Nor is Indra's name associated with the drink in the AV. In fact, so far as I know, Indra and *surā* are associated only in the *sāutrāmaṇī*, the historical basis of which in all likelihood rests in a large measure on our legend. The *surā* is in general not employed in *gr̥nuta*-practices ;† it is *lūkika*, not *vaidika*, and everywhere in the worst repute possible. It is a strong drink. Mahidhara at VS. xxi. 1 says that the soma mixed with *surā* becomes strong (*āsutaḥ surayā tivrīkṛtaḥ*). Its preparation as described at KÇS. xix. 1. 20-27 and by Mahidhara at VS. xix. 1 shows that it was a strong spiced brandy prepared from fermented grains and plants : cf. also Manu xi. 95 = Gr̥hyas. ii. 16. As early as in RV. vii. 86. 6 *surā* along with wrath (*manyú*) dice (*vibhīdaka*), thoughtlessness (*ācittī*), is spoken of as the cause of sin (*ánṛta*). For similar condemnation of the drink in the *sāmhitas* see Muir OST. v. 464 ; Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, pp. 280-1. The Brahman who drinks the *surā* at the *sāutrāmaṇī* is hired to do so at ÇÇS. xv. 15. 14 ; at ÇB. xii. 8. 1. 5 *surā* is designated as an unwholesome potation : *aśiva iva vā eṣa bhakṣo yat surā brāhmaṇasya* ; therefore a *rājanya* or *vaīśya* is hired to drink it at KÇS. xix. 3. 16. At ÇB. i. 6. 3. 4 ; v. 5. 4. 5, we have : so (sc. *kalavīṅkaḥ*) *'bhimādyatku iva vadati, abhimādyann iva hi surām pītva vadati* 'the sparrow utters sounds like a drunkard, just as a person who has drunk *surā*.' Cf. also MS. ii. 4. 2 (p. 39, bottom). Especially strong is the condemnation of *surā* in the Çāstras : e. g. at Manu xi. 94, where it is

\* Cf. *surāsomena* at ÇÇS. xv. 15. 5, and VS. xix. 5 : *surayā hi somah suta āsuto madāya*. Cf. also ÇB. xii. 7. 3. 12.

† In addition to the *sāutrāmaṇī*, only the *punarabhiṣeka*-ceremony, which is itself a form of the *sāutrāmaṇī*, prescribes the use of *surā*. See AB. viii. 1 ff. and cf. Vāit. 30. 2 ; KÇS. xix. 1. 3 ; Kāuṣ. 11. 7-10.

called the 'dirty refuse of food' (*malam annānām*), and is identified with sin; the sentiment is based upon TS. i. 3. 2. 6, 7; Kāth. xiv. 6. Cf. also in general Manu v. 90; viii. 159; ix. 235, 237; xi. 49, 55, 91-98, 150; xii. 56; Viṣṇu li. 1; Gāut. xxi. 1; xxiii. 1, 6; xxiv. 10; Ap. Dh. i. 9. 25; 3, 10; Vāsiṣṭha xx. 19, 22; xxvi. 5; Yājñav. i. 73, 164; iii. 6, 207, 253. Cf. also Ch.U. v. 10. 9, and *Ind. Stud.*, i. 265. The incidental and therefore most valuable statements regarding Hindu life in the Mahābhāṣya do not fail to touch upon this point; the *surā* and those addicted to it are ridiculed and disparaged: see Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xiii. 339, 458, 471, 474, 483. Once (p. 339) the practice of drinking *surā* at the *sāutrāmaṇi* is alluded to contemptuously.

If our interpretation of the word *surayā* and our conception of the stories at ÇB. xii. 7. 1. 10 and 3. 1 is correct, if consequently the true value of RV. x. 131. 5 has been established by the aid of these stories, then we may once more recognize the value of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras.\* For purposes of interpretation the entire body of Vedic writings are a unit; one of the main faults of the interpretation of the Vedic hymns in the past has been the failure to investigate courageously and thoroughly the materials outside of the *mantras*, to throw aside the abundant chaff, and to derive from what is left the very considerable help which they yield, often in the most unexpected manner. Conversely the legends of the Brāhmaṇas and the practices of the ritual, though they expand, adapt, and symbolize, are usually founded upon conceptions expressed in *mantra*-form, and their explanation thus depends in a large measure upon the *mantras*. Just as *surayā* of the Brāhmaṇas explains *surāma* of the *mantra*, so also we were led to our interpretation of *surayā* by the theory that the word *surāma* contained the word *surā*.

3. *Indra with the aid of the Aṣvins and Sarasvatī circumvents the compact, and revenges himself on Namuci.*—We have left Indra in a sorry plight. According to ÇB. xii. 7. 1. 10 (cited above), he lies in a drunken stupor, and is so found by the gods, who resort to the Aṣvins and Sarasvatī in his behalf. According to ÇB. xii. 7. 3. 1, and Mahīdhara at VS. x. 33 (see above), he is capable of pleading his own case before these divinities. Other accounts of the story (TB. i. 7. 1. 6-7; Sāyaṇa at RV. viii. 14. 13; Mahābh. ix. 2434 ff.) omit all mention of the Aṣvins and Sarasvatī;† Indra gets the better of Namuci apparently by his own

\* We may remark by the way once more in illustration of this truth that the article entitled 'Die Hauskatze im alten Indien,' *Vedische Studien* (Pischel and Geldner) i. 313 ff., would in all probability have remained unwritten if Geldner had had at his disposal Kāuṣ. 42. 19 ff., which was not published at the time. It then would have been clear that AV. i. 18 is directed against a woman with evil personal characteristics (*pāpalakṣaṇā* sc. *stri*): the point of both hymn and practice is to ward off the evil consequences of those characteristics; they are therefore exorcised, as it were, by word and deed.

† Cf. also the transformed version of it at Mahābh. v. 318 ff.

cunning. In the RV. only the two stanzas x. 131. 4, 5 attest the part played by these gods. The Yajus-saṁhitās and their attendant literature present quite a number of *mantras* which state distinctly that aid was given by them to Indra in his affair with Namuci. So especially a stanza which occurs in almost all accounts of the *sāutrāmaṇī* (VS. xix. 34; MS. iii. 11. 7 (p. 151); TB. ii. 6. 3. 1; ÇB. xii. 8. 1. 31; KÇS. xix. 3. 10; Vāit. 30. 12; LÇS. v. 4. 15; ÇÇS. xv. 15. 13) mentions all the *dramatis personæ*: Indra, the Aṅvins, Sarasvatī, and Namuci. The same is true of VS. xx. 67; MS. iii. 11. 4 (p. 145); TB. ii. 6. 13. 1; KÇS. xix. 6. 16; also of VS. xx. 68; MS. *ibid.*; TB. *ibid.*; KÇS. *ibid.*; and also of VS. xx. 59; MS. iii. 11. 3 (p. 142); TB. ii. 6. 12. 2. All these will be discussed below in their proper places. Of evident allusion to this story is also VS. xix. 12, where all but Namuci are mentioned by name; the same is true of VS. xix. 15, and a number of other *sāutrāmaṇī*-stanzas: VS. xix. 18, 80-83 (= MS. iii. 9. 11; TB. ii. 6. 4); 88-90 (MS. TB. *ibid.*), 93-95 (TB. *ibid.*); xx. 56-60 (MS. iii. 11. 3; TB. ii. 6. 13); 73-75 (MS. iii. 11. 4; TB. ii. 6. 13), 90 (cf. TB. ii. 7. 12. 1). In the two stories of the ÇB. the Aṅvins and Sarasvatī bargain for a share of the *sāutrāmaṇī*-sacrifice, and it is granted them by the gods at xii. 7. 1. 11, 12, and by Indra at xii. 7. 3. 1. The latter passage reads: *te 'bruvan, astu no 'trā'py athā 'harāme 'ti saha na etad athā 'harate 'ty abravīt*. Indra had complained of Namuci's robbery, and asks them to bring back what he has lost. 'They (sc. the Aṅvins and Sarasvatī) said: "We must have a share in this also, then we will bring it back." Indra said: "This belongs to us together, bring it back then."' In the former passage a goat is assigned to the Aṅvins as their share, a sheep to Sarasvatī, while Indra's share consists of a bull: cf. VS. xix. 89-91; MS. iii. 11. 9; TB. ii. 6. 4; Vāit. 30. 11, 15; KÇS. xix. 3. 2, 3; ÇÇS. xv. 15. 2-4; AÇS. iii. 9. 2. Both these represent the method, patented in the Brāhmaṇas, of accounting for the circumstance that the benefits of a certain sacrifice accrue to more than one divinity; this end is generally accomplished by an agreement between the divinities involved, or a promise rendered by one to the other: see e. g. ÇB. iv. 1. 3. 4; AB. iii. 20; TS. ii. 6. 6. Of this we must expect no trace in the *mantras*; on the other hand, they report clearly that the Aṅvins and Sarasvatī performed a cure upon Indra by means of a sacrifice, which is as a matter of course understood by the commentators to be the *sāutrāmaṇī*. Thus VS. xix. 12: *devā yajñām atanvata bheṣajām bhiṣajā 'çrīmā: vācā sārāsvatī bhiṣaj indraye 'ndriyāni dādhatāḥ* 'the gods prepared a sacrifice; the Aṅvins, the physicians, prepared a remedy; Sarasvatī by means of speech acted as physician, furnishing Indra his might.' So also VS. xix. 15: *açrībhyām dugdhām bheṣajām indrayāi 'ndrām sārāsvatyā* 'the Aṅvins milked a remedy, Sarasvatī strength for Indra; VS. xx. 68 = MS. iii. 11. 4 (p. 145); TB. ii. 6. 13. 1: *yām aṅvīnā sārāsvatī harīṣe 'ndram āvardhayan* 'Indra, whom the Aṅvins and Sarasvatī strengthened with *havis*.' cf. also VS. xx. 56-67, 69; 73-75.

After the cure, we must assume, came the great act, the *pièce de résistance* of the entire story. Indra had sworn that he would not slay Namuci under the conditions stated above (p. 127); and yet some conditions must be invented which make him free to do this without perjuring himself. Down to the latest times the feat by which this was accomplished was a favorite theme for the poets: Namuci was slain by the foam of the waters. At Rāmāyaṇa iii. 30. 28 (Bomb.; iii. 35. 94 Gorresio) we read: *sa vṛtra iva vajreṇa phenena namucir yathā . . . . nīpāpāta hatah kharah* 'Khara fell down slain . . . . as Vṛtra was slain by the thunderbolt, as Namuci by the foam.' At Mahābh. ix. 2436: *dr̥ṣṭvā nīhāram ic̣varaḥ cichedā 'sya ciro . . . . apām phenena vāsavaḥ* 'the lord Vāsava, perceiving a fog, cut off his (Namuci's) head with the foam of the waters.' Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on Mahābh. i. 7306 ff. (Calc.; i. 197. 31 Bomb.) says: *namucibādhe kartavye yathā apām phene vajrasya praveṣaḥ . . . .* 'just as when Namuci was to be slain (Indra's) thunderbolt entered into the foam of the waters' . . . . \* Mahādhara at VS. x. 33 says: 'the Aṅvins and Sarasvatī gave to Indra a thunderbolt in the form of water-foam. With that Indra cut the head of Namuci.' And at xix. 71: (*apām phenena*) *jaladīṇḍireṇa namucer asurasya ciraḥ (udavartayaḥ) chinnavān asi* 'with the foam of water did you take off the head of the Asura Namuci.' Sāyaṇa at RV. viii. 14. 13: 'Indra . . . . cut off his head at the junction of day and night, with foam, which is different from dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse: O Indra, with the foam of the waters, turned into a bolt, did you take off the head of the Asura Namuci.'

The Brāhmaṇas are more explicit. At MS. iv. 3. 4 we have: *tasya vā upodaye sūryasya nīhāram saṁtatyā 'pām phenena ciro 'chinat* 'having spread a fog at sunrise, he cut off his head with the foam of the waters.' At TB. i. 7. 1. 7 it is stated: *sa etam apām phenam asiṅcat, na vā eṣa ṣusko nā "rdro, vyuṣṭā "sīt, anu-ḍītaḥ sūryaḥ, na vā etad divā na naktam, tasyāi 'tasmīṇ loka apām phenena cira udavartayat* 'he molded this foam of the waters: that, you know, is neither dry nor wet. It was dawn, the sun had not risen: that, you know, is neither day nor night. He cut off his head with the foam of the water in this world.' The Pañc. Br. xii. 6. 8 has: *tasya vyuṣṭīyām anudita āditye 'pām phenena ciro 'chinad etad vāi na naktam na divā yad vyuṣṭīyām anudita āditye etan nā "rdraṁ na ṣuskaṁ yad apām phenah* 'he cut off his head at dawn before the sun had risen with

\* A variation of this story at Mahābh. v. 318-330 tells how the great R̥ṣis had promised Vṛtra that they would not slay him with anything dry or wet, with a stone or wood, with a knife or arrow, neither by day nor by night. This promise was kept until at dawn one day Indra saw 'foam in the sea similar to a mountain:' this along with his thunderbolt he threw upon Vṛtra; Viṣṇu entered the foam and slew Vṛtra. Cf. allusions of a more or less general character to the defeat of Namuci by Indra at Mahābh. iii. 16605; v. 497; vi. 3678, 3908; xii. 3661, etc.

the foam of the waters. For at dawn before the sun has risen : that is neither night nor day ; and foam of the waters : that is neither wet nor dry.' ÇB. xii. 7. 3. 3 : *tāv aṣvināu ca sarasvatī cā 'pām phenam vajram asiñcan na ṣuṣko nā 'rdra iti, tene 'ndro namucer āsurasya vyustāyām rātrāv anudīte ādītye na divā na naktam iti cira udavāsayat, tasmād etad ṛsinā 'bhya-nūktam apām phenene 'ti*, 'the Aṣvins and Sarasvatī molded foam of the waters into a thunderbolt, that being neither dry nor wet. With this Indra took off\* the head of the Asura Namuci at dawn before the sun had risen, that being neither day nor night. Therefore this was sung by the Ṛṣi in the verse "with the foam of the waters"' (VS. xix. 71 = RV. viii. 14. 13 = AV. xx. 29. 3). The *mantras* allude frequently to the fact that Indra slew Namuci : RV. i. 53. 7 = AV. xx. 21. 7 ; RV. ii. 14. 5 ; RV. vii. 19. 5 = AV. xx. 37. 5 ; RV. x. 73. 7 ; more explicitly it is stated that he cut off his head : RV. v. 30. 7, 8 ; vi. 20. 6. The stanza RV. viii. 14. 13 = AV. xx. 29. 3 = VS. xix. 71 is the only one in the entire *mantra*-literature which mentions in this connection the 'foam of the waters.' It reads : *apām phēnena nāmuceḥ cira indró 'd avartayah : vīṣvā yád újayah spṛdhah* 'with the foam of the waters thou didst take off the head of Namuci, O Indra, when thou wast conquering all foes.' Lanman in the Notes to his Reader, p. 375<sup>b</sup> (cf. also Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. lviii. [1889] pp. 28 ff.), reflects, I imagine, a pretty wide spread opinion, when he says that "the form of the myth as it appears in the Brāhmaṇas originates in a misconception . . . ." This has been the stereotyped attitude of investigators on comparing a story of the Brāhmaṇas with what corresponded to it in the *mantra* ; but opinion, it is to be hoped, will soon start upon a career of rapid change on this point : cf. the introductory remarks of this paper. Certainly there is nothing anywhere in the story of Namuci which favors Lanman's explanation of this *āsura* (ibid. p. 375<sup>a</sup>) as the personification of a waterspout. For the same reason, lack of direct evidence of any sort, I cannot admit Ludwig's explanation, *Rig-Veda* v. 145, 'that Namuci was one of the principal opponents of the Arya in India.' Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, ii. 346, justly points out that there is something very special in the choice of the verbs which describe Indra's destruction of Namuci. Quite frequently Vṛtra's head is the object of Indra's attack : RV. i. 52. 10 ; viii. 6. 6 ; 65. 2 ; and the root *bhid* 'split' is employed in each of these three passages, as it naturally would be. But in the case of Namuci, in addition to familiar verbs of destruction which are found at RV. i. 53. 7 ; ii. 14. 5 ; vii. 19. 5, we find the unusual verb *manth* (stem *māthaya*) at RV. v. 30. 8 ; vi. 20. 6 ; the causative of the root *vart* at RV. v. 30. 7 ; and the same form

\* The verb *udavāsayāmi* is employed here not without humor. It is a ritual expression used regularly in the sacrifice for the act of taking utensils off the altar : Indra took off Namuci's head as a pot is taken off the fire. Cf. e. g. Kāuṣ. 2. 37 ; 6. 20.

with the preposition *ud* at viii. 14. 13. Why not? The act of taking off a head with the foam of the waters is correspondingly unusual. The root *manth* means 'rub, churn,' the conception that the head was churned off in a mass of foam offers quite as natural a picture as any other mode of taking off a head with foam. The causative of the root *vṛt* at v. 30. 7 naturally means 'cause to twist,' and *ud avartayaḥ* at viii. 14. 13, though not altogether clear as to its precise shade of meaning, is paralleled by ÇB. iv. 4. 3. 4 in connection with *Vṛtra* : *vṛtro vāi soma āsīt tam yatra devā aghnañs tasya mūrdho 'd vavarta*.

I shall now endeavor to show that the version of the story given in the Brāhmaṇas was familiarly known to the AV., i. e. in *mantra*-times, as well as to the *sūtras* : in other words, there is no reason to believe that it was ever preceded by any historical or naturalistic version which was afterwards lost to Indian tradition.

The hymn AV. i. 16 is a witchcraft practice in which lead is supposed to chase away evil spirits and demons of various sorts (*yātucātanam*). Thus especially the second stanza reads : *śīsāyā 'dhy āha nāruṇaḥ śīsāyā 'gnīr ūpā 'vati* : *śīsam ma 'ndraḥ prā 'yachāt tād aṅgī yātucātanam* 'Varuna supports the lead ; Agni helps the lead ; Indra gave me the lead : that surely scatters the demons.' Lead is mentioned elsewhere in the AV. only at xii. 2.\* The opening stanza, addressed to the dead body, reads : *naḍīm ā roha nā te ātra lokā idām śīsam bhāgaddhēyam ta éhi* : 'ascend the funeral fire, your place is not here ; this lead be your share ; come' : i. e., 'after this lead has destroyed you and rendered you harmless, you will be cremated.' Cf. also xii. 2. 19, 20, where disease is wiped off and lodged in the lead and other symbols of the body-burning fire ; and xii. 2. 53, where lead is spoken of as the special property of *agnih kravyād*. Correspondingly, at Kāuṣ. 47. 23, while reciting AV. i. 16, lead is put into the food or the cosmetics of an enemy ; 47. 39, the head of a lizard, which is a substitute for lead (see Kāuṣ. 8. 18), is employed in a witchcraft practice ; at 71. 7, 15 lead is employed in connection with the extinction of the funeral-fire (*kravyāc-chamanam*). Now there is a very interesting *paribhāṣā-sūtra* at Kāuṣ. 8. 18, which reads : *śīsa-nadīśise ayorajñsi kṛkalāsaçiraḥ śisāni* ; this may be paraphrased as follows : 'lead, river-lead, iron-filings, and the head of a lizard are in practice all of them equivalent to lead.' Dārila explains *naḍīśisa* by *naḍiphenapīṇḍaḥ* 'a lump of river-foam ;' Keçava by *naḍiphenam* 'river-foam.' The suggestion that the employment of this 'river-foam' in hostile practices is due to a reminiscence of Indra's feat performed upon the head of Namuci may be safely made, and it can be supported by a parallel practice in the *grāuta*-ritual. At VS. x. 14 ; TS. i. 8. 14. 1 ; TB. i. 7. 8. 2 occurs the for-

\* Ludwig, *Rig-Veda* iii. 479, has defined this hymn by "Tod und Begräbniss," a title which is not quite precise. It is a charm to drive away the funeral fire with its evil effects, and incidentally with it many plagues and diseases with which the survivors are beset.

mula *pratyastam* (*nirastam*) *námuceḥ śiraḥ* 'the head of Namuci has been cast back (cast out).' The formula is employed at the consecration of a king (*rājasūya*), ÇB. v. 4. 1. 8 ff., KÇS. xv. 5. 24. The passage in the ÇB. reads: *śārdūlacarmano jaghanārdhe sisam nihitam bhavati tat padā pratyasyati pratyastam namuceḥ śira iti namucir hā vai nāmā* "surā āsa tam indro nivivyaḍha . . . . 'on the hind part of the tiger-skin lead has been placed; this (the king) kicks with his foot, saying "the head of Namuci has been thrown down." For Namuci, you know, was an *āsura*; him Indra slew . . .'. Similarly Kātyāyana loc. cit.: *ākramya pādēna sisam nirasyati pratyastam iti*.

The lead here and the lead at AV. i. 16. 2, 'the lead which Indra gives to chase away evil spirits,\* are surely equivalents of, or substitutes for, the 'river-lead' or 'river-foam' of the Kāuṣika. It is easy to guess at the cause of the substitution: foam is too volatile, it does not preserve its character long enough to manipulate successfully in practice. Lead is soft, *mṛdu* (ÇB. v. 4. 1. 10), and has much the same color as foam; the same is true of the *ayo-rajāṁsi* 'iron-filings' at Kāuṣ. 8. 18. The substitution for something inconvenient to attain, or altogether unattainable, of an article easily at hand I have found once before in the Atharvan ceremonial. For the *pāidva* which at RV. i. 116. 6; ix. 88. 4, AV. x. 4, means 'the horse of Pedu which slays serpents' there is substituted at Kāuṣ. 32. 21, 22; 35. 4 an insect, hostile to serpents, it may be supposed; this is manipulated instead of the legendary horse. See Kāuṣ. Introduction, p. xlv ff.

If I have succeeded in showing that the practices mentioned above and the reference to lead in the *mantras* of the AV. and the Yajus-saṁhitās are connected with the 'foam of the waters' in our story, no hesitation need be felt in regarding the view of the RV. as identical with that of the remaining literature.

4. *The Aṇvins and Sarasvatī bring back the soma from Namuci.*—After Namuci's head has been cut off, Indra is still without

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\* Cf. also the statement at VS. xxi. 36; TB. ii. 6. 11. 6: *çūṣaḥ sarasvatī bhiṣak sisena duha indriyam* 'strength and vigor Sarasvatī milks with lead,' in evident allusion to the version of the story current among the Vājasaneyins, according to which the Aṇvins and Sarasvatī forged for Indra the bolt out of the foam of the waters (ÇB. xii. 7. 3. 8). Hence, probably, at the *sāutrāmaṇi* materials for the preparation of the *surā* are purchased of a eunuch, who represents Namuci, the original owner of the *surā*; he is given lead in payment: see KÇS. xix. 1. 19; Mahidhara at VS. xix. 1; ÇB. xii. 7. 2. 12. Again, at the *rājasūya*, a eunuch is struck with the lead according to TB. i. 7. 8. 2. According to KÇS. xv. 5. 22; Mahidhara at VS. x. 10; ÇB. v. 4. 1. 1, brass (*lohāyasa*) is thrown into the mouth of the eunuch. This again reminds us of the *ayorajāṁsi* of Kāuṣ. 8. 18, which are there equivalent to 'river-lead.' See also the very pointed statement at MS. ii. 4. 2: *sisena klībāt kāryā 'nṛtaṁ vāi sisam anṛtaṁ klībo 'nṛtaṁ surā 'nṛtenāi 'vā 'nṛtād anṛtaṁ kṛināti*. We have here three of the most important features in our little drama: Namuci, the lead, and the *surā*. Cf. also RV. i. 32. 7, where Vṛtra is designated as a *vādhri* 'castrated.'

his soma, for Namuci had drunk it up, and now it flowed out of his body mixed with his blood and impure. Mahidhara at VS. x. 34 says: 'then the Aṣvins, having drunk the soma and the *surā* mixed with his blood, returned it pure to Indra.' Similarly at VS. xix. 34: 'Namuci had drunk the strength of Indra; after he had been slain, soma mixed with blood came; that the gods drank.' Again at VS. xx. 59: *aṣvināu . . . . surayā saha . . . . amalināṁ somam namuceḥ asurāt sakāṣāt āharatām sarasvatī ca tam eva somam barhiṣā* "staraṇārthena saha ābharat . . . . indraya pānārtham; at VS. xx. 67: *aṣvināu sarasvatī ca . . . . buddhyā kṛtvā namucer indrārtham . . . . ājahrire . . . . haviḥ indriyaṁ vīryam . . . . dhanam ca*. Mahidhara's conception is founded in part upon the *mantras* and in part upon a statement of the ÇB. At xii. 7. 3. 4 we have: *tasya gīrṣaṇṇ chinne lohitaṁcraḥ somo 'tiṣṭhat, tasmād abibhatsanta, ta etad andhasor vipānam apagyan somo rūjā 'mṛtam suta iti tenāi 'nam svādayitvā* 'tmann adadhata 'when his (Namuci's) head had been cut off, there was the soma mixed with blood. They (the Aṣvins and Sarasvatī) loathed it. (But) they saw\* this drink of the two somas according to the stanza "King Soma when pressed is *amṛtam*" (VS. xix. 72), and, having made it (the drink which had flowed from Namuci) palatable, they put it into themselves.'

The most prominent of the *mantras* which alludes to this event is the first one which contains the word *surāma* (cf. above § 1): RV. x. 131. 4 = AV. xx. 125. 4; VS. x. 33; xx. 76; MS. iii. 11. 4 (p. 145); iv. 12. 5 (191); TB. i. 4. 2. 1. It has been translated above: 'you, drinking yourselves† into a surfeit of *surā* with the *āsura* Namuci, helped Indra in his deeds, O ye lords of light.' The implication is that the drink was disagreeable and too much for the Aṣvins, but, as it had to pass through them to become pure and fit for Indra's use, they subjected themselves to 'surā-sickness' (*surāma*) in Indra's service. Here belong a number of Yajus-stanzas, as VS. xx. 59; MS. iii. 11. 3 (p. 143); TB. ii. 6. 12. 2: *aṣvinā nāmuceḥ sutām sōmam cūkrām parisrūtā: sārvasatī tām ābharad barhiṣe 'ndrāya pītave* 'the Aṣvins brought the pure pressed soma along with *parisrut* from Namuci; Sarasvatī brought it along with the *barhiṣ* for Indra to drink.' Similarly VS. xx. 67; MS. iii. 11. 4 (p. 145); TB. ii. 6. 13. 1: *aṣvinā havir indriyam namucer dhiyā sārvasatī: ā cūkram āsurāt vāsu maghām† indrāya jabhrireḥ* 'the Aṣvins and Sarasvatī by means of her wis-

\* That is, had revealed to them.

† Note the difference between the middle *vipipānā*, in stanza 4 of the hymn, and the active *vy āpibaḥ* in stanza 5. I would fain think that this is not accidental: the Aṣvins drink themselves full intentionally for the purpose of returning the drink to Indra; Indra becomes drunk unintentionally, with *surā* furnished by his boon companion.

‡ MS. *madyam*.

§ Cf. also the expression *ādatta namucer vasu*, MS. *ibid.* line 10; VS. xx. 71c; TB. ii. 6. 13. 1.



dom brought back to Indra from the *āsura* Namuci the *havis*, strength, and the pure good gift (the purified soma).’ And VS. xix. 34 ; MS. iii. 11. 7 (p. 151) ; TB. ii. 6. 3. 1 ; ÇB. xii. 8. 1. 3 ; KÇS. xix. 3. 10 ; Vāit. 30, 12 ; LÇS. v. 4. 15 ; ÇÇS. xv. 15. 13 : *yām aṣvīnā nāmucē āsurād ādhi\* sārāsvatī āsunod† indriyḍya : ‡ imān tām gukrām mādhumantam induni sōmam rājānam ihā bhakṣayāmi* ‘this pure honied drop, Soma the King, whom the Aṣvins and Sarasvatī pressed for strength from the *āsura* Namuci, do I here sip.’ Less clear in detail is VS. xx. 68 ; MS. iii. 11. 4 (p. 145, l. 3) TB. ii. 6. 13. 1 : *yām aṣvīnā sārāsvatī havīṣe †ndram āvadhayan : sā bibheda valām § maghām || nāmucā ¶ āsurē śacā*.

I believe that Mahīdhara and Mādhava both misunderstand the stanza. The purport of their comment is that Indra, after he had been strengthened by the Aṣvins and Sarasvatī, slew Vala along with Namuci. Thus Mahīdh.: . . . *sa indro namucāv āsure śacā namucinā asureṇa saha magham mahanīyam valam megham vidūritavān . . . namucinā vidūrya vṛstīm kārītavān ity arthaḥ*. And Mādhava (p. 721): *so ‘yam indro namucināmāsure śacā sambandham magham mahanīyam balanāmānam asuram bibheda vidūritavān*. My conception of the stanza differs materially : ‘Indra, whom the Aṣvins and Sarasvatī had strengthened on the occasion of (the slaughter of) the *āsura* Namuci, cleft proud\*\* Vala.’ This rendering has the double advantage of not conflicting with the story and of introducing a translation of the phrase *nāmucā āsurē śacā* in accord with its value elsewhere : e. g. RV. x. 131. 4.

5. *Minor points in the story.*—A Western reader of this story would not easily repress the feeling that the artful device of the gods in slaying Namuci ‘with the foam of the waters’ was a permissible evasion of the compact, inasmuch as Namuci had not played Indra fair. Some of the Brāhmaṇas and the Mahābhārata take occasion to moralize, to accuse Indra of deceiving a friend, and to condemn him to certain penitential acts. Thus TB. i. 7. 1. 7, 8 : *tad (sc. śiraḥ) enam anuvartata mītradhruḡ iti, sa etān apāmūrgān ajanayat, tān ajahot, tair vai sa rakṣānsy apāhan* ‘this (head of Namuci) rolled after him, saying : “(you are a)

\* ÇÇS. *asure dadhi*.

† TB. *āsunod*.

‡ LÇS. *indriyeṇa*.

§ MS. TB. *balām*.

¶ MS. *madyaṁ*.

¶ TB. *nāmucā*.

\*\* So if we read *maghām* : the word is not given in adjectival value in either of the Pet. Lexicons ; the reading *madyaṁ* of the MS. would lead to a translation ‘furious or intoxicated.’ I do not see how the editors of the Petersburg lexicons escaped giving either word an adjectival value very much in accordance with the commentators. They define *maghā* by ‘gift’ and *madya* by ‘erfreuend’ and ‘intoxicating drink.’ None of these seem to suit the connection.

traitor to a friend." He caused these *apāmārga*-plants\* to spring up. These he (Indra) sacrificed ; with these he drove away the spook.' So also PB. xii. 6. 8 : *tad enam pāpīyaṁ vācam vadaḍ anvavartata virahann adruho druha iti, tan na rcā na sāmānā 'pahantum aṣaknot tad dhārivarnasya nidhanenā 'pāhata* 'this (head) rolled after him uttering abusive language, saying : "you slayer of the innocent and the wily." He was not able to drive away this (head) by means of either *rk* or *sāman*. Then he drove it away by means of the *sāman*-finale called *hārivarna*.' At Mhbh. ix. 2436 we have : 'that head of Namuci, after it had been cut off, followed after Indra, exclaiming close by : "Woe to you, wicked slayer of friends." And he, being thus goaded by this head, again and again in grief narrated this affair to Brahma.' Acting upon his advice he performs a sacrifice and bathes in the river Aruṇā ; this atones for his guilt, and the head vanishes. A more unprincipled view of the same event is taken at Mhbh. ii. 1957, where Duryodhana says that Indra had made friends with Namuci ; nevertheless he cut off his head, that being the usage between enemies. There are elsewhere similar stories of bad faith on the part of the gods : e. g. TS. vi. 5. 1. 1-3 ; PB. xx. 15. 6 ; and the Mhbh. presents a goodly number of passages in which *adroha* and forgiveness of enemies is preached : see Ludwig, *Rig-Veda*, vi. p. 202<sup>a</sup> (sub "wortbruch Indra's" and "*adroha*"). It seems quite likely that this entire phase is a secondary appendage to the story. It is worked up in a still different fashion at MS. iv. 3. 4.

Once it is said rather vaguely at RV. i. 53. 7 that Indra enjoyed the support of Namī in his conquest of Namuci : *nāmyā† yād indra sākhyā parāvātī nibarhāyo nāmucim nāma māyinaṁ*. A still less explicit association of Namī Sāpya with the story of Namuci occurs at RV. vi. 20. 6 ; it is stated there that Indra, after he had cut off the head of Namuci, bestowed upon Namī while asleep wealth, strength, and prosperity : . . . *śiro dāsasya nāmucer mātḥayān : prāvan nāmim sāpyām sasāntam prnūg rāyā sām iṣā sām svasti*. The latter passage is preceded and followed by stanzas in each of which it is stated with rather schematic regularity that Indra on the one hand slew some demon and on the other benefited some man : *Çuṣṇa*, the demon, and *Daṇu*, the bard (st. 4) ; *Çuṣṇa*, the demon, and *Kutsa*, the ally (st. 5) ; *Namuci*, the demon, and *Namī*, the friend (st. 6) ; the wily *Pipru*, and the pious *Rjigvan* (st. 7). At RV. x. 48. 9 *Namī Sāpya* is again an assistant of Indra, who this time furnishes him with food and strength : *prā me nāmī sāpyā iṣe bhujē bhāt*. Against

\* The word suggests the root *mṛj* with preposition *apa* 'to wipe off,' e. g. AV. iv. 18. 7 : *apāmārgo āpa māṛṣtu kṣetṛiyāṁ ṣṣpathāḥ ca yāḥ* 'may the *apāmārga*-plant wipe off hereditary disease and curses from us.' Cf. also AV. iv. 17. 6 ; vii. 65. 2 ; ÇB. v. 2. 4. 14 ; xiii. 8. 4. 4.

† *Sāyana* explains the word here as the instrumental of *namin*, and refers it to Indra's thunderbolt.

the two passages in the RV. which mention Namī in connection with Namuci there are seven which do not refer to Namī : ii. 14. 5 ; v. 30. 7, 8 ; vii. 19. 5 ; viii. 14. 13 ; x. 73. 7 ; 131. 4.\* While we may take it for granted that Namī stood in some relation to Indra, it is possible that his introduction into this affair is due in the first place to his somewhat accidental antithetical juxtaposition with the demon at RV. vi. 20. 6 ; this may have given rise secondarily to the statement at i. 53. 7. Cf. Ludwig, *Rig-Veda* iii. 149. The assonance of the two names Namī and Namuci may have favored the process. The texts are not always very particular as to the person to whom they give credit for assistance rendered in such contests. At RV. v. 30. 8 the author of the hymn (acc. to the Anukr., Bābhru Atreya) says in a whole-souled fashion that Indra made him an ally in his contest with Namuci : *yūjam hi mām ākrthā dā id indra giro dāsasya nāmucer mātḥ-ayān*. At any rate we have in the relation of Namī, Indra, and Namuci the germ of a story which was never developed ; with this single exception all the reports about Namuci can be brought together into a single firmly-jointed whole.

We may finally present in brief a connected sketch of the entire legend as reconstructed above. Indra, the god of the clear sky, is forever slaying with his thunderbolt the cloud-demons who obstruct the rain and withhold from mortals the blessings consequent upon it. But in one instance he encounters the demon Namuci ('Don't-let-go,' or 'Hold-fast'), who, instead of falling an easy victim to his thunderbolt, engages him in close combat and rather gets the better of him. Namuci holds Indra fast, and refuses to let him go unless he enters into a strict agreement not to slay him subsequently. The compact is constructed very diplomatically, so as to leave apparently no possibility of danger to Namuci from Indra : the latter agrees not to slay the former either by day or by night : i. e., as Namuci construes it, at no time whatsoever. He agrees further not to slay him either with a staff or a bow, with the flat hand or the fist, with anything wet or dry : i. e., as Namuci intends, with no known weapon.

For a while the pair are boon companions. But Namuci, the *āsura*, is bound to betray his nature, fundamentally hostile towards Indra, the *deva* ; and upon one occasion, when Indra had imbibed freely of his favorite beverage, the soma, he plies him still further with the strong drink *surā* (brandy), which is regarded as unholy, and is no doubt conceived as the special drink of the Asuras. Indra becomes stupefied and loses his strength, his senses, the taste for food, and soma, and in the story Namuci is conceived as having robbed him of these and appropriated them to his own use.

The gods now step upon the scene. The Aṅvins, the heavenly

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\* The remaining Samhitās do not, as far as is known, mention Namī at all ; at PB. xxv. 10. 17 he is said to be a king of Videha who went to heaven by pious practices.

physicians, and Sarasvatī, the goddess of wisdom, cure Indra, and afterwards Indra with their help concocts a plan by which he may slay Namuci without perjuring himself. In order to evade the clause of the compact which forbids him to do the deed either by day or by night, they choose the time of the dawn before the sun had risen, 'that being neither day nor night.' In order to introduce a weapon not excluded by the stipulation of the compact, they forge a bolt from the foam of the waters, 'that being neither wet nor dry.' Indra slays Namuci, but he is still without his soma, which now flows from the body of Namuci mixed with blood and impure, so that he may not drink it. Here again the Aśvins lend their aid; they drink the loathsome mixture, and, having purified it in their divine bodies, they return it to Indra.

## II. THE TWO DOGS OF YAMA IN A NEW RÔLE.

The extent to which Vedic *mantras* may be based upon events which are narrated more completely or in full in the literature of the Brāhmaṇas has just been illustrated by our treatment of the story of Indra and Namuci. The hymn AV. vi. 80 offers another instance of this kind; its purport is unintelligible, and it could in fact not have been composed, without the background of a group of parallel legends narrated in the Maitrāyaṇī-saṁhitā, Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā, and Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa. Furthermore, its explanation by means of these legends throws, as we believe, valuable light upon certain early, if not the earliest, conceptions of the two dogs of Yama, which are mentioned from the time of the RV. in various statements difficult to understand and to harmonize with one another.

The hymn AV. vi. 80 is as follows:

1. *antārikṣeṇa patati viçvā bhūtā vacākaçat: çūno divyāsya yān māhas tēnā te haviṣā vidhema.\**
2. *yé trāyaḥ kālakāṇjā divi devā iva çrītāḥ: tān sārvaṇ āhva ūtāye 'smā ariṣṭātātaye.*
3. *apsū te jānma divi te sadhāsthāṁ samudré antār mahimā te prthi-vyām: çūno divyāsya yān māhas tēnā te haviṣā vidhema.†*

We may translate:

1. 'He flies through the air looking down upon all beings; we desire to do homage with this *havis* to thee [who art] the majesty of the heavenly dog.
2. 'The three *kālakāṇja* who are fixed upon the sky like gods, all these I called for help, to render this one exempt from injury.

\* The Pāippalāda-text presents the following version of pādas b, c, d: *svar bhūtā vacācalat: sa no divyasyāi 'dam manas tasmā etena haviṣā juhom.*

† Pāipp. c, d as in stanza 1.

3. 'In the waters is thy origin ; upon the heavens thy home ; in the middle of the sea and upon the earth thy greatness.

We desire to do homage with this *havis* to thee [who art] the majesty of the heavenly dog.'

But few attempts have been made to explain this hymn. Ludwig, *Rig- Veda* iii. 373, translates it under the caption *çuno divyasya havih*, without defining its aim. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 353, surmises that the *çvan divya* is the dog-star : cf. also Weber, *Naksatra* ii. 372.

The legend of the TB. (i. 1. 2. 4-6) which bears upon the hymn is as follows : *kālakāñjā vāi nāmā 'surā āsan te suvargīya lokāyā 'gnim acinvata, puruṣa iṣṭakām upā 'dadhāt puruṣa iṣṭakām, sa indro brāhmaṇo bruvāna iṣṭakām upā 'dhatta, eṣa me citrā nāme 'ti, te suvargalokam ā prā 'rohan, sa indra iṣṭakām ā 'vrhat, te 'va kīryanta, ye 'va kīryanta, ta ūrṇanābhayo 'bhavan, dvāv ud apatatām, tāu divyāu çvānāv abhavatām* 'there were Asuras named Kālakāñjas. They piled up a fire altar in order to obtain the world of heaven. Man by man they placed a brick upon it. Indra, passing himself off for a Brāhmaṇa, put a brick on for himself, saying : "this one, *citrā* (the bright one) by name, is for me." They climbed up to heaven. Indra pulled out his brick ; they tumbled down. And they who tumbled down became spiders ; two flew up, and became the two heavenly dogs.\* Similarly at Kāth. S. viii. 1† (reported by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* iii. 465) we have : *kālakāñjā vāi nāmā 'surā āsan, ta iṣṭakā acinvata, tad indra iṣṭakām apy upā 'dhatta, teṣām mīthunāu divam ā 'krāmetān, tatās tāu ā 'vrhat, te 'va kīryanta, tā etāu divyāu çvānāu* 'there were Asuras, Kālakāñjas by name ; they piled bricks (for an altar). Then Indra also put on a brick. A pair of these ascended to heaven. Then he (Indra) tore out this (brick) ; they (the Asuras) were thrown down. Those two are the two heavenly dogs.'

The legend as told at MS. i. 6. 9 is essentially identical with these, but it carries us an important step forward by designating the 'two heavenly dogs' as *yamaçvā*, the 'two dogs of Yama' : *kālakāñjā vā asurā iṣṭakā acinvata divam ārokṣyāmā iti tān indro brāhmaṇo bruvāna upātī sa etām iṣṭakām apy upā 'dhatta ta prathamā īra divam ā 'krāmantā 'tha sa tāu ā 'vrhat te asurāḥ pāpīyānso bhavanto apā 'bhrañçanta yā uttamā āstām tāu yamaçvā abhavatām ye 'dhare ta ūrṇanābhayaḥ* "the Asuras called Kālakāñjas piled bricks (for an altar), saying : "we will ascend to heaven." Indra passing himself off for a Brahman came to them ; he put on this brick. They at first, so to speak, arrived at

\* In reference to the heavenly dogs Mādhyama, commentary p. 11 ff., says : *teṣām asurāṇām madhye dvāv asurāu çradhdhātīṣayāt svargam prāptāv iti bhrañçāt tatra devaloke çvānāv abhūtām*.

† Presumably the same legend occurs at Kap. S. vi. 6 : see Schroeder's edition of the MS. i. p. 101, note 2.

heaven; then Indra tore out that (brick). The Asuras becoming quite feeble fell down; the two that were uppermost became the two dogs of Yama, those which were lower became spiders.\*

This identification of the *ṣvānāu divyāu* with the dogs of Yama does not rest on this passage alone. At the *aṣvamedha*-sacrifice during a certain stage in the proceedings the horse is bathed; it is accompanied to the middle of the water by a 'four-eyed' dog (*ṣvan caturakṣa*),\* i. e. a symbolic dog of Yama (RV. x. 14. 10, 11; AV. xviii. 2. 11, 12; TA. vi. 3. 1), who is slain by a low-born man under the feet of the horse, by means of a pestle made of the wood of the *sidhraka*-tree: see TB. iii. 8. 4. 1 ff.; ÇB. xiii. 1. 2. 9; KÇS. xx. 1. 38 ff.; Mahīdhara at VS. xxii. 5. The reason assigned for this practice by the Brāhmanas is: *ṣunaḥ caturakṣasya prahanti ṣve 'va pāpmā bhrātreyah pāpmānam evā 'sya bhrātreyah hanti . . . vajri vā aṣvāḥ prajāpatiḥ vajrenāi 'va pāpmānam bhrātreyam avakrāmanti* (TB.) 'he slays the four-eyed dog. The dog is evil, as it were, and his rival; his evil indeed and his rival he slays. . . . The horse descended from Prajāpati has a thunderbolt; with the thunderbolt indeed does he overcome evil and his rival.† Similarly ÇB. loc. cit.: *vajro 'ṣvāḥ . . . ṣvānam caturakṣam hatvā 'dhaspadam aṣvasyo 'pa plāvayati vajrenāi 'vāi 'nam ava krāmanti nāi 'nam pāpmā bhrātreyā āpnoti*. Cf. also ÇB. vi. 3. 2. 7. This hostility against the dog of Yama refers no doubt to the legend above, in connection with which it is also stated that hostility and rivalry are removed from him who recognizes its purport: *evam asya sapatno bhrātreyah pāpiyān bhavann apa bhrāṅgate ya evam vidvān*, etc. (MS. i. 6. 9); *yo bhrātreyavān syāt sa citrāyām agnīm ā dadhīta* (TB. i. i. 2. 6). Cf. also ÇB. ii. 1. 2. 17, where the same story is told in a somewhat different form. That the Atharvavedins, in composing vi. 80, did not simply refer in general terms to the *kālakūṅja* and the *ṣvānāu divyāu*, but have in view the legend with which we are dealing, is clear from the practice which went with the hymn. At Kāuṣ. 31. 18, 19 we have: *antariksene 'ti pakṣahatam mantroktam caṅkramayā. kītena dhūpayati. Dārila at 18 says: gamanam caṅkramah . . . karmoktam mūtraphenenā 'bhīyudya. . . . Keçava at 18: ṣvānapadasthānamṛttikām abhimantrya pakṣahatam(!) deçam pralimpati, pakṣahatabhāṣajyam. At 19: çuno makṣikām abhimantryā 'gnāu*

\* Mādhava at TB. iii. 8. 4. 2 (p. 577): *akṣor uparibhāge 'kṣisadrçāḥ vindudvayam lāñchanam yasya ṣunaḥ so 'yam caturakṣaḥ*; Schol. at TS. v. 5. 19. 1: *akṣor upari vindudvayavān*; Schol. at KÇS. xx. 1. 38: *caturakṣābhāvād yasyā 'kṣisamīpe pānuṣṭrāṇi sa guṇavṛttyā caturakṣaḥ*; Sāyaṇa at TĀ. vi. 3. 1: *uparibhāge punar apy akṣidvayam yayos tādṛçāu*. So also at RV. x. 14. 10. Cf. also the four-eyed dog (*spānem cathrucaśmem*) at Vd. viii. 41, which is explained by the Māzdayasniān tradition as a dog with a spot over each eye: see *Babylonian and Oriental Record* i. 36-38; iv. 266.

† Mādhava p. 577: *yo 'yam pāparūpaḥ çatruḥ so 'yam çunā sadṛçāḥ, ataḥ çuno badhena pāpmāi 'va hato bhavati*.

*prakṣipya tato dhūpayati vyādhipradēcam.* The sūtra and its commentators, as also the exact relation of the hymn to its ritual, are obscure;\* the practice is intended to cure paralysis. It appears that the spot where the disease has struck the victim is made the object of attack; this the priest(?), while keeping in motion (*caṅkramayā*), rubs over with mud taken from the footprint of a dog. Then he fumigates the place by burning an insect. But one point seems certain: that the use of the insect symbolizes the fate of the *kālakūṇja* who in the legend become spiders. Mādhava, *ibid.*, says of them: *ts co 'rnanābhināmakāh lūtākūṇjāh prābhavan, tena kītena saṁsr̥ṣṭam tantujālam ūrṇaṣabdeno 'cyate.* Cf. with this the word *kūṇja* at Kāuṣ. 31. 19.

What now was the Hindu conception regarding the two dogs of Yama, which are at the same time the heavenly dogs 'flying through the air and looking down upon all beings' (AV. vi. 80. 1)? Weber's and Zimmer's supposition that they refer to some star or some constellation of stars is improbable, first, because a constellation of a character sufficiently marked to lend itself to such a comparison is otherwise unknown; secondly, because the reference is evidently to a pair, each of which is independent enough to exist by itself. No poet would have spoken of a single member of such a dualism, any more than he would mention separately one of the *ṛṣi* of the *saptarṣayah*, the great Bear (e. g. RV. iv. 42. 8; ix. 92. 2; x. 82. 2; 109. 4; AV. iv. 11. 7; v. 17. 6; viii. 10. 25, etc.).† The sphere of conceptions which have produced the legends of the two heavenly dogs can, we believe, be made to tell us what they were. At Kāth. S. xxxvii. 14 (cited by Schroeder, MS. i. p. 101, note 2) we have the statement that the two dogs of Yama are day and night: *etāu vāi yamaṣvā ahaṣ ca rātrī ca.* The same statement more explicitly we have at KB. ii. 9 (end): *sūyam astam ite purā tamasas tasmin kālē juhuyāt sa devayānah ketuh . . . prātaḥ puro 'dayād apahate tamasi tasmin kālē juhuyāt sa devayānah ketuh . . . atho yo 'to anyathā 'gnihotraṁ juhōti ṣyāmaṣabalāu hā 'syā 'gnihotraṁ vikhidato 'har vāi ṣabalo rātrih ṣyāmah sa yo mahārātre juhōti ṣyāmo hā 'syā 'gnihotraṁ vikhidaty atha yo mahāhne juhōti ṣabalo hā 'syā 'gnihotraṁ vikhidati.* 'In the evening, when the sun has gone down, before the darkness, one should sacrifice (the *agnihotra*); at that time the gods arrive. . . . In the morning, before sunrise, when darkness is dispelled, at that time one should sacrifice (the *agnihotra*); at that time the gods arrive. . . . Therefore (the two dogs of Yama) Ṣyāma and Ṣabala tear to pieces the *agnihotra* of the one who sacrifices otherwise. Ṣabala is the day; Ṣyāma the night. He who sacrifices in the middle of the night, his *agni-*

\* The third stanza of the hymn is employed also in a nondescript fashion at Vāit. 23. 20 and Ath. Pariç. 39. 1 (*taḍāgādīvidhi*) and 42. 3 (*snānavidhi*).

† For another instance of the mention of a single *divyaḥ ṣvā* see the passage from ÇB. xi. 1. 5. 1, next page.

*hotra* Çyāma tears asunder; he who sacrifices in broad daylight, his *agnihotra* Çabala tears asunder.\* At TS. v. 7. 19, where various divinities are assigned to the parts of the horse sacrificed at the *açvamedha*, we have: *sūryācandramāsāu vīkyābhyām, çyāmaçabalāu mātasnābhyām, vyāstīn rūpēna nīmruktim ārupēna*. Here the mention of the *çyāmaçabalāu* intervenes between sun and moon on the one side and morning and evening twilight on the other; the *çyāmaçabalāu* stand here as a special designation either of day and night, which are mentioned by name in the next section (v. 7. 20), or of sun and moon themselves. The latter, indeed, is their purely physical value in this sphere of conceptions; they are primarily sun and moon, and secondarily day and night. This is stated in part explicitly at ÇB. xi. 1. 5. 1: *sa* (sc. *candramāh*) *hāi 'sa divyah çvā sa yajamānasya paçin ave 'kṣate*. The moon (night), the divine dog, is here one of the dogs of Yama, the *çyāmaçabalāu*; the conclusion that the sun (day) is the other is almost self-evident, and we are spared the task of looking for two individual stars or a constellation of two stars in order to explain the *çvānāu divyāu*.

A stanza parallel to AV. vi. 80. 1 occurs at RV. x. 136. 4. The translators regard the RV. hymn as a song in praise of an ascetic. Grassmann (ii. 499) entitles it 'Lob des Büssers'; Ludwig (v. 553) thinks that it sketches a *yogin*. This seems to me only a partial explanation of the hymn; it is rather a hymn in which Sūrya is praised and compared with a *muni*. Stanza 1 reads:

*keçī agnīn keçī viṣām keçī bibharti rōdasi  
keçī viçvam svār drçē keçī 'dām jyōtir ucyate.*

'Keçin the fire, Keçin the *viṣam* (fluid? cf. Nāigh. i. 12), Keçin carries the two worlds. Keçin is all brightness which is to be beheld; Keçin is called light here.' At Nāigh. v. 6 *keçin* and *keçinah* occur as divinities; at Nirukta xii. 26 (*dāivatakāṇḍam* vi. 26) *keçin* is identified with *āditya*.† Of the three *keçin*, Agni, Sūrya, and Vāyu, which occur at RV. i. 164. 44, 'the one who with his mighty qualities looks at the whole world (*viçvam ēko abhī caṣṭe çācibhiḥ*) is surely Sūrya: see Nir. xii. 27; Haug, *Vedische Räthselfragen und Räthselfprüche*, p. 53; Kāty. Sarvānukramanī (ed. Macdonell), p. 11; Śaḍguruçisya ibid. p. 97. Who but Sūrya is 'the horse of the wind, the companion of Vāyu, the *muni* urged on his course by the gods who lives in both seas, the eastern and the western' (*ubhātu samudrāv ā kṣeti yāç ca pū'rva utā 'paraḥ*, RV. x. 136. 5)? Therefore Sūrya is also the subject of stanza 5:

\* Cf. the parallel statement in the Gotama-nyāya-sūtra, ii. 57, reported by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* ii. 295. For *çyāma* the variant *çyāva* appears here: cf. *çyāvī* as a name for night. Nāigh. i. 7.

† Cf. also Sūrya's epithet *cociṣkeça*, and AV. xiv. 1. 55: *brhaspātīḥ prathamāḥ sūryāyāḥ çirgē kēçān akalpayat* 'Brhaspati first fashioned the hair on the head of Sūryā.'



*antárikṣeṇa patati víṣvā rūpā 'vacākaṣat :  
múnir devasya-devasya sū́krtyāya sákhā hitāh.*

'He flies through the air looking upon all beings, he the *muni*, the friend good to benefit every god.' The word *avacākaṣat* 'looking at' is otherwise applied to the sun at AV. xiii. 2. 12 : *sá* (sc. *sūrya*) *eṣi súdhṛtas tápan víṣvā bhūtā 'vacākaṣat* ; at AV. xiii. 4. 1 : *sá eti savitā svār divás pr̥sthē 'vacākaṣat*.

Support for our explanation of the *divyāu gṛānāu* as sun and moon seems to be afforded also by a passage in the Chand. Up. viii. 13 : *gyāmāc chabalam prapadye, ṣabalāc chyāmam prapadye, açva iva romāṇi vidhūya pāpam . . . . brahmalokam abhisambhavāmi*. Böhtlingk in his recent edition and translation of the text renders : 'Vom Schwarzen flüchte ich mich zum Scheckigen, vom Scheckigen flüchte ich mich zum Schwarzen. Wie ein Ross seine (losen) Haare von sich abschüttelt, so schüttelte ich das Böse von mir ab, . . . . und begeben mich in die Stätte des Brahman.\* The passage becomes more intelligible if we translate : 'I go from the moon to the sun and from the sun to the moon, . . . . and arrive at the world of Brahman.' Cf. the passage Kāuṣ. Up. i. 2, 3,† where it is said that all those who go away from this world go to the moon, the moon being the door of the world of light. They come to earth again, and then pass to the world of Brahman by the road of the gods which has many stages : the world of fire, of wind, of the sun, of the moon, of lightning, of Varuna, of Indra, of Prajāpati, finally of Brahman. Cf. also Chand. Up. iii. 13. 1-6, where the five kinds of breath, personified respectively as sun, moon, fire, rain, and wind, are spoken of as the doorkeepers of Brahman ; also AB. viii. 28, which ends this text in a manner altogether parallel to the ending of Chand. Up., where the *gyāma* and *ṣabala* are mentioned. One would fain look for more information on the *kālakāṇḍja* in connection with this study. I have found but one Vedic passage in addition to those above, namely Kāuṣ. Up. iii. 2, where Indra is made to say of himself that he killed the Pāulomas in the sky and the Kālakāṇḍjas upon earth. The ritual of the AV. (Kāuṣ. 31. 19) clearly conceives of the *kālakāṇḍja* as spiders, the shape they assumed after the final catastrophe : see above. It is to be regretted that the relation of the ritual to the hymn is obscure.‡ In the Mhbh.

\* Cf. Čaikara's gloss : . . . . *gyāmo gambhīro varṇaḥ gyāmā iva gyāmo hārdam brahma, atyantaduravagāhyatvād tad dhārdam brahma jñātvā dhyānena tasmāc chyāmāc chabalam iva ṣabalo 'raṇyādyanekakāmamūratvād brahmalokasya ṣāvalyaṁ tam brahmalokam ṣāvalam prapadye manasā*.

† The passage has been treated recently by Böhtlingk in the Transactions of the Royal Saxon Academy, Nov. 14, 1890, p. 72 ff. of the reprint.

‡ Only one point more suggests itself in explanation of the application of the hymn to a *pakṣahata*. The words *pakṣa* in this compound may possibly stand in some connection with the *pakṣa* of the moon : *pūrva* or *ṣukla*, and *apara* or *kṛṣṇa*. Perhaps the appearance of the moon

iii. 12196 ff., Indra, in accordance with the statement of the Kāus. Up., comes to the golden city of the Pāuloma and Kālakañjya, whom he duly conquers: see Weber, *Ind. Stud.* i. 416; Holzmänn, *ZDMG.* xxxii. 312 ff. Weber explains both as the 'black-haired children of a dark mass of clouds.' It seems to me more likely that some manifestation of the starry sky (perhaps the galaxy?) is at the bottom of this conception. But I do not know.

More important is the question of the relation of the sun and moon personified as the two dogs of Yama to that other well-known physical view which apparently deals with the dogs simply as animals. The principal passage of this sort is RV. x. 14. 10-12 = AV. xviii. 2. 11-13 = TA. vi. 3. 1, 2. They are alluded to further more or less explicitly as animals with the qualities of animals at RV. i. 29. 3; vii. 55. 2-4; AV. v. 30. 6; viii. 1. 9; 2. 11; 8. 10, 11; MS. iv. 9. 19; TA. iv. 29; PGS. i. 16. 24; in a *gloka* which serves as a prayer at the end of the manuscripts of AGS.\* and at HGS. ii. 7. 2.† It is not impossible to mediate between the two conceptions from the point of view of the Brāhmaṇas alone. The dogs are destructive agents of death, and day and night are also familiarly conceived of as destructive instruments of death: e. g. KB. ii. 9 states that day and night are the arms of death: *atho mrtyor ha vā etāu vrājabāhū yad ahorātre*; at ÇB. x. 4. 3. 1 ff. we have: *esa vāi mrtyur yat sañvatsarah, esa hi martyānām ahorātrābhyām āyuh kṣinoti* 'the year is death; by means of day and night does it destroy the life of mortals.' The substitution of sun and moon for day and night would be even simpler,‡ and thus the dogs of Yama would be identified with those heavenly bodies. Yet this seems unsatisfactory. The writer believes that there has been a superabundance of mythologizing on this point. Especially the latest explanation of the two dogs, that of J. Ehni, *Der Vedische Mythos des Yama*, p. 138 ff., seems to be devoid of every basis of fact. The explanation there offered (p. 139) is that the *sārameyāu* are two winds, namely the west-wind and the south-wind.§ I fail to find a single attribute as reported by the Hindus themselves which makes in any way for such a mythology. Let us consider but the one point of color,

in the partial activity of its phases suggested the propriety of establishing symbolic connection between the *pakṣa* of the moon and the *pakṣa-hata*.

\* See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* ii. 296: *vāivasvatakule jātāu dvāu çyāmaçavalāu çunāu: tābhyām piṇḍo mayā datto raksetām pathi mām sadā*.

† Especially interesting is this passage: *athorāma* (! for *adhorāma*) *udumbaraḥ sārameyo ha dhāvati: samudram iva* (! for *ava* ?) *cākaçad bibhram niṣkaṁ ca rukmaṁ ca* 'Sārameya, dark below and brown, runs, looking down upon the sea, carrying ornaments and gold.' The verse shows notable points of contact with AV. vi. 80 and RV. x. 136. Cf. also Āp. Gṛ. vii. 18. 1-4, and its commentary.

‡ Therefore perhaps the frequent statement in the Brāhmaṇas that the sun is death. Thus ÇB. ii. 3. 3. 7: *ya esa tapati tad yad esa mrtyuḥ*.

§ For earlier explanations see Ehni, *ibid*, p. 138, note; *Ind. Stud.* i. 114; ii. 296.

which appears persistently as an attribute of the dogs : *çabalāu*, at RV. x. 14. 10 ; AV. xviii. 2. 11 ; TA. vi. 3. 1 ; *udumbalāu*, RV. x. 14. 12 ; AV. xviii. 2. 13 ; TA. vi. 3. 2 ; *çyāma-çabalāu*, AV. viii. 1. 9 ; PGS. i. 16. 24 ; *arjuna* and *piçañga*, RV. vii. 55. 2. Almost all these epithets are assembled at HGS. ii. 7. 2.† Who ever heard of winds of a certain color? or why should the element of color turn up so persistently in the personified form of these winds? Ebni exhibits in fact no better argument than an etymological one: the *sārameyāu* are the offspring of *saramā*, and *saramā* contains the root *sar* 'go.' He compares *saramā* with *saranyu* 'fleet, mobile,' used as an epithet of the Maruts at RV. i. 62. 4 ; iii. 32. 5, and assumes that *saramā* is a goddess of the storm, and that therefore her children are also gods of the wind.

After careful deliberation, I would for my part point out that the identity of the two dogs with sun and moon which is clearly implied in the Brāhmaṇas seems to account for many qualities and statements of them mentioned in the *mantras*. The color or brightness of sun and moon would comport well with their attributes of color. They are called the messengers of Yama who go after people, a very suitable epithet for sun and moon.‡ I would draw attention especially to the statement *yāu te çvānāu yama rakṣitārāu* . . . *pathirākṣi* (AV. *pathiśādā*) *nṛcākṣasāu*, RV. x. 14. 11 = AV. xviii. 2. 12 = TA. vi. 3. 1 ; here the epithets *rakṣitārāu* and *pathirākṣi* are favorable to such a construction, and the word *nṛcākṣas* 'looking upon men' is a standing epithet of sun and moon. Thus, *nṛcākṣāḥ sū'ryaḥ* at RV. vii. 60. 2 ; *nṛcākṣāḥ pūṣā* at RV. x. 139. 2 ; *śavitāraṁ nṛcākṣasam*, RV. i. 22. 7 ; *ādityāśya nṛcākṣasah*, AV. xiii. 2. 1 ; *ādityē nṛcākṣasi*, AV. x. 3. 18 ; *tvāṁ soma* . . . *abhave nṛcākṣāḥ*, RV. i. 91. 2 ; *tvāṁ hī nas tanvāḥ soma gopā gātre-gātre niṣasāthā nṛcākṣāḥ* (double entendre: *soma* the drink, and *soma* the moon) ; RV. viii. 48. 9, etc. Note also the use of the word as epithet of the stars of the night at AV. xix. 47. 3 : *yē te rātri nṛcākṣaso draṣṭārah*. The entire scope of the epithet is well described by Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, s. v.: 'von den göttern am häufigsten von der sonne und ihren göttern, von Soma (i. e. the moon), und von Agni.' Above all, the

† The epithet *aśrīmukha* at MS. iv. 9. 19 ; TA. iv. 29, may also have been suggested by the notion of color. I would note here, without being able to assign a reason, that in the ritual of the AV. the eight verses beginning with the three verses which deal with the dogs of Yama have a special designation, seemingly by a word for color. At Kāuṣ. 80. 35 (see the Antyeṣṭipaddhati and Keçava ibid.) ; 82. 31 ; 83. 20, 28 ; 84. 13 ; Vāit. 37. 24, the verses AV. xviii. 2. 11-18 are designated as *harinī*-verses. The verb *har* is always employed in connection with them (*harinībhir hareyuh*). Whether this justifies us in regarding the word *harinībhiḥ* (sc. *ṛgbhiḥ*) as meaning 'verses with which the act of taking is performed,' or whether this represents a punning juxtaposition of *harinī* 'yellow' and *har* 'take,' I am not in the position to decide.

‡ Cf. RV. x. 92. 12 : *śūryāmāsā vicārantā divikṣitā* ; and RV. x. 88. 11 : *yudā cariṣṇā mithunā abhūtam ād it prāpaçyan bhūvanāni viçvā*, which evidently refers to sun and moon.

assumption that sun and moon, are implicated in the myth of Yama's dogs relieves us of many apparent inconsistencies in the statements concerning them. On the one hand the exhortation to the dead, 'run past the two spotted dogs . . . straightways; then come to the kindly fathers, who hold high feast with Yama,' suits well the conception of the *ṣvānāu divyāu*, heavenly dogs who are suspended in the sky (RV. x. 14. 10). On the other hand, by the easiest change of mental attitude the same two dogs are the protectors who guard the way, and look upon men (favorably: this implication is always contained in *nṛśikṣah*), are ordered by Yama to take charge of the dead, and to furnish them prosperity and health (RV. x. 14. 11). Again, by an equally simple shift of position, sun and moon move among men as the messengers of death; by day and by night men perish while these heavenly bodies alternate in their presence among men.\* This furnishes the terrible side of their nature (RV. x. 14. 12). For me at least the verses when viewed in this light have become fuller in meaning and more consistent in their relation to one another, and if this view stands we are saved the problematic assumption that the conception of the *ṣvānāu divyāu* in AV. vi. 80 and the Brāhmaṇas represents an essentially novel development, totally foreign to the principal passage which describes them, RV. x. 14. 10-12.

I add a summary of the preceding investigation. At AV. vi. 80 a 'heavenly dog,' *divyaḥ ṣvā*, is mentioned who flies through the air and looks down upon all beings. Allusion is made in this to a legend reported in the Brāhmaṇas, according to which two heavenly dogs, formerly Asuras, managed to ascend the heavens and to gain there a permanent foothold. The Māitrāyaṇī-saṁhitā states explicitly that these same two dogs are the dogs of Yama. Further the two dogs of Yama, either under their collective name of *yamaṣvā* or separately designated as *ṣyāma* (or *ṣyāra*) and *ṣabala*, are constantly identified in the Brāhmaṇas with day and night, and once in the Çatapatha-brāhmaṇa the moon is styled 'the heavenly dog who looks down upon the cattle.' The conclusion derived from all these statements is that in the Atharvan and the Brāhmaṇas the two dogs of Yama are familiarly identified with the sun and the moon.

This result is then brought to bear upon the reports on the two dogs of Yama in the hymns themselves, especially the very interesting passage RV. x. 14. 10-12, and the corresponding passages in other collections of *mantras*. It is shown that the apparently

\* In this connection RV. i. 29. 3 is very noteworthy: *nī svāpayā mithūdṛcā* (Sāy. *yamadūtyāu*) *sastām ābudhyamāne* 'put to sleep the two (female messengers of Yama) who are visible by turns: let them sleep without waking.' The epithet *mithūdṛcā* fits sun and moon admirably. But why should they be feminine? The Pet. Lex. refers the epithet to day and night.

conflicting attributes which are bestowed upon them in the hymns are best separately accounted for and harmonized with one another by the aid of this very explanation; every statement in these much-discussed stanzas falls naturally into line with the other, and the passage seems to be freed from nearly every serious difficulty.

### III. THE MARRIAGE OF SARANYŪ, TVASTAR'S DAUGHTER.

In venturing to add one more to the many essays\* on the narrative of Saranyū's conjugal exploits as recorded at RV. x. 17. 1, 2, my justification is that I come to the task armed with a theory which I hope will gain general, if not universal, assent as soon as it is applied to the instance in hand. The passage, according to my view, belongs to the class of Vedic literary endeavors which are styled in the Vedas themselves *brahmodya* or *brahmavadya*; it is a riddle or charade, not, as has hitherto been held, either a fragment, or a story of a form so condensed as to be foreign to Indian habits of narration.

The *brahmodya* occur in the majority of Vedic works: e. g., at RV. i. 164 = AV. ix. 9 and 10; VS. xxiii. 9-12; 49-52; 61-62; TS. vii. 4. 18; AB. v. 25; ÇB. xiii. 2. 6. 9-17; 5. 2. 11-21; AÇS. viii. 13. 13, 14; x. 9. 1-3; ÇÇS. xvi. 4-6; Vāit. 37. 1 ff.; 38. 5 ff.; LÇS. ix. 10. 9 ff.; KÇS. xx. 7. 11; Ap. Çr. xx. 19. They differ somewhat in character and structure: sometimes, as at RV. i. 164. 34, 35, the question is stated in a full verse followed by an equally explicit answer; sometimes, as at AB. v. 25 (15 ff.), the riddle is put categorically and concisely, not in the form of a question;† the answer again follows. Again, frequently only the question is put in the form either of a categorical statement or of an interrogation, the answer either being too obvious or being withheld in order to impart additional interest and mystery to the riddle. Of this sort is RV. viii. 29, and i. 164, excepting vv. 34, 35. Finally, at AÇS. viii. 13. 14 and AB. v. 25 (23), there is a *brahmodya*—as the texts explicitly state—which contains only answers to a question which is presupposed and easily supplied.‡

\* The literature on the subject, consisting of translations, commentaries, and mythological explanations, is very extensive: see Muir, OST. v. 227-9; Kuhn in KZ. i. 440 ff.; Roth in ZDMG. iv. 425; L. Myriantheus, *Die Ävins*, pp. 1-4; Max Müller, *Lectures*, Second Series, no. xi. p. 501 ff., American edition of 1865, = p. 528 ff., English edition of 1878; A. Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, ii. 318, 506; Grassmann, *Translation*, ii. 466; Ludwig, *Rig-Veda*, ii. 432; iii. 332 ff.; v. 391 ff.; Lanman, *Reader*, p. 381; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xvii. 310 ff.; Ehní, *Der vedische Mythos des Yama*, p. 16 ff.

† *annādā cā 'nnapatnī cā 'nnādā tad agnir annapatnī tad ādityāh* 'eater of food and mistress of food. The eater of food is Agni; the mistress of food is Aditya.'

‡ Cf. on this entire subject Haug, *Vedische Räthselfragen und Räthselfprüche*, Transactions of the Munich Academy, 1875, p. 7 ff. of the reprint; Ludwig, *Rig-Veda*, iii. 390 ff.

The text of the passage in question is as follows: *tvāstā duhitre vahatūnī kṛnotī 'tī 'dām vīṣvam bhūvanam sām eti: yamāsya mātā paryukhyāmānā mahō jāyā vīvasvato nanāṣa. āpā 'gūhann amṛtām mārtyebhyaḥ kṛtvī sāvarṇām adadur vīvasvate: utā 'ṣvīnāv abharad yāt tād āsūd ājahūd u dvā mithundā saranyū'h.* The two stanzas occur also at AV. xviii. 1. 53; 2. 33, with unimportant variants; stanza 1 *a, b* is worked up secondarily at AV. iii. 31. 5, and will be discussed carefully below (p. 182).

We translate as follows, reserving the justification of our rendering for the sequel: "Tvāstar is instituting a marriage-pageant for his daughter"—at this news (all the people of) this earth come together. Yama's mother, while being married, the wife of mighty Vivasvant, disappeared. They hid away the immortal woman from the mortals; making a *sāvarṇā* (a like one, *double entendre*: one like Saranyū in appearance, and like Vivasvant in character, or caste), they gave her to Vivasvant. Moreover, when that had taken place,\* she bore (? carried) the two Aṣvins; she abandoned, you know, two pairs—Saranyū. Many are the points which characterize this composition as a *brahmodya*.

1. It may be divided naturally into two parts. The answer is embraced in the one last word, *saranyū'h*; the riddle is posited in the form of a categorical statement, which stands for the question. The name to be guessed is suggested seven times in the riddle, each suggestion presenting a different attribute or aspect of Saranyū: *a.* the daughter of Tvāstar; *b.* the mother of Yama; *c.* the wife of Vivasvant; *d.* the immortal (who was in some sort of touch with mortals); *e.* she for whom a double was made in her image; *f.* the mother (?) of the Aṣvins; *g.* the divinity who abandoned two pairs of twins. We should have put the riddle somewhat as follows: "Who is the daughter of Tvāstar, the mother of Yama, the wife of Vivasvant, etc., etc.? Answer: Saranyū." We can feel that the very multiplicity of striking and conflicting events in her history would challenge to their embodiment in the epitome of a *brahmodya*.

2. Several expressions are evidently intended to veil the sense of the statements prior to the answer. Thus the palpable prolepsis contained in *yamāsya mātā paryukhyāmānā* 'the mother of Yama while being married': she was not the mother of Yama at the time, but became so afterwards. The omission of the subject of stanza 2 *a, b*, namely the gods, is an obscurity which could have been so easily remedied by the small word *devāḥ* as to render it likely that the author of the riddle intended the hearer or reader to gather it from the expression *amṛ'tām mārtyebhyaḥ*, which was sure to yield it after some thought. Our translation above indicates that we regard the expression *sāvarṇām* as conveying a double meaning, a fitting element in a riddle.

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\* Or, perhaps better, 'what that was:' i. e. that creature, whatever it was, into which she had changed; it is left to the hearer to guess from the context that it was a mare.

3. Above all, there is something in the style which can be accounted for on no other theory. It abounds in ellipses: so, for example, it is not stated directly at all whom Tvastar's daughter marries after stanza 1 *a, b*; in st. 1 *c, d*, we find her in full swing in the very midst of her marital career. At st. 2 *a* no reason is assigned for the hiding away of Saranyū; at 2 *c* no account is given of how she bore(?) the Aṅvins. Other points might be added. The whole, moreover, to our feeling, is pervaded too by an air of playfulness,\* which cannot be fastened upon any single word or expression, but is felt more and more keenly after each reading.

If our theory is correct, it will affect materially our attitude towards the later versions of Saranyū's life-story. One can scarcely doubt that a legend which had become so firmly seated in the popular mind as to be deemed fitting material for a riddle would in the main be reported correctly in the *itihāsa*-literature. This does not of course exclude such inevitable embellishments or omissions as are almost certain to modify the story on its passage from mouth to mouth. Yāska in the Nirukta xii. 10 (*dāivata-kāṇḍa* vi.), and Čaunaka in the Bṛhaddevatā vi. 38, reported by Sāyana at RV. vii. 72. 2, narrate the *itihāsa* corresponding to the *brahmodya*; my complaint is that, though they present some points more fully than the latter, they omit many *motifs* which can be, as I believe, read with a good deal of certainty between the lines. Yāska, commenting on x. 17. 2, says: 'In reference to this (stanza) an *itihāsa* is told. Tvastar's daughter Saranyū gave birth to twins from Vivasvant (the sun). She, putting in her place another female, a *savarnā*, taking on the form of a mare, fled forth. Vivasvant, correspondingly taking on the form of a horse, followed her and coupled with her. From that were born the two Aṅvins (the 'Horse-men'). Of the *savarnā* was born Manu. Such is the meaning of this stanza.' Čaunaka's version is as follows:

*abharad mithunān trastuh saranyūh triṣirāh saha :  
sa vāi saranyūn prāyachāt svayam eva vivasvate.  
tatah saranyrām jāte te yamayamyāu vivasvatah : .  
tāc apy ubhāu yamār eva hy āstām yamyā ca vāi yamaḥ.  
sṛstrā bhartuh parokṣān tu saranyūh sadṛṣiṇ striyam :  
nikṣipyā mithunāu tasyām aṅvā bhūtvā pracakrame.  
arijñānād vivasvāns tu tasyām ajanayad manum :  
rājarsir āsīt sa manur vivasvān iva tejasā.  
sa vijñāyā 'pukrāntām tām saranyūm ātmarūpiṇām :*

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\* We may however question whether any suggestion of humor was conveyed to the Hindus themselves by any of these literary performances. They were in all probability 'quizzes,' which the priests practised at great well-endowed sacrifices, intended to exhibit before the liberal *yajamāna* the extent of their theological learning, and thus their power to understand the management and meaning of the sacrifice. We must remember in this connection the ever-recurring expressions *ya evaṁ veda* and *ya evaṁ vidvān*, etc.

*tvāstrim prati jagāmā "ṣu vāṇi bhūtvā salakṣaṇaḥ.  
saranyūs tu vivasvantaṁ vijñāya hayarūpinam :  
māiṭhunāyo 'pacakrāma tāṁ sa tatrā "ruroha saḥ. . . .  
tat kumārāu sambabhūvatuh . . . yāu stutāv aṣvīnāv api.*

'Tvāstar had twin children, (a daughter) Saranyū, and (a son) Triṣiras. He of his own accord gave Saranyū in marriage to Vivasvant. Then Saranyū bare to Vivasvant Yama and Yamī. These two were also twins. Without the knowledge of her husband she created a woman like herself, foisted her twin-children upon her, and, turning herself into a mare, fled. Vivasvant then in ignorance begot on this (female who was left) Manu, a *rājarṣi* like Vivasvant in glory. But, discovering that the real Saranyū had gone away, he quickly followed the daughter of Tvāstar, having assumed the form of a horse with qualities corresponding to hers. Recognizing him in that form, she approached him with the desire of intercourse, which he there gratified. . . . From this act sprang the two Kumāras, . . . who are known as Horsemen.' The story is told again upon essentially the same lines in the *Harivaṅṣa*, 545 ff., in the *Sāmavajaya* 12 (Weber, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, Jan. 19, 1880, p. 72), in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* iii. 2.\* the versions there given are well calculated to confirm the belief that a fairly well defined single story underlies every report which has come down to our times.

Turning now to a more detailed analysis of the *brahmodya*, the first point that claims our attention is the unusual character of the marriage of Saranyū. The words *idāṁ viṣvam bhūvanam sām eti* seem to me capable of but one construction, namely that the whole world, not only the gods but notably also such inhabitants of the earth as were then in existence, were admitted as wooers for the hand of the lady. We might be tempted to suppose that a *svayamvara* 'a self-choice marriage' (cf. Pischel, *Vedische Studien* i. 16 ff.) is indicated, but for the explicit statement of the *Brhaddevatā*: 'Tvāstar of his own accord gave Saranyū to Vivasvant.† The statement is significant, and not to be taken lightly, as it accords well with the unusual circumstance that he gave his daughter not to a god but to a mortal. For in this story Vivasvant and the twins Yama and Yamī which he begot with Saranyū are, I believe, designated as mortals (*mārtiyebhyaḥ*, st. 2).‡ We may assume with a good deal of certainty,

\* Cf. also *Mārķ. Pur.* lxxvii. 1 ff.; ci. 1 ff.; *Bhāg. Pur.* vi. 6. 38 ff.; viii. 12. 8; ix. 1. 11; *Nārada's Pañcarātra*, i. 4. 85.

† Cf. the statement at *AB.* iv. 7, which evidently comes from a similar sphere of conceptions: *prajāputir vāi somāya rājñe duhitaram prāyachat*. Similarly *KB.* xviii. 1. Cf. also *TS.* ii. 3. 5. 1; *Kāth.* xi. 3; *TB.* ii. 3. 10. 1. All these rest on the foundation of conceptions which are worked up in *mantra*-form in the *sūrya-sūkta*, *RV.* x. 85 (cf. especially stanzas 9, 18, 40).

‡ In fact, if we desire exact consistency from the legend, there are at that time no other mortals in existence, inasmuch as Manu is not as yet begotten.



as the sequel will show, that Saranyū herself either objected to the alliance or at least was indifferent to it.

The character of Vivasvant as a mortal, or at least as a divinity with a not unblemished escutcheon, forms the dramatic *motif* of the story. His designation here as a *mārtya* is supported by the designation of his son Manu as a *rājarsi* in the Brhaddevatā, as also at Mahābh. iii. 12747.\* At TS. vi. 5. 6. 2, it is stated explicitly that men are the offspring of Vivasvant: *tāto vivasvān ādityō jāyata, tāsyā vā iyām prajā yān manusyā h*. Especially interesting is the legend about Aditi and her eight sons, which is indicated at RV. x. 72. 8, 9, and expanded at ÇB. iii. 1. 3. 3 ff. It is told with the evident intention of showing that Vivasvant, though called *āditya*, is yet of a rank and quality very different from that of the orthodox seven Adityas, inasmuch as the race of man is descended from him.† All this is in accord with the character of Vivasvant in the myth from the start. I do not hesitate to identify the epithet *mārtya* as assigned to Vivasvant and Yama with *mashyō* of the Avestan myth; at Yaçna ix. 3, 4 Vivanhāo is spoken of expressly as the first mortal (*paoiryō mashyō*); at ix. 6, 7, Yima is stated to be the second mortal (*bityō mashyō*). Whatever may be the genetic development of the myths concerning these divine personalities—a question with which we are here not directly concerned—there is present at some stage, probably a very early one, the notion that they were men, the first men. In the Avesta and in the Persian literature Vivanhāo (Pers. Vaivendshehan, Janbekhan, or Anudshihan: ZDMG. iv. p. 422) is always a mythical king, there being no longer any trace of naturalistic conceptions in connection with him. In the *mantras* the naturalistic side (*vivasvant*, the shining sun) is altogether prominent; the anthropomorphic side is in fact represented most clearly and expressly by the passage here under discussion. But as king Yama is the first mortal (AV. xviii. 3.

\* In Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's gloss on Bhagavadgītā iv. 1, Manu is also called a *kṣatriya*: see Muir, OST. i. 508.

† RV. x. 72. 8, 9 we translate: 'with seven of the eight sons which were born from Aditi she (Aditi) went to the gods; Mārtāṇḍa (Vivasvant) she threw aside. With seven sons Aditi came to the race of old; but Mārtāṇḍa she brought to beget (the race of man), and on the other hand to death again (and again?).' The legend at ÇB. iii. 1. 3. 3 ff. is as follows: 'Now Aditi had eight sons. But those that are called 'the gods, the Adityas' (note the implication that Mārtāṇḍa is not a god) were seven; for the eighth, Mārtāṇḍa, she brought forth unformed; he was a mere heap, as high as broad, some say of the size of a man. Then the gods, the Adityas, saying "What was born after us let it not be in vain; come, let us fashion it," fashioned him as man is fashioned. The flesh which they cut off and threw down became the elephant ('he with the hand, or trunk': note again the allusion to man); hence they say that one must not accept as a gift an elephant, since the elephant has sprung from man. Now he whom they had thus fashioned was Vivasvant, the sun (Aditya). Of him came these creatures.' Cf. Muir, OST. iv. 14; v. 50, note; Eggeling, SBE. xxvi. 12 ff. Cf. also AV. viii. 9. 21; TA. i. 13. 2, 3; TS. vi. 5. 6. 1; Hariv. 546 ff.

13; RV. x. 14. 2; 135. 1), it is likely *a fortiori* that a similar view of the character of his father Vivasvant must have existed by the side of the unquestionably well-established naturalistic foundation of the divinity. His human character appears even more clearly in the circumstance that Manu, 'the man' (cf. RV. i. 80. 16; 112. 16; TS. iii. 1. 9. 4; ÇB. i. 8. 1. 1 ff.), the progenitor of the present race of men, is very early regarded as his son: *mānū vivasvati*, RV. viii. 52. 1 (Vālah. 4. 1); *mānur vāivasvatāh*, AV. viii. 10. 24. (cf. Nir. xii. 10; ÇB. xiii. 4. 3. 3, etc., below). The human element in Vivasvant's character manifests itself also directly in his connection with all sorts of sacrificial acts, especially the composition and promotion of prayers at the soma-sacrifice. At RV. ix. 99. 2 the pious thoughts of Vivasvant (the soma-hymn) urge the flow of the yellow soma: *yādī vivāsvato dhīyo hārin hinvānti yātave*: cf. also i. 139. 1; ix. 14. 5 (soma cleaned by Vivasvant's fingers). At viii. 6. 39 Indra is urged to take delight in the thought or invention of Vivasvant, i. e. either in his hymn or in the (soma-) sacrifice which he has devised: (*indra*) *mātsvā vivasvato matī*.\* Similarly i. 46. 13. The expression *sādane vivāsvatah* 'at the seat of Vivasvant' (RV. i. 53. 1; iii. 34. 7; 51. 3; x. 12. 7; 75. 1) means in plain language 'in the place where the (soma-) sacrifice is performed, where the soma-songs are sung':† see Grassmann s. v. *vivāsvat*, 3; Ludwig, *Rig-Veda* v. 77; Ehni, *Yama*, p. 38, all of whom follow Sāyana's rather bald rendering of *vivāsvatah* by *yajamānasya*. Vivasvant is the typical sacrificer, and it is perhaps not accidental that Indra is the divinity to whom honor is shown most frequently at the seat of Vivasvant, since the sacrifice of Vivasvant and Vivanhāo is the soma,‡ and the soma is Indra's drink. Thus, i. 53. 1: *prā mahē bharāmahe gīra indrāya sādane vivāsvatah*; iii. 34. 7: *vivāsvatah sādane asya* (sc. *indrasya*) *tāni viprū ukthēbhiḥ kavāyo grṇanti*; and iii. 51. 3: *indro . . . vivāsvatah sādana ā hi pipriyē*. At any rate, the supposition that the anthropomorphic Vivasvant may be viewed as a mortal in a story of evident cosmogonic character seems to be plausible, and the development of the story, according to our view, will tend to show that it furnishes the only possible explanation of the word *māryebhyaḥ* in our passage.

Saranyū presents Vivasvant with the twins Yama and Yamī, but after this the feeling that she is the victim of a *mésalliance* gains ground more and more. The poet at Harivaṅṣa 547 has a true sense of the situation when he says: *bhartṛrūpeṇa nā 'tasya rūpayāuvanaçāliniḥ* 'Saranyū, endowed with beauty and youth,

\* Sāyana: *paricaranavato yajamānasya matyā*.

† Cf. Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, i. 241 ff.

‡ *vivanhāo mām* (sc. *haomem*) *paoiryō masyō* . . . *hunuta*, Yasna ix. 4: cf. also VS. viii. 5.

§ Cf. Mārķ. Pur. lxxvii. 28: *sūryatāpam anichantī tejasas tasya bībhyati*.

took no delight in the form of her husband.' Possibly the story aims to convey a more special form of Saranyū's dissatisfaction, which peeps out not only in her abandonment of her husband, but more clearly in her metamorphosis into a mare: Vivasvant in his human capacity may have failed to satisfy the instincts of the goddess, which were probably laid out on too large a scale for his mortal capacities.\* Without desiring to imply any genetic connection, we may bear in mind the prevalence of similar features in ancient novel-literature: e. g. in the story of Pasiphaë and in the *ὄρος* of Lucian.

At any rate, we need not hesitate to regard Saranyū's metamorphosis into a mare as an integral part of the story, even if the motive assigned turns out to be foreign to it; our theory that the version of the Rig-Veda is a *brahmodya* makes it more than natural that her change into a mare (*açvā*) be left to be inferred from the designation of her second pair of twins as 'the horsemen (*açvin*).'

The course of the story accordingly is as follows: Since Saranyū does not approve of her husband, she makes her escape (*nan-āça*), and betakes herself to the gods, her natural associates, living there as a mare for the reasons indicated above. By the aid of the gods she lived there unknown to Vivasvant and her children by him. Therefore it is said that the gods hid away the immortal woman from her mortal relatives. To make her securer in her changed circumstances, they devise the *sāvarṇā*, which we have interpreted above as involving an intentional double sense: 'one like herself' and also 'one like (Vivasvant) in character or class.' For the latter use of the word *varṇa* cf. *dītsam varṇam* at RV. ii. 12. 4; *āryam varṇam* at RV. iii. 34. 9; *asuryām varṇam* at RV. ix. 71. 2; TB. i. 4. 7. 1; AB. vi. 36. 15. At RV. i. 104. 2 men speak of their *varṇa*, saying: *tē* (sc. *devāso*) *na ā vakṣan suritītya varṇam* 'may the gods lead our kind to prosperity.' At Gāut. xxviii. 40 and Ap. Dh. Sū. ii. 13. 1; 27. 11 *sāvarṇā* is 'a woman of the same caste.' Yāska, Çāunaka, and the later versions further report unanimously that the *sāvarṇā* (*chāyā*) she is

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\* The assumption of animal shapes on the part of the male and female principles in early cosmogonic stories is known elsewhere. At AB. iii. 33. Prajāpati, intending to cohabit with his daughter Dyū or Uṣas, changes to a buck, while she becomes a female deer: *tām ṛçyo bhūtvā rohitam bhūtām abhyāit*. At ÇB. xiv. 4. 2. 6 ff. the female principle appears successively in the form of cow, mare, she-ass, she-goat, etc.; the male as bull, stallion, he-ass, goat, etc. So also PB. xi. 3. 5; *açvo vāi bhūtvā prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata*; and ÇB. xiv. 1. 3. 25: 'thou (O earth) art the horse of Manu; for she, having become a mare, carried Manu; he is her husband, Prajāpati.' Cf. also VS. xxxvii. 12. Here also there seems to be a choice of animals of recognized productivity. We may note in this connection that at RV. x. 68. 11 the heavens are compared with a horse, and at RV. x. 73. 10 Agni is said to be descended from a horse, which perhaps again is the heavens. Cf. also RV. ii. 35. 6, and Sāyaṇa *ibid.*; ÇB. v. 1. 4. 5; vii. 5. 2. 18: here the lightning is a horse descended from the waters, or the clouds.

called in VP., etc.; *saṁjñā* in Hariv., etc.) gave birth to Manu, thus establishing Manu as a brother of Yama. This, of course, harmonizes the statement at RV. viii. 52. 1 (Vālk. 4. 1); AV. viii. 10. 24, that Manu was the son of Vivasvant, with that other more common one that Yama is the son of the same father. Now we must not fail to note that nevertheless Manu and Yama are scarcely ever mentioned together in the *saṁhitās*—at least, so far as we are able to find with the means at our control. In fact, AV. viii. 10. 23, 24, where it is stated rather loosely that Yama and Manu were the calves of the *virāj*, is the only passage, and that too of evident *brāhmaṇa*-character, of this sort in the *saṁhitās*. The statements there are: *tāsyā* (sc. *virājah*) *yamó rājā vatsá āsit*; . . . *tāsyā mánur vāivasvató vatsá āsit*. Nor are Yama and Manu associated frequently or intimately in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras*. At AB. they occur together in the *abhiṣecanīya*-stanza: *yābhīr indram abhyasiñcat prajāpatiḥ somaṁ rājāmaṁ varuṇaṁ yamaṁ manuṁ: tābhīr adbhir abhiṣiñcāmi tvāṁ aham*, etc. At ÇB. xiii. 4. 3. 3-5; ÇÇS. xvi. 2. 1-5; AÇS. x. 7. 1-2, we have the statement, first, that Manu Vāivasvata is the ruler of men; second, that Yama Vāivasvata is the ruler of the manes (*manur vāivasvato rājā tasya manusyā viçāḥ* . . . *yamo vāivasvato rājā tasya pīlaro viçāḥ*); this certainly implies that Manu and Yama are viewed as the children of the same father Vivasvant, and that they are both intimately connected with the races of mortal man: cf. Mahābh. i. 3137, where this is stated explicitly. At TS. vi. 5. 6. 2 we have the incidental statement that the race of man is descended from Vivasvant: *tāto vīvasvān ādityò jāy-ata, tāsyā vā iyām prajā yān manusyāḥ*; this naturally points to Manu as the intermediate progenitor. Of far greater importance in determining the antiquity of the fable of Manu's descent from the *sāvarṇā* is the *dānastuti* at RV. x. 62. 8-11, in which a *mānu sīvarṇi* or *sāvarṇyā* is praised for his generosity to the poet. Grassmann in his lexicon and in his translation renders the word *mānu* by 'man,' and quietly assumes that *sīvarṇi* and *sāvarṇyā* are descendants of a man *savarṇa*: 'savarṇa-spross.\*' Ludwig in his translation ii. 390 rather inconsistently translates *mānu* in st. 8 as a proper name, in st. 11 by 'man,' but at any rate he recognizes here, as also in iii. 165-6; v. 308, the existence of one Manu Sāvarṇi or Sāvarṇya.† The passages of importance for our theme are the following: *prā nūnām jāyatām ayām mānus tókme 'va rohatu* (st. 8 a, b); *sāvarṇyāsyā dākṣiṇī vī sindhur iva puprathe*

\* The Pet. Lex. also has assumed this derivation for these two words, and Muir OST. i<sup>2</sup>. 17, note, also fails to recognize the early existence of a Manu Sāvarṇi and his relation to the *sāvarṇā* of our passage.

† Manu Sāvarṇi is the very designation under which the son of the *chāyā* is known to the compilers of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa (iii. 2), of the Bhāg. Pur. (vi. 6. 39), and of the Mārka. Pur. (106. 14); also at Sāmavajaya 12. 16 (Weber *ibid.* p. 721) the son of Saṁjñā is called Sāvarṇi.

(st. 9 c, d); *sahasradī grāmanīr. mā riṣan mānuh* (st. 11 a);\* *sā-varner devāḥ prā tirantv āyuh* (st. 11 c). We may regard it as certain that such a person as *savarṇa* (masc.) never existed in Indian literature,† and it is rather remarkable that all the authorities have overlooked the evident relation of the patronymics to the *sāvarṇā* of our riddle. The fact that some family of *Mānavas*‡ had this patronymic vouches for the existence of an original Manu *Sāvarṇi*, and points to this fable no less than the patronymic *vāivasvatā* which is elsewhere applied to Manu.§ We need therefore not hesitate to regard the introduction of Manu in the later versions as an originally integral part of the story.

The remainder of the story is that Vivasvant, becoming aware of the imposition which Saranyū had practiced upon him, also assumed the form of a horse, 'with qualities corresponding to hers (*salakṣaṇaḥ*, as Čāunaka remarks significantly).' And Saranyū 'approached him with the desire of sexual connection, which he gratified' (ibid.). From this sprang the 'Horsemen.' The foundation for this part of the story is laid securely in the passages from the Brāhmanas cited in the foot-note on p. 178; indeed, Vivasvant's pursuit is from the point of view of these legends the inevitable consequence of Saranyū's flight. Likewise the origin of the Aṅvins from the intercourse of the metamorphosed pair, though it is reported in no other connection, must almost certainly have suggested itself in connection with their name (*aṅvin: aṅva*), from the very existence of this line of conceptions. And there is positively no ground for insisting that this suggestion did not come, or could not have come, even during the earliest period of the composition of the *mantras*.||

We have thus endeavored to place the legend out of which the riddle at RV. x. 17. 12 was extracted upon the broad ground of Vedic conceptions in general, and we believe the claim not an

\* Cf. TB. i. 1. 4. 8; *mānos tvā grāmanyō vratapate vratēnā dadhāmī 'ti vdiṇyasya*. This passage shows conclusively that *mānu* in these passages is to be regarded as a proper name.

† For a suggestion which deals with a possible bahuvrīhi adjective *savarṇa* see below, p. 187, note §.

‡ Cf. the refrain at stanzas 1-4 of this hymn: *prāti grbhṇīta mānavām sunedhasaḥ* 'receive kindly, O ye wise (gods), the Mānava.'

§ At RV. viii. 51. 1 (Vālah. 1. 3) *sāmvaranī* occurs as a patronymic of Manu, and I would see in this a corruption of *sāvarṇi*, brought about by the coexistence of the name of a poet *sāmvarāṇa* v. 38. 10 (cf. the Anukramanī, which ascribes this hymn to Sāmvarāṇa Prājāpatya). This view is supported by the mention in the next hymn, viii. 52. 1 (Vālah. 1. 4), of Manu *Vāivasvata*. The two hymns open respectively as follows: *yāthā mānau sāmvaranāu sōmam indrā 'pibaḥ sūtām* (viii. 51. 1), and *yāthā mānau vīvasvati sōmam ṣakrā 'pibaḥ sūtām* (viii. 52. 1). If our conjecture is correct, we have here the nearest approach to a systematic statement harmonizing Manu's genealogy with the story of the *sāvarṇā*.

|| Indeed, Adalbert Kuhn at KZ. i. 450 ff. pleads that the Aṅvins, whom he identifies with Agni and Indra, are so called because they are descended from the heavens personified as a horse; cf. note † on p. 178.

orbitant one that no important feature of the legend is wanting support from that source. As the chief difficulty in the way of such an interpretation has been regarded the existence of a somewhat related cycle of conceptions which presents the original cosmic principle in the act of creating the inhabitants of the universe by incestuous intercourse with his own daughter. Thus the question has arisen in the minds of the interpreters whether the marriage alluded to in the riddle does not refer to the connection of Tvastar with his own daughter; this would lead to the identification of Tvastar and Vivasvant at RV. x. 17. 1.\* I believe however that the decisive moment in this question can be found in the language of the two kinds of stories; the stories of Prajapati's incest with his daughter exhibit an utter absence of all the technical words indicative of Vedic marriage rites; the stories of the marriage of Prajapati's daughter almost always exhibit them.

Thus, as regards the latter kind, we have e. g. at AB. iv. 7. 1 the expressions *prāyachat* (cf. *ādādāt* at RV. x. 85. 9, and *pitrā rāttām ādāya*, PGS. i. 4. 15), *varāh*, and *vahatūm*; at KB. xviii.

we have *prāyachat* and *uhyamānāyāh* (cf. *vahatūm uhyāmānam* at AV. xiv. 2. 9, and *pāryavahan* at RV. x. 85. 38); at TS. ii.

5. 1 we have *ādādāt*. The passages portraying the cosmic incest do not present a single allusion to wedding-rites. Thus, RV. x. 1. 7: *pītā yāt svām duhitāram adhiṣkāt*, etc. (cf. also the preceding two stanzas, 5, 6); AB. iii. 33. 1: *prajāpatir vai svām duhitāram abhyadhyāyat . . . tām ṛcyo bhūtvā rohitam bhūim abhyāit tām devā apacyann akṛtām vai prajāpatih karotī'ti*; B. i. 7. 4. 1: *prajāpatir ha vai svām duhitāram abhidadhyāu . . . mithunā enayā syām iti tām sambabhūva tad vai devānam āga āsa* (cf. also *ibid.* ii. 1. 2. 9); PB. viii. 2. 10: *prajāpatir āsam adhyāit svām duhitāram*.† The absence of the tinkle of the marriage-bells is painfully noticeable in all these passages, and there can be no doubt that the words *vahatūm* and *paryuhyānā* at RV. x. 17. 1 stamp the passage as one of the former kind, in which the daughter is properly married to a stranger. It is entirely contrary to the spirit of the incestuous passages that there should be a marriage-gathering (*vahatū*) and a bride (*varyuhyāmānā*) in connection with the illicit act. So far as the passage now under discussion is concerned, we may note also that in stanza 1 the active *kṛnoti*, not the middle *kṛnute*, is employed. This in itself is sufficient evidence that Tvastar is not the one who is espousing Saranyū.

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\* Cf. especially the acute exposition of this view by Professor Weber *Ind. Stud.* xvii. 310 ff. A similar view was advanced by Ad. Kuhn about thirty years ago, *KZ.* i. 448. See also Bergaigne, *La Religion védique*, ii. 318.

† Cf. also the version of this legend from the *Mātsya-purāṇa* iii. 32 ff., reported by Muir OST. i<sup>9</sup>. 108 ff.

mentation in favor of regarding the stanza as belonging to the circle of conceptions about cosmic incest. His argument calls for a careful consideration. The stanza is as follows :

*tvāṣṭā duhitṛé vahatūm yunaktī 'vī 'dām víḡvam bhūvanam ví  
yāti :*  
*vy āhām sárveṇa pāpmānā ví yáksmeṇā sám āyuṣā.*

The second half of the stanza is a refrain which is repeated with every one of the 11 stanzas of the hymn. The general character of the hymn is perfectly evident : in the *Ganamālā* 6 (cf. *Kāuṣ.* 30. 17, note) the hymn is grouped along with *AV.* iv. 33 and vi. 21 as one designed for the purpose of destroying evil (*pāpmahā*).\* More precisely, the hymn is intended, as the refrain clearly shows, not only to remove evil (*vī* . . . *pāpmānā ví yáksmeṇa*), but also to bring life (*sám āyuṣā*).† Thus the hymn is divided into two parts, leaving the refrain out of the question : sts. 1-4, which pray for and emphasize separation from evil ; sts. 6-11, which contain prayers for endowment or junction with life. In stanzas 1-4 the preposition *vī* with the verb *vr̥t̥* either expressed or understood in the sense of 'turn away' is the key-word ; in stanzas 6-11 the preposition *sám* with roots *dhā* and *ir̥*, either expressed or understood, in the sense of 'endow, join to,' is the leading word. Now the stanza under discussion (5) stands between these two unambiguous divisions, and the question arises which it belongs to. Weber unhesitatingly takes the view that st. 5 belongs to the first part : "Die vv. 3. 4 enthalten Belege für gründliche Scheidung ; . . . es muss somit auch unser Vers hier einen ähnlichen Inhalt haben (p. 310)." Accordingly he translates : "Tvāstar schirrt der Tochter den Hochzeitzug an darob ; stob die ganze Welt auseinander" (ibid.). And on p. 312 he says that the verse certainly exhibits horror of the *vahatu* which Tvāstar arranges, because it involves a sin (*pāpa*). If our observation above that the passages describing cosmic incest are totally devoid of technical marriage-words is of value, then we may ask for the reasons which have led Weber to a conclusion diametrically opposed to this consideration. Cannot stanza 5 belong to the class which deal with the positive side of the hymn : endowment with life, etc.? Weber does not state the reasons which have brought about his conclusion ; I fail to see any other than the occurrence of the word *vī* in the stanza in question. This, to be sure, renders it externally more similar to sts. 1-4 than to 6-11 ; but the similarity is simply external. The verb *vī yāti*, no matter

\* Cf. also the statement of the *Anukramapī* : . . . *pāpmahādevatyam . . . brahmā nena śuktena mantroktān devān pāpmaghno 'stāut.*

† Accordingly the hymn is also rubricated at *Kāuṣ.* 58. 3 in a list of hymns intended for (friendly) greeting ; this list coincides largely with the *āyuṣyagaṇa*, *Ganamālā* 4 (cf. *Kāuṣ.* 54. 11, note), although the latter does not contain *AV.* iii. 31.

‡ Thus, not *crt*, as the printed text has it : see the *Index Verborum*. The manuscripts are unanimous.

now it be translated,\* has nothing to do with the idea of separation from evil expressed by *vī* with the root *vrt* understood in the first four stanzas. Weber's translation of the word by "aus ein-ander stieben" evidently corresponds to his theory, but it may be fairly questioned whether the word will at all bear this rendering. The RV. has *sām eti*, and this also is the reading at AV. xviii. 1. 53, where the original stanza occurs in full. In the AV. *vī yā* is a *απ. λέγ.*, occurring only in the passage under discussion; in the RV. the word never means 'go asunder,' as does *vī i* (e. g. r. 14. 9 = AV. xviii. 1. 55; VS. xii. 45; TS. iv. 2. 4. 1; TB. i. 2. 1. 16; TA. i. 27. 5; vi. 6. 1); but it is transitive, and means 'pass through.' Thus, i. 39. 3, *vī yāthana vanīnaḥ pṛthivyā vy ācāḥ pārvatānām*; i. 86. 10, *tāmo vī yāta*; i. 116. 20, *vī pārvatān . . . yātam*; i. 117. 16, *vī . . . yayathuh sām ādreḥ*; i. 140. 9, *yāti vī jṛāyāḥ*; iii. 31. 19, *drūho vī yāti bahulā ādeviḥ*; vi. 12. 6, *vī yāsi duchūnā*; vi. 62. 7, *vī . . . yātam ādrim*; vi. 66. 7, *vī śādaṣi yāti*; viii. 7. 23, *vī vṛtrām . . . yayur vī pārvatān*; viii. 73. 13, *yó vām rajānsy aṣvīnā rātho viyāti*; ix. 91. 3, *sū'ro īnvam vī yāti*; x. 32. 2, *vī 'ndra yāsi divyāni rocanā*. There is no other case of *vī yā* in the RV. At MS. i. 10. 14 = Kāth. S. 16. 8 = Nirukta v. 5 the word is also transitive: *tām* (sc. *vṛtrām*) *narūtaḥ kṣurāpavīnā vy āyuh*; at ÇB. xii. 4. 1. 2, 3 the word is also transitive and means 'pass through' and not 'go apart': *va yadi hū 'syā 'py antareṇa grāmo 'gnīn viyāyāt*. Resting upon such testimony, one may venture to say that *vī yā* in the Veda does not mean 'go away, turn aside,' etc.,† and therefore perhaps both the Pet. Lexicons remark that *vī yāti* at AV. iii. 31. 1 is probably a corrupt reading. If any value at all is to be attached to this AV. reading, we may surmise that *vī* has crept in from the other stanzas in the place of *sām*; in the four preceding stanzas including the refrains *vī* occurs no less than 16 times; if we add the remaining refrains, it occurs altogether 30 times in the hymn. Or if, on the other hand, we assume that *vī* in the body of stanza 5 is intentional, the passage *itī 'dām vīcvaṃ bhūvanam vī yāti* would seem to mean 'thus knowing (or hearing) he (Vivasvant, or perhaps Tvastar himself)† passes through

\* We may indeed question whether any importance at all is to be attached to this variant; the AV. poet may have worked in the half-verse out of the old legend in a purely fantastic, nay nonsensical fashion; the entire hymn is largely conjurer's hodge-podge. See also below.

† Böhtlingk in his lexicon s. v. *yā + vi* 4) posits the meaning 'abtrün-ig werden' for the opening passage of MS. ii. 1. 1, as received in the text: *āindrāṅnam ekādaśakapālām nirvaped yasya saṣṭā viyāyuh*(1) 'an oblation consisting of eleven cups (or dishes) shall he bring whose relatives have turned away from him.' The word *vīyāyuh* is corrupt (note the variant readings), and Schroeder conjectures *vīyuh* from *vī i*.

‡ Cf. RV. iii. 55. 19, *imā ca vīcva bhūvanāny asya* (sc. *tvāstuh*); iv. 2. 8, *tvāṣṭe 'va vīcva bhūvanāni vidvāt*; x. 110. 9, *yāḥ . . . āpiñcad bhūvanāni vīcva*; VS. xxix. 9, *tvāṣṭe 'dām vīcvaṃ bhūvanam jāṇā*.



the whole earth,' which is to be sure a result in the highest degree unsatisfactory. At any rate it seems clear that Weber's theory that the passage expresses the horrified dispersion of the inhabitants of the universe is not supported by the ordinary meaning of *vi yāti*. On the other hand, there is, so far as can be seen, nothing to prevent us from regarding st. 5 as the opening of the auspicious part of the hymn. The mention of *Tvaṣṭar*, the fashioner of creatures and of visible shapes, the creator of the world, by itself renders the passage applicable to a charm for the production or continuation of life. The cosmogonic character of the passage as a whole, the allusion to the production of *Yama*, *Manu*, and the *Aṅvins*, seem to me to point the same way.\*

It is to be regretted that there is no record of any kind of action in connection with RV. x. 17. 1, 2 in the *Sūtras* or *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Rig-Veda*. In the *AV.* the two stanzas occur separately in the funeral-mantras, as xviii. 1. 53; 2. 33; they are employed neither in the *Kāuṣika*, the *Vāitāna*, nor any of the *AV.* *Parīṣṭas*. It would be useless to surmise at what point in the funeral-practices the stanzas were recited—at least, prior to a complete investigation of the *brahmodya*-material of the *Vedas*. Many a hymn and part of a hymn will turn out to be of this character. Thus it seems to me quite certain that the so-called *hiranyagarbha*-hymn, RV. x. 121 = *AV.* iv. 2 = *VS.* x. 20; xii. 102; xiii. 4; xxiii. 3; xxv. 12, 13; xxvii. 25, 26; xxxii. 6, 7 = *TS.* ii. 2. 12; iv. 1. 8; vii. 5. 16, 17 = *MS.* ii. 13. 23 is a *brahmodya*, which does not in reality ask for information in its refrain *kāsmāi devāya harīṣā vidhema*, but puts well-known theological dogmas into this favorite form. There is primarily no god *Hiranyagarbha*,† and no god *Ka*, as Ludwig (*Rig-Veda* ii. 575) assumes; the hymn is a *brahmodya*, every stanza of which states evident qualities of *Prajāpati*, and then asks 'who is the god characterized by these qualities?' In the last stanza, RV. x. 121. 10, the answer is given: '*Prajāpati*.' But there is nothing skeptical and nothing inquisitive in all this; every one knows, both the questioner and the hearer. And so I would now assume that the famous cosmogonic hymn RV. x. 129 is not a skeptical inquiry, but a *brahmodya*, which has in mind an answer to every question it puts. Here also it will appear more and more that the hymnal literature of the *Vedas* is connected with action, and was not composed to still any independent literary demands; the *brahmodya* is an adjunct to the liturgy; and, but for the habit of instituting these doctrinal or theological 'quizzes,' as we might call them, at the end of solemn sacrifices, we should have in all probability lost the earliest traces of Hindu systematic theology.

\* By the way, the stanzas following, *AV.* iii. 81. 6-10, are also constructed out of ideas which are frequently worked up in the *brahmodya*: cf. e. g. *VS.* xxiii. 9. 52, and elsewhere.

† So *Sāyana* at RV. x. 121. 1, quite correctly: *hiranyagarbho hiraṇyamayasā ṛdasya garbhahūtaḥ prajāpatir hiraṇyagarbhaḥ*.

I cannot leave this subject without a few words on the mythological combinations which have been advanced in interpretation of the passage. Yāska, Nir. xii. 11, says : *rātrir adityasyā "dityodaye 'ntardhiyate* 'night vanishes at sunrise.' There is nothing more in this than the later stereotyped equation *vivasvant = āditya* 'the sun.' Naturally, if there is something which vanishes when the sun appears upon the scene, that something is night ; thus reasons Yāska. Western scholars also have not hesitated to subject the passage to direct mythological analysis, assuming that the story it told was but the veiled anthropomorphic version of a series of natural phenomena. Roth, ZDMG. iv. 425, regards Saranyū, 'the hurrying, impetuous one,' as the dark storm-cloud which hovers in space at the beginning of things. Tvaṣṭar, the creator, unites her to Vivasvant 'the shining one,' the light on high. Now light and the darkness of the storm-cloud produce two pairs. Then chaotic darkness vanishes, i. e. the gods hide her (in the tale), and Vivasvant is left with a *savarṇā*, 'a similar one'; his spouse is a nameless indefinable something : i. e. the myth is at a loss to assign another wife to him. Ad. Kuhn, in KZ. i. 444, accepts Roth's interpretation of Saranyū as the storm-cloud, but, after having identified Tvaṣṭar with Vivasvant according to the theory of cosmical incest which we have endeavored to discredit (above, p. 181 ff.), regards Vivasvant as the sun which hides behind the clouds : i. e. unites with the cloud in wedlock (p. 449), producing two pairs, Yama and Yami, lightning and thunder (p. 450), and the Aṣvins, Agni and Indra (p. 451). Other mythological interpretations are furnished by Müller, *Lectures*, Second Series, p. 502 = 529 ; 528 = 556 ; Myriantheus, *Die Aṣvins*, p. 56 ff. ; Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, ii. 98, 318, 506-7 ; Ludwig, *Rig-Veda*, iii. 332 ; v. 391 ; Ehni, *Yama*, pp. 20, 54. Our attitude towards the passage renders it unnecessary, in fact superfluous, to enter into a detailed presentation or discussion of all these views. We do not believe that the legend which we have endeavored to restore from the *brahmodya* and the narrative versions represent either one single natural event or a chain of natural events, clothed in anthropomorphic language. Mythologically we believe that the passage has been taken too much *au grand sérieux*. It is a prime need of mythological investigation, and one which has certainly been neglected in the past, to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the primary attributes of a mythological personage which furnish the causes of the personification, and the attributes and events which are assigned, or are supposed to happen, after the anthropomorphosis has been completed. He who would search for the primary qualities of the Greek *Zeús*, as expressed e. g. in the formula *sub Jove frigido*, in every action and attribute of the Homeric *Zeús* necessarily errs ; his error is likely to be as great at some points as is his who would look for naturalistic events and physical phenomena in the actions of the Hellenic gods in a play of Euripides, where the gods are afflicted with all the passions and weaknesses of mortal

men. Yet he who refuses to mythologize on the basis of Euripides' presentation need not therefore be skeptical about the naturalistic origin of the majority of the Greek gods; he may be willing at the right time and in the right stage of the history of any myth to point out the physical factors and the physical events which gave it a start. But he will be wise to remember that as soon as the anthropomorphosis has crystallized, as soon as a person has taken the place of a natural force, as soon as a legend has taken the place of a natural event, then the person and the legend become parts of the inventory in the possession of those of the people who are endowed with fancy, with creative imagination, and the desire to tell in captivating words their individual conceits to willing and delighted listeners. Then these persons take by the hand other persons, and these legends interlace with other legends, derived perhaps from totally different sources, and all that is then produced is no longer fitting material for mythological analysis. The disregard of these simple considerations has rendered futile many attempts at mythological explanation in the Vedas. The Indian Nāiruktas and Āitihāsikas, and after them the commentators, never hesitate to urge the primary naturalistic conceptions which they have established somewhere or other, correctly or incorrectly, through every legend which they have occasion to present. Western interpreters have by no means permitted themselves to accept their particular versions without question—they are, indeed, at times as palpably untenable or absurd as their etymologies—but they have largely fallen into their error of making pretty nearly every legendary narrative the *corpus vile* of naturalistic anatomy.

Thus, as regards the story of Saranyū, we do not deny the unity of the legend as conceived by its author, but we do most firmly believe that it was constructed, or, perhaps better, glued or soldered together, by him out of a stock of conceptions derived from a considerable variety of sources, and conceived originally at different times and in different connections. The marriage which Tvaṣṭar institutes for his daughter comes unquestionably from that cycle of primary cosmogonic conceptions which tell of either the marriage or the incest of a female divinity: Sūryā, RV. x. 85. 9, 13; KB. xviii. 1; Sūryā Sāvitrī, AB. iv. 7. 1; Uṣas, PB. viii. 2. 10; Uṣas or Dyū, AB. iii. 33. 1; daughter of Prajāpati, RV. x. 61. 7; TS. ii. 3. 10. 1; AB. iii. 33. 1; ÇB. i. 7. 4. 1. Accordingly it seems most likely that Saranyū is in fact identical with Sūryā or Uṣas;\* whatever may turn out to be the fundamental conception of their marriage will also in all likelihood include the case of Saranyū-Erinnyes. On the other hand, the introduction of Vivasvant† and his children Yama and Yamī and

\* Here belongs, therefore, according to Ad. Kuhn's unquestionably correct equation, Demeter Erinnyes at Paus. viii. 25; see KZ. i. 452.

† One is tempted to surmise that Vivasvant's relation to the somacultus may have first suggested his union with Saranyū, according to the proportion: Sūryā : Saranyū = Soma : Vivasvant.

Manu is purely legendary, not anthropomorphic. It seems undertaken solely for the purpose of applying cosmogonic notions to various legendary accounts of the origin of man, and it seems to me utterly useless to associate any natural phenomena with either of the last three personages. Yama and Yamī are the primeval twins,\* while *mānu*, the Indo-European word for 'man,' by a natural hypostasis furnishes a legendary Manu, who like Yama has also been associated with Vivasvant, and who also naturally claims a nook in the edifice of the story which has previously given shelter to these worthies. The presence of Manu in the story may again have suggested the propriety of weaving in the legend of the *sāvarṇā*, which is likely enough to have had an independent existence elsewhere.† Once again, the legends about cosmical incest contain the feature of the change of the female principle into an animal, followed by a corresponding change of the male,‡ and it is natural enough that this also should find a place in the story. Finally, the change of Saranyū and Vivasvant into horses suggests the Aṅvins, and they are duly incorporated as their children; this feature of the story is of a salience the more captivating alike to the poet and his hearers as the Aṅvins are twins, and Saranyū and Vivasvant have been previously blessed with the twins Yama and Yamī. We are far from claiming that the stratification of the materials as placed by us necessarily accords in manner or chronological order with the facts in the case; all we hope to establish is the exceeding variety of the materials, and the uselessness of any attempt to see in them a chain of connected natural phenomena or events. The degree of probability which attaches to any single naturalistic explanation is certainly, as every one will admit, in an inverse ratio to the number and variety of these explanations advanced for a given case; in this instance they are indeed very numerous; every scholar has a new one. These remarks, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to many Vedic myths, or for that matter to the study of mythology in general; the amount of energy which has been expended upon the unravelling of secondary legends full of individual fancies and paradoxes has been vast, and we believe out of all proportion to the value of the results obtained.

The course which I have followed in the explanation of RV. x. 17. 1-2 is briefly as follows: At the base of the passage is a

\* Thus Roth, as early as 1850 (ZDMG. iv. 429). Forty years later Ehni, *Yama*, pp. 42 ff., 163, finds it necessary to add one more sun-god to the glutted market. Yama is the god of the day-sun and the "night-sun."

† The origin of the entire legend of a *sāvarṇā* may perhaps be looked for in a universal Manu or man who shares the kind (caste) or *varṇa* of all men. He would be *sa-varṇa* with all men; such a conception may have furnished the basis for a person Manu Sāvarṇi or Sāvarṇya, a metonymic from a supposed *sāvarṇā*, and a pendant to the patronymic Vāivasvata. Now the flood-gates of fancy are opened wide in the effort to make the *sāvarṇā* and Vivasvant man and wife.

‡ This feature of the story is also of pre-Vedic origin, as it occurs in the legend at Pausanias viii. 25; see Kuhn, *ibid*.

legend of a distinctly composite character which has combined with considerable fancy a number of mythological and legendary points into a single story. This story must have been well known to the Vedic poets : first, because all later reports of it are essentially unanimous ; secondly, because it was sufficiently familiar to justify its embodiment into the condensed form of a *brahmodya* or riddle. The story seems to be as follows: Tvastar offers his daughter Saranyū in marriage to the whole world of gods and mortals, and the suitor who seems to have gained favor in his eyes is Vivasvant, the mortal. Saranyū, barely married, is displeased with Vivasvant, and flees from him, giving birth however to the twins Yama and Yamī, the reputed children of Vivasvant. In order to make secure her escape, she changes into a mare, and resorts to the gods, who hide her away from the mortals Vivasvant, Yama, and Yamī ; and, in order to make matters still more safe, they construct a *savarnā* which takes Saranyū's place in Vivasvant's affections. The word *savarnā* means at the same time one who is like Saranyū in appearance, i. e. her double, and also one who is suitable in her character to the mortal Vivasvant—more suitable than the divine Saranyū, we may perhaps understand. Vivasvant begets Manu with the *savarnā*, but ultimately finds out the deception practised upon him, follows Saranyū in the form of a horse, and, thus gaining her favor, begets with her the Aṅvins, 'the horsemen.' Saranyū abandons them also, just as she had previously abandoned the twins Yama and Yamī, and resumes, we may understand, her independent station as a divinity.

ARTICLE V.

THE DIVINITIES OF THE GATHĀS.

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It may be doubted whether the translation of any text which can be rendered only by comparison of its vocabulary with the words used in other dialects than that in which it is written can ever be anything else than uncertain. The etymology of a term may give no hint whatever of its precise force as fixed by a series of adjustments to others during the successive periods of the growth of a tongue, or by the more rapid changes that it may have undergone in consequence of modifications, often due to the teachings of individual leaders, in the intellectual and religious conceptions of the people. Translations based upon the meaning of ultimate roots are to be regarded with even more distrust than others; they may indeed seem clear and consistent, simply from the absence of any special significance that they may have had to the people among whom the original text was written; but this clearness, like the apparent completeness of certain definitions in the natural sciences, is due to our ignorance or disregard of the really specific character of the thing in question.

The difficulty is most felt in dealing with texts of limited compass, such as the old Persian cuneiform inscriptions and the Gāthās, in which the best method of studying a difficult word, namely the intercomparison of all the passages in which it is used, can be applied to only a limited extent; in the Gāthās a large percentage of roots and forms occur but once. In the inscriptions, to be sure, the subject-matter is so simple and so monotonous in character that any possible shortcomings in the result are less perceptible; in the Gāthās, in which the conceptions are, if not profound, at any rate obscure, the brevity of the text is perhaps the greatest difficulty with which translators have to contend.

But there are a few words in the Gāthās, used, at least in some strophes, as proper names, which occur very often, so often that it would seem that some final conclusions might have been attained with reference to their inflection, syntax, and meaning. *Asha* occurs 156 times in the 238 strophes, and *voḥumano* 121 times. Yet one has merely to glance at the successive translations, from Spiegel to Caland, to find that no certainty has been reached in any one of these points; not only are there great and important differences between the renderings of different translators, but also between the successive translations from one and the same hand. Finally, Caland, after taking an altogether new direction in the treatment of these words, and Geldner, in partly assenting to Caland's view, have, in different ways, practically pronounced the questions connected with their cases and government insoluble (see KZ. xxxi. 260; xxxii. 323).

In the most complete and by far the most impressive among the later translations, the terms in question are so treated that it is often quite impossible to determine whether a given word represents *asha* or *voḥumano*, or even one of the names of one of the minor "divinities." This translation, by the frequent use of "my" and "Thy," "within us," etc., has undoubtedly gained in clearness, as other translations have also gained in clearness by the free use of adverbs (now discarded by Geldner), and of a great variety of nouns and adjectives. But these expedients, which are aided by a sporadic use of capital letters, give to certain passages in the English or the German version a definite and diverse significance that is certainly not marked in the original. The original, so conceived, could never have been understood; while any one who may think that a personal significance always attaches to the words in question must, of course, regard such renderings as mistranslations.

But all translations, so far as made, should be regarded as in great part tentative; and not merely is severe adverse criticism, but perhaps any strong expression of individual opinion, altogether out of place. More than any other ancient document, the Gāthās require deliberate weighing, and by more than one mind; the thought is too indistinct to permit of complete representation in the current terms of our modern tongues; a special vocabulary must grow up for it, as for some systems of metaphysics, and in the course of this growth more than one experiment must be tried, and tested by more than one student. The personal equation becomes of importance here, as nowhere else. One student may think that another, who has been trained to exegetical study of a different document, held to be inspired, has thereby acquired a mental temper somewhat unfavorable to the study of the Gāthās; and yet the former

should be quite ready to confess that a downright positive mental turn, acquired by some study of the physical sciences, is an equal, perhaps a greater, disadvantage. This last named disposition may perhaps betray itself in the following pages, in which I have brought together some evidence leading to the question whether the want of clear conceptions in connection with the names or persons discussed, with some inattention to the choice of befitting constructions, on the part of those to whom the present form of the hymns is due, may not serve for a partial explanation of some of the minor difficulties. Most translators feel that the text must be taken as it stands; there is no accompanying literature, and we are not more in a position to determine what forms ought to have been used, and what the poet should have said, than astronomers are in a position to calculate the orbit of Sirius; the hypothesis advanced tries to show that the choice of forms and the spirit of the whole harmonize.

Some of the statistics given would not be required in the study of any other text; but, where all is obscure, no one can foretell the quarter whence light is to be expected, and, in the Gāthās, not even the common concords can be taken for granted. Some passages (not always the same for each subject) are entered as "obscure;" part of these are so regarded by every one; for others, there are as many interpretations as commentators, and the difference of opinion has rendered the passages in question unsuitable for drawing inferences. Translations of doubtful certainty, made because nothing better seems to offer itself, do not advance Gathic scholarship, and are to be deprecated by all students of comparative religion. Space for detailed reasons in each case could not be spared. Finally, the obscurity itself is to be considered a legitimate result of conditions such as those inferred at the close of the paper, and one of the main sources of the evidence in favor of the hypothesis advanced there.

A study of all the passages involving the names of lesser importance, such as *ārmaiti*, etc., shows that with a very few exceptions they belong to one of two classes, so that the statistics are limited to the uses of *asha* and *vohumano*.

1. They add nothing to an already existing difficulty. Thus, in *vāo mazdā ahurā hadā ashā vahistācā mananhā khshath-rācā*, the plural *vāo* is already difficult because *ashā* is governed by *hadā*; (*vahistācā mananhā* and) *khshath-rācā* make no difference, so far as concerns the purpose of the paper.

2. Or, similarly, the passage may be explained in accordance with principles applied to an *asha*- or to a *v. manah*- in the same strophe.

All not falling under 1 and 2 are quoted.

Every one who has busied himself with the Gāthās will, I think, agree with me in feeling that the details of notes made



in several consecutive readings of the whole would show some discordance. Still less can entire accord as to all points be expected from two different students. But some differences in interpretation would not alter the general result; statistics applied to language are of only approximate validity, and precise figures should not be pushed too far.

*Attributes or functions connected with the words asha and vohumano.*—In the following summary, which recognizes no authority but the Gāthās themselves, *asha* is treated throughout as a noun. The distinction, so far as concerns this list, is of less importance than would appear at first sight, since an act, quality, or character may be connected with *asha* alone, or with the supreme divinity with *asha* as attribute. As regards the general conclusion, namely that the term is generally used without full significance, the treatment as adjective would merely add to its force.

#### I. Attributes of *asha*.

1. The word is used in such a connection that nothing can be inferred as to the function :

30. 1; 34. 1. 14; 43. 1 (but see KZ. xxx. 322), 9, 10; 45. 6; 46. 15; 49. 10 (perhaps "personified"); 50. 8, 9; 51. 10;

or it merely implies excellence :

28. 4; 30. 5; 31. 16; 33. 5; 34. 2; 43. 16; 44. 2, 10; 46. 4, 10, 12; 48. 8, 12; 49. 2, 3, 5, 9; 50. 2, 5, 11; 51. 1, 4, 11, 13, 17, 18, 21; 53. 5;

as also in the expression *gaēthāo ashahyā*, or equivalent :

31. 1; 43. 6;

and as furthered by the good :

31. 22;

with special emphasis in

38. 5; 32. 4 (almost as one of the "Trinity"); 43. 12; 53. 3.

2. Somewhat more significance is seen in those strophes in which *asha* is agent or means in bestowing blessings or gifts, generally of indeterminate character; some of these may refer to revelation, and in some a "personification" is possible :

38. 1, 2; 31. 3, 5; 33. 10, 12; 34. 6; 43. 2; 44. 1; 50. 3; 51. 2; 53. 1.

Also where the word is used in the ablative, with or without *hacā*, as the source of qualities which should impart desert :

28. 10; 31. 2; 33. 5; 43. 14; 46. 19; 47. 1; 51. 5, 22;

or connected with the final reward :

46. 7; 50. 7?

or with temporal blessings for the prophet :

44. 18;

or where *asha* appears as protector :

44. 15; 48. 9; 49. 8;

or as overcoming the *druj* :

48. 1.

still more where *asha* is connected clearly with revelation and with the *māthra* :

30. 9 ; 31. 6 ; 33. 6, 13 ; 34. 13, 15 ; 44. 7 ; 45. 8 ; 46. 27, 17 ; 48. 8 ; 49. 1, 6 ; 50. 6 ; 51. 16 ;

or in some way with the origin of the prophet's teaching :

46. 9 (*ashā*) ;

*asha* aids to a knowledge of *vohumano* :

34. 8, 12 ;

and is connected with the altar-flame :

34. 4 ; 43. 4 (cf. 43. 9) ;

*asha* is created by *ahura* :

31. 8, 7 ; 44. 3 ; 47. 2 ;

is proclaimed by the prophet :

31. 19, 22 ;

with *ahura* furthers plant-growth :

48. 6 ;

is specially connected with *armaiti* :

30. 7 ; 44. 6 ; 46. 16 (personified ?) ; 48. 11.

3. In the following strophes *asha* seems to be treated as a person, although even then without distinct attributes :

When said to be *hazaoshem*, etc., with *ahura* :

28. 8 ; 32. 2 ;

and especially to have a will like *ahura* :

46. 18 ;

is an object of praise, sacrifice, or invocation :

28. 3 ; 31. 4 ; 32. 6, 9 ; 33. 14 ; 49. 12 ; 50. 4 (also *khshathra*) ;

and of protection :

28. 11 ;

and of reward, on the footing of *ahura* :

34. 3 ;

*asha's* personal agency in giving specially marked :

28. 7.

A personal being seems meant in 34. 7.

Is subject (with others) to *ahura's* will :

29. 4 ;

with *ahura* the possessor of *khshathra* :

34. 5 ;

with *ahura*, protects the prophet :

50. 1.

the unity of the "Trinity" (and *khshathra*) asserted :

33. 11 ;

the "Trinity" have a common home :

30. 10 (cf. however 46. 7 ; 50. 7) ; 44. 9 ;

an abstract meaning would constitute nearly an equivalent expression :

33. 3, 8 ;

and would be meaningless in 32. 13, since there is reason to believe that the Zarathustrians were not unwilling to make converts.

*Asha*, with *ahura*, not to be annoyed :

28. 9 ;

certain persons are preferred to *asha* :

32. 12 ;

the *druj* is to be delivered into *asha's* hands :

30. 8 ; 44. 14 ;

holds judgment with *ahura* and *armaiti* :

47. 6.

The personality is well marked in 29. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, although a mere personification is more easily supposed here than in some of the above.

I have not ventured to classify 29. 11 and 33. 7, although nothing in them militates against conclusions that may be drawn from the above.

The following are obscure to me :

30. 1, 13, 21 ; 34. 9, 10, 11 ; 44. 8, 13, 20 ; 45. 4, 9, 10 ; 46. 3, 9 (*ashdāi*), 13 ; 48. 7 ; 50. 10 ; 51. 15, 20.

(*ashu* occurs in composition in several strophes, as in 28. 6 ; 51. 3.)

## II. Attributes of *vohumano*.

1. The word is used in such connection that nothing can be inferred as to the function :

28. 5, 6 ; 31. 17 ; 32. 9 ; 49. 7, 10, 12 ; 50. 3, 11 ;

or it merely implies excellence :

28. 2, 7, 10 ; 29. 10 ; 33. 10, 12 ; 34. 6 ; 46. 2 ; 48. 12 ; 49. 2, 3, 5 ; 50. 7, 8, 10 ; 51. 4, 7, 11 ; 53. 3, 4, 5 ;

so that evil men leave *vohumano* :

32. 4, 11 ;

*vohumano* furthers the *gaëthāo* and the pious :

46. 12, 13 ; 47. 1 ;

and pleases the soul of the Kine :

28. 1 ;

the deeds of *vohumano* :

34. 10, 14 ; 50. 9 ;

various phrases, paths of *vohumano*, etc. :

33. 13 ; 34. 12, 13 ; 43. 2, 4 ; 48. 3, 6, 11 ;

the phrases "all the time," etc., of *vohumano* cannot be further defined from indications in the Gāthās :

28. 9 ; 43. 1.

2. Somewhat more personal significance is seen in those strophes in which *vohumano* aids the prophet :

31. 4 ; 47. 2 ;

especially in rewarding his adherents :

46. 18 ;

and in securing to him gifts from men :

46. 10 ;

and when connected with revelation :

34. 15 ; 51. 16 ;

and in inspiring or accompanying the prophet's teaching :

29. 7 ; 46. 9 ; 50. 6 ;

appearing as mediator :

43. 7, 9, 11, 15 ;

*ahura* knows with or through *vohumano* :

32. 6 ;

*vohumano* is connected with the prophet's praise or sacrifices ;

33. 8, 14 ; 45. 6 ;

*ukhδhāis* v. m. may indeed mean nothing more than words of righteousness :

46. 14 ; 48. 9 ;

*vohumano* is created by *ahura* :

31. 8 ; 44. 4 ; 45. 4 ;

sustained by *dāmis ashem* :

31. 7 ;

is connected with *ārmaiti*, or leads to a knowledge of her :

30. 7 ; 34. 9 ; 43. 16 ; 44. 6 ;

accompanies *sraosha* :

44. 16 ;

is far from those who know not *asha* :

34. 8 ;

and aids *khshathra* :

30. 8 ; 31. 6.

3. More personal in the following strophes :

an object of sacrifice or invocation :

28. 8 ; 30. 1 (if objective genitive) ; 50. 4 ;

and of protection :

28. 11 (cf. 9) ;

with *ahura* is a protector of the prophet :

50. 1 ;

the unity of the "Trinity" is asserted, or *vohumano* is united with *ahura* :

32. 2 ; 33. 11 ;

the "Trinity" have a common home ; *vohumano* in heaven :

30. 10 ; 32. 15 ; 33. 5 ; 43. 6 ? 44. 9 ; 46. 16 ;

with *ahura* possesses *khshathra* :

34. 5 ;

a translation implying merely a mental tendency would involve an equivalent expression :

33. 8 ;

*vohumano* is not to be annoyed :

28. 9 ;

is agent in destroying *bendva* :

49. 1 ;

and specially contrasted with *acistô anhus* :

30. 4 ;

In the following rather long list, I have not classified the attributes, but find nothing to add to the above :

29. 11 ; 31. 5, 10, 21 ; 33. 7 ; 34. 11 ; 44. 8, 13 ; 45. 9a, 10 ; 46. 3 ; 47. 3 ; 48. 7 ; 51. 21.

The following are obscure to me :

28. 4 ; 33. 9 ; 34. 3, 7 ; 44. 1 ; 45. 9e ; 51. 2, 15, 20.

The indeterminate character of the conceptions connected with these words, whether considered as names of persons or regarded as abstract qualities, is the noteworthy feature in the above enumeration. While it will probably meet with some dissent, it is not easy to discover how the fair sense of the hymns themselves, considered without reference to traditional interpretation, can imply anything more to the modern reader, or, in the absence of other texts, to the ancient. The adverbs freely used by Geldner are not more significant, and, while he has now withdrawn this method of rendering, it does not yet appear what more substantial significance is to supply their place. Meanings such as "das Gesetz" seem too closely connected with the also now relinquished translation of the word as an adjective. An aspect of greater distinctness appears at first sight, but only at first sight, to result from the periphrases supplied by the various commentators; *ashahyâ gaëthão*, 'the children of the kingdom,' unless the phrase had a mystical implication of which no trace can be found in the hymns, is merely the equivalent of 'righteous persons,' or, what means still less, the followers of the divinity. Renditions such as 'heaven' have no relation to the etymology; and the doubtful merit of seeming to meet the supposed necessity of forcing a deeper meaning upon the particular strophe hardly counterbalances the very decided demerit of being at variance with the greater number of passages.

It is very true that a large proportion of the passages in the New Testament and in the Christian hymnology and ritual containing the names of one of the persons of the Christian Trinity would equally fail in giving full and defined meaning, since prayer and praise do not aim at teaching doctrine. Still, somewhere, in such a collection of citations, we should find the substance. It is also true that, on any theory of the origin of the Gâthās, they must be supposed to have been accompanied by a system of law and of positive teaching, delivered in some form, since there was a service and a priesthood, and Zarathus-

tra was not one to have neglected the social and political organization of the body of the faithful; were there no other difficulties, the present one might be so explained; but there are other difficulties. Nor, finally, to conclude the résumé of whatever may be said against the conclusions to be drawn from the above summary, must the radical meaning of the names themselves be forgotten. In Mills's translation, particularly, this, varied in a manner hardly to be defended from the text, does duty in a most remarkable way, adding materially to the impressive solemnity of the version. Ample allowance must certainly be made for the moral effect which the use of the terms may be supposed to have produced; but *vohumano* is nevertheless but one and a single term; it is not a collection of a variety of phrases, each freshly suggestive of a different aspect of religious sentiment; in most passages it has no more distinct and obvious connection with the context than any simple proper name, of derivation unknown to the people, might have had; often one name can stand as well as another, and, in fact, one name is often replaced by another, even of the inferior divinities, without obvious difference in the thought. The names *asha* and *vohumano*, especially, are almost absolutely interchangeable, and, when the two are mentioned together, nothing is added to the content of the passage. This last is also true of the others, *ārmaiti*, *sraosha*, etc.; the names are heaped together in a way that reminds the reader of the expletive epithets in Homer, or of the similar epithets and vocatives in the Mahābhārata. I am speaking not of genetic connection, but of rhetorical resemblance; and one is tempted to ask whether the motive is not the same in all three. The phenomena in the Gāthās, at all events, greatly resemble the treatment given to words having the value of proper names.

*Asha* has perhaps a more marked personality than *vohumano*, and may be said to be conceived as a more remote entity, while *vohumano* acts more frequently in the capacity of mediator between *ahura* and man: at least, this is the impression made on my mind at every repeated reading of the whole, although I find it difficult to prove such a conclusion from the details in the summary. But neither these characters nor any other can serve in the slightest degree in the interpretation of any single strophe. The association of *asha* with the altar-flame must be considered a matter of some importance.

The peculiar difficulty already referred to, and noticed by all students of the Gāthās, in the manner in which quality, personification, and person are considered to blend with each other, is common to all hermeneutics, and depends less on the character of the special strophes than on the attitude assumed by the reader. Nothing can be more certain than that the Jehovah of the Old Testament is a person, and yet there is

hardly a single passage in the whole into which we cannot read an abstraction, if so disposed. It is the merest truism that the sense of the parts must be determined by that of the whole, and, considering the unmistakable evidence afforded by some of the passages, it is not easy to see what character could have been assigned by the ancient reader or hearer to the simple, unqualified, and monotonously repeated *asha* and *vohumano* other than that of simple personality, and this too on each and every occasion when the words were uttered. In this particular *ahura*, *asha*, and *vohumano* seem to demand the same treatment, and the problem for the translator is the same as that presented in rendering texts involving the names of Indra, Zeus, Jupiter, and Jehovah. Perhaps the name of Agni affords a nearer parallel. On the other hand, it must be noted that there is less certainty about some of the minor "divinities," especially *khshathra*.

No other text presents so complete a lack of attributes special to the individual divinities. The Veda, indeed, often assigns the same function to more than one god; but the functions, in themselves, are sufficiently distinct. The Assyrian, less so the Babylonian, presents some phenomena parallel in this respect to the Gāthās, but it is plain that this is due to the obliteration of the distinct functions belonging to an earlier nature-worship, under a tendency towards an eclectic handling of diverse old beliefs. This may have been the case with the Gāthās, but there is no evidence pointing in this direction; such attributes of *ahura* as have been referred to this source are due to the universal tendency to assume the most distant and inaccessible regions that are known, particularly the bright heavens, as the home of the supreme divinity.

I withhold some statistics with reference to the question of the existence in the Gāthās of the doctrine of a Trinity, since it is virtually answered in the preceding summary. *Asha* and *vohumano* are more frequently mentioned than the other divinities except *ahura*, and in consequence are more frequently connected with his name. If the word Trinity is to be regarded as anything more than a convenient method of referring to the three divinities, we must also speak of a dual being, on account of the far more striking association of *asha* with *ahura*, and, what is absurd, of a quadruplicate being, etc., including *khshathra*, etc. The unity of two or more of these persons is indeed asserted; parallel expressions can probably be found in the literature of every polytheism; but, unless supported by a considerable body of kindred teaching, they prove, for the people, simple polytheism and nothing more; for the earnestness and abiding faith of the metaphysical teacher who utters the sentiment, absolutely nothing. At all events, there is nothing in the

Gāthās to point to the existence, at that time, of the dogma of a triune godhead, whose persons have specific attributes, such as are seen in the persons of the Christian Trinity. Neither here nor elsewhere shall we find substance in the shadows of the Gathic conceptions.

It is evident that the religion is not a new religion. The individual impress which always characterizes a first creation is absent. Nor is it a religion which has been refined away by thinkers of a tendency like that of the various classes of Illuminati, Theosophists, etc. Such teachers have at least a conscious system.

*The use of number.*—The use of number, singular or plural, in inflected words connected with the names of divinities, although for the most part in full accordance with the ordinary rules of Indo-European grammar, shows some significant peculiarities. In classifying the various uses I have proceeded, as already said, on the supposition that the ordinary concords require testing, and have, for the present, passed over the solution offered by Caland.

It so happens that no question can arise with reference to any of those few strophes in which the name of the supreme divinity does not occur, except 29. 3, *ashā paitimravat*; 30. 7, *khshathrā jaçat manānhā vohū*, etc., *dadaç ārmaitis*. 43. 10 might perhaps be questioned were it perfectly certain who the speakers are. I class it as "obscure," and with it the following, all containing the name of *ahura* (in some form):

29. 8, 11; 30. 9; 31. 10; 33. 7; 34. 11; 43. 10; 44. 8, 9 (after a), 17; 45. 4, 11; 46. 2, 7, 9; 48. 7; 50. 6; 51. 8; 51. 20.

In the remaining strophes:

I. Wherever the name of *ahura* occurs alone, the singular only is used. (31. 5 is put here, as *vaocā* addresses *ahura* alone.) The plural of majesty is therefore not used:

29. 4, 10c; 30. 11; 31. 5 (*vaocā*), 11, 14, 15; 32. 1, 7, 8, 16; 33. 4; 43. 3, 5, 8; 44. 5, 12, 19; 45. 3; 46. 1, 6; 48. 2, 4; 51. 9; 53. 2. And the following (see page 191, line 3 from below):

31. 9 (*ārmaitis*); 43. 12 (*sraoshō*); 51. 6 (*khshathrā*); 53. 9 (*khshathrem*).

Exception, 32. 1.

II. *Ahura* occurs in any case but the vocative, together with other divinities:

1. The singular is used because the subject is addressed or spoken of in separate clauses, or because all but *ahura* are in some other oblique case than in the instrumental, or are in the instrumental governed by a preposition or some other single word (avoiding therefore confusion with the vocative):

28. 8; 29. 6; 31. 2, 21; 32. 2, 12; 33. 5; 46. 12, 16; 47. 2; 51. 17, 22; 53. 1, 4.



2. The plural is used because there are several subjects with the plural verb, or several divinities in apposition with one pronoun, e. g. *vāo*:

31. 4; 45. 5; 28. 3; 29. 3.

3. In 33. 11, the singular asserts the unity of the various divinities, while in the following parts of the strophe all are addressed in conjunction.

4. In 31. 6, the subject of *vakhshat* is questionable; should have been classed "obscure." If we are to supply *mazdāo*, taken from the preceding dative, the passage does not belong here.

5. In 45. 8, *hōi* plainly refers to *ahurem* alone, *ashā* modifying the predication with the poet. This case also does not belong here.

6. There are fifteen places where the nominative of *ahura* is used, not falling under 1 to 5. As the form is unmistakable, these, with some exceptions, take the singular:

45. 6, 9, 10; 46. 17; 48. 3, 6; 51. 16, 21.

The exceptions are—

46. 13, plural seems due to a summing up of all the divinities:

51. 15, if *vē* includes *ahura*, to be explained as 46. 13;

47. 1, if *dān* is a finite verb, and *haur.* and *amer.* are its objects, I cannot explain the number.

III. *Ahura* is in the vocative; other divinities.

A. 7. The singular is due to separate clauses, etc., as in II. 1. (No confusion with the vocative possible.) Exceptions:

32. 6, *vē mazdā ashāicā*;

32. 9, *mazdā ashāicā yūshmaibyā*;

33. 13 a, b, *vē* although oblique cases;

50. 4, *vāo mazdā ahurā hadā ashā*, etc.;

(43. 14 contains *khshathrā*: see page 191, line 3 from below).

8. 28. 7, separate clauses resumed by plural.

9. 28. 9; 49. 6, *vāo* explained by the addition of *ashem* or *ashem manas vohūcā*.

Of 7, 8, and 9 there are forty-four cases, but the strophes are not quoted, since the enumeration would probably seem trivial to some, and at all events would require a lengthy discussion for some strophes; 34. 3a and 34. 7a are among them (34. 11 contains *ārmaitis* and 43. 14 *khshathrā*).

B. There remain fifty-six passages with the vocative *mazdā* together with *ashā* or *vohū manan̄hā*, or both, not governed by a preposition or other single word, and therefore not plainly in the instrumental. In the enumeration, I have disregarded other forms in the same strophe covered by I., II., and III. A: also, in order to reduce the problem to its lowest terms, cases such as *ashā* in 50. 11, where the name is associated with the action of the prophet, if, in the same strophe, another name occurs—*vohū manan̄hā* in this instance—sufficient in itself to show the difficulty. Were *ashā* in 50. 11 the only name in the strophe, it would have been included in the list below.

1. Vocative *mazdā* with singular of inflected words (*a.* = *ashā*; *v. m.* = *vohū manan̄hā*):

a. *ashū* or *vohū manānhā* instrumental, associated with the action of *ahura*:

31. 8, a.; 33. 10, a. and v. m.; 34. 12, a.; 43. 2, a.; 44. 1, a.; 51. 7, v. m.

b. Instrumental associated with the action of others than *ahura*:

29. 7, v. m.; 30. 8, v. m.; 33. 6, a.; 34. 4, a.; 44. 2, a.; 44. 6, v. m.; 44. 18, a.; 46. 3, v. m.; 47. 3, v. m.; 48. 8, a.; 48. 12, a. and v. m.; 49. 5, a. and v. m. (*v. m.* governed, however, by the intervening verb, according to Geldner, KZ. xxviii. 260) 51. 18, a.

c. Obscurely connected with the action of *ahura*:

28. 6, v. m.; 31. 3, a.; 32. 6, v. m.; 34. 15, a. and v. m.; 43. 6, v. m.; 43. 7, v. m.; 43. 9, v. m.; 43. 11, v. m.; 43. 13, v. m.; 43. 15, v. m.; 44. 15, a.; 49. 1, v. m.; 49. 7, a.; 49. 12, a. and v. m. (in 49. 12, *vē* resumes all).

d. Obscure association; not with *ahura*:

34. 9, a.

e. Case and connection obscure:

46. 10, v. m.; 50. 2, a.; 33. 12, a. and v. m.

2. *Ahurā*, vocative, with plural of inflected words.

a. Obscure case: associated with the action of *ahura*:

29. 10a, a.; 31. 5 (part), a.; 34. 6, a. and v. m.; 34. 7, a.; 46. 18, a.; 49. 8, a.; 50. 5, a.; 50. 7, a.; 50. 8, a.; 50. 9, a.; 50. 10, a.; 51. 2, a. and v. m. (51. 2 afterwards employs singular).

b. Obscure case; associated with the action of others than *ahura*:

28. 2, v. m.; 33. 13c, a.; 34. 5, a. and v. m.

c. Both case and association obscure:

33. 8, a.; 34. 14, a.

d. Instrumental associated with *ahura*:

50. 11, v. m.

And to III. B may perhaps be added 29. 3 and 30. 7 (both without naming *ahura*. See page 191, line 3 from below). Also 31. 6 and 45. 8, belonging to II. 4 and 5, without a vocative of *ahura*, should be taken into consideration in connection with III. B; also 44. 16, which associates *v. m.* with *seraoshō*, the subject of a singular verb.

Now in some of the strophes classed under III. B it is possible to account for the number in accordance with the regular rule of Indo-European grammar: for instance, those in which the singular can be explained by supposing that the divinities are in the instrumental, as agents of *ahura*, and especially those in which they are associated with the action of others than *ahura*.

But, to say nothing of the inevitable uncertainty of the determination of the case and function in some of these, this explanation is inconsistent with the plural where the divinity is agent of *ahura*, or of some one else, and therefore presumably in the instrumental.

On the other hand, if the plural is to be explained in 29. 10, etc., by assuming that *ashū* and *vohū manānhā* are vocatives,

or (contra Caland) used in an instrumental of association, how is the series 28. 6, etc., with the singular, to be explained?

Finally, if by some dubious expedient we make a more or less satisfactory disposition of all the strophes falling under III. B, there still remain the irregularities falling under I., II., and III. A, and the further evident fact that even the regular singulars or the regular plurals I., II., and III. A, seem to have been suggested mainly by the fact that the word or words chosen to fix the number were in forms which, so to speak, made a forcible impression upon the grammatical sense of the author, or compiler, and prove no greater acquaintance with the language than might be fairly expected of such men as the Pahlavi translators, to say nothing of earlier cento makers.

It is not worth while to force *vi et armis* upon the text a greater degree of grammatical accuracy than that observed by its compilers, and it is a waste of labor to discuss the exceptions.

There are some instances of a use of both plural and singular in the same strophe. The mere change, without considering the reasons for the choice of either number in itself, presents no difficulty.

It occurs in 29. 10; 31. 5; 32. 6; 33. 11, 13; 34. 3 (if *thra-ostā* is verb); 34. 7, 15; 43. 11, 13; 44. 1; 46. 10, 13 (if *vē* refers to the divinities); 49. 12; 51. 2, 4, 15: 44. 17 is obscure or inexplicable.

In some cases, the plural sums up together the persons used separately with the singular in other parts of the strophe, or the address is changed; or a single attribute is referred to one divinity in contrast with a prevailing plural, or *vice versa*.

The variation in assigning *khshathra* to one in exclusion of the others, or *vice versa* (32. 6; 34. 15; 43. 13), is quite in accordance with the general absence of precise notions in connection with the attributes of the divinities.

*Case Statistics.*—*Mazdāh*- occurs 201 times, and *ahura*- 138 (although *ahura*- is not always used of the divinity). Only the frequency of these words concerns us, and particularly the vocative. *Mazdā* occurs 144 times; *ahurā* 82. I have not studied the possible occurrence of *mazdā* as an instrumental (of the *a*-declension). Bartholomae seems to regard it as such in 50. 3. The genitive occurs six times, dative four, accusative five.

The names *mazdāh*- and *ahura*- stand on absolute equality, except in frequency of use. At first, considering the fact that *ahura*- falls at the close of a pada 34 times and *mazdāh*- about 19, I suspected that the former was used in a predicate sense, as if the prophet were proclaiming 'as a new gospel the headship of *Mazda*.' Strophe 46. 9 is very suggestive. But there is very little evidence in favor of this interpretation, while

*mazdāo srāvī ahurō*, 45. 10, is in itself sufficient to deter from much inquiry in this direction. This passage is of capital importance.

*Asha-* occurs 156 times (in one strophe twice), genitive 20 times, ablative 18, dative 10; in *-em* 26; in *-ā* 82; all together in about two-thirds of the strophes. *Ashem* is nominative in 31. 4; 33. 11; 43. 16; 49. 3; 51. 4; obscure in 29. 11; 46. 7; 51. 20; elsewhere accusative.

As to *ashā*, one feels reluctant to attempt precise determinations. There are, however, 13 places where it is governed by a preposition or some other single word: 28. 8; 29. 7; 32. 2; 34. 2, 11; 44. 9, 10; 46. 13, 16; 48. 11; 49. 5; 50. 4, 6. In 3 cases certainly vocative: 28. 3, 5, 7. In 7 cases perhaps vocative: 30. 1; 31. 5? 34. 6, 7, 9, 12; 49. 7. The following 28 seem to me instrumental: 30. 7; 31. 3, 16; 33. 6, 10, 12; 34. 4, 12; 43. 2, 6; 44. 1, 2, 15, 18; 45. 6, 8, 10; 48. 1, 3, 6, 8, 12; 49. 1, 9; 50. 11; 51. 1, 16, 18. Perhaps 31. 5 is rather instrumental than vocative. The remaining passages, 32 in all, are obscure, and with these rather than with the vocative should, perhaps, be classed 4 more, viz. 34. 6, 7, 9; 49. 7. The use as vocative, apart from the "obscure" passages, seems restricted—remarkably so, considering the nature of the document. But see close of paper.

*Ashā* might, without stretching one's ingenuity too far, and without considering the number (sing. or plur.) of the pronouns, be regarded as an adjective with *mazdā*, the vocative, in some 28 cases (not worth citation or close counting), or with other words in 46. 3, 9. But I know of but one passage (*ashahyā*, 46. 14) where any other case-form than *ashā* could be treated as an adjective. Now, if the word meant 'pure,' or anything of the sort, it ought to occur frequently, as adjective, in the other oblique cases; and this alone appears to me a sufficient reason for dismissing any further consideration of the stem as that part of speech. Were it ever such, the number of instances of this use might be greatly increased by considering it, when standing alone, as a substitute for *ahurā* or *mazdā*, and meaning 'O Holy One!'

*V. manah-* occurs 121 times (in one strophe twice): genitive, 49; in *-as* 11; in *-hā* 61. Of the forms in *-as*, I consider 5 accusative: 28. 5, 9, 11; 31. 7; 49. 10; 4 nominative: 30. 4; 33. 11; 34. 8; 51. 4. One, 28. 3, might be either vocative or accusative, and 29. 11 is obscure.

It were better to kill a water-dog, and assume all the Zarathustrian pains and penalties for the act, than to adventure a determination of the forms in *-hā*. However, 7 or 8 are governed by prepositions or other single words: 28. 4; 32. 2; 44. 9; 45. 9; 46. 12; 47. 3; 49. 5? 50. 4. Instrumental appears

to me to be 49. 5 and 21 others : 28. 6 ; 29. 7 ; 30. 8 ; 31. 4 ; 31. 6 ; 32. 6 ; 33. 8, 10 ; 44. 1, 6, 16 ; 45. 6, 10 ; 46. 9, 13 ; 47. 1 ; 48. 12 ; 49. 2, 7 ; 50. 11 ; 51. 21. The remaining passages, 32 in all, are "obscure." It will be understood that some of these "instrumentals" are sociative.

The superlative, included above, occurs eleven times, and in one place occurs something, not included, that looks like a comparative. In 77 padas, *manah-* falls at the close. The adjective and noun are often separated, sometimes by words not syntactically connected with it—a peculiarity illustrating the separation of the elements of Caland's hypothetical compound of *mazdāh-* with *asha-*.

If *mazda* is a new divinity for the makers of these hymns, as we have them, *vohumano* and *asha* are such, and all the rest.

The questions relating to the use of number in inflected words connected with the names of divinities, and to the special case to which the forms *ashā* and *vohū manāñhā* are to be referred, belong together. It seems to me that, from that point of view which looks for a consistent syntax, nothing can be more just than the remarks of Caland (KZ. xxx. 260 ; xxxi. 540), although very many students will be inclined to consider that the propriety of assuming a sociative instrumental still remains an open question, especially when the great frequency of this use in the Veda is remembered. Places such as 44. 6 appear to demand this explanation, and the use of a case with or without a preposition in the same relation is by no means an infrequent phenomenon in language.

Caland would meet the difficulty by adding to the scheme of Gathic cases a vocative and nominative *vohū manāñhā* and a nominative *ashā*. Pischel's attempt to find a dative in some of these forms appears\* to be another essay in the same direction, and, so far as concerns the principle involved, with equal justification. Now it is possible that Caland means to imply something precisely equivalent to the suggestion at the close of this paper, especially considering his remark in lines 34–6, page 260, vol. xxxi. of Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* ; but I judge not, since he gives a formal explanation of the manner in which such case-forms might have originated (and, by the way, in so doing, practically denies any claim of the Gāthās to be considered the preaching of a new faith). If so, the present paper must be regarded as a contribution in favor of his view. If he means that *vohū manāñhā*, for instance, formed part of the current declination in the spoken language, why not extend this method still further, and call *ashāi* (32. 9) a vocative, *vāo* (32. 1) a singular, and *avazazaṭ* (24. 9) a plural? Such extraordinary inflections, like the summaries in the pre-

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\* I know Pischel's views only at second hand.

ceding pages, based upon the assumption of a consistent syntax and fully significant content, are equivalent to a *reductio ad absurdum* of the assumption itself. The difference between such a treatment of the text and that given to it by the Pahlavi translators is simply this: the latter neglects grammar to force a certain sense upon the text; the former forces a probable sense upon a recalcitrant grammar. Such a procedure might be legitimate did it assume a declension according with the method of change in Indo-European grammar, which does not commonly present two different case-forms, each with two distinct uses, the same for both; did it also harmonize with everything else in the hymns, and did it explain all the difficulties. Geldner shows that it fails in this last requirement. It is indeed very probable that no treatment of the Gāthās will explain everything, but more complete success may be demanded from any method which assumes that the text is, in its own way, grammatically correct.

The details to which attention has been called in the preceding pages, especially the peculiar absence of definite significance in the attributes of the divinities, and the absence of clear connection of their names with the tenor of the strophes, together with the important detail that a large percentage of the difficult passages are connected with forms identical with the vocative or resembling the vocative in termination (*v. mananhā*)—all these taken together produce an impression such as might result were the hymns in their present form the work of men whose purpose it was to put together more or less extensive fragments of earlier date (compare again Caland's remark, previously quoted), taking good care to attain an accurate metrical form; who had probably in view the needs of a ritual of some description, but to whom the formula, charm, or incantation, the *māthra*, was the thing most at heart, rather than accurate syntax and coherent meaning. The importance of such formulae, with or without sense, is widely recognized over the whole Orient; and there are not wanting passages in the Gāthās themselves, especially in the first section of the hymns, in which the poet seems to be seeking for some such form of words rather than for spiritual enlightenment.

Such compositions deal extensively in vocative utterances and in litany-like lists of the names of divinities. This demand met, and the whole being put into proper metrical form, the men who made up the cento might, perhaps from partial ignorance both of the language and of the original thought, have given less consideration to sense and syntax. Furthermore, some defects in both might well be due to the difficulties attending metrical composition.

There are many reasons why no one could suspect that the whole bulk of the poems was produced in this way: for one

thing, the real, very human Zarathustra is too distinct. And it is a striking fact that, despite the difficulties connected with the proper names, an abridgment of the text which contains only the names and the words closely connected with them is much less obscure than a great part of the remaining matter—as if certain old prayers had formed the groundwork.

As to the date of this possible *rifacimento* no opinion can be formed. Such knowledge as is implied in the partially correct use of inflections is precisely of the sort which might result from the study of the earlier pieces by men who no longer spoke the dialect in which they were written. Of course the particular passages are earlier than genuine quotations or translations of them; apart from this consideration, the poems might have been the work of yesterday. In no sense can the much abused word “primitive” be applied to them.

I am not disposed to attribute to the above hypothesis more than that tentative value which belongs to all other translations or comments connected with the Gāthās. It might account satisfactorily for the peculiar problem presented by the “contrast between the Vedic language of the hymns and the complete severance from Vedic thought.” In its application, it would lead to a very different procedure in translating certain strophes, especially those in which vocatives or forms resembling vocatives occur, and would explain the use of the words *ashā* and *rohū mananhā*, now so often obscure in their relation to the context, and therefore so often rendered by equally meaningless adverbs. They would often be treated as having the value of mere interjections, and should then be “translated” by simply transferring the words, in the form as names, to the English text. Of course one of the first results would be to render valueless many of the case-determinations recorded in the preceding pages. It would no longer be worth while to grope about for special rules, of doubtful value, to explain such collocations as *mazdā ashāicā* 29. 8, and *mazdā ashemcā* 49. 6. The general tendency to introduce the direct address disturbs the syntax in these strophes, just as, in 43. 9 and 43. 15a, it has produced a meaningless preface to the strophe.

Many of those difficult passages in which the subject of a verb in the third person is obscure may, without hesitation, be referred to a near vocative *mazdā* (or its equivalent). The most important case of this sort is the forty-fourth hymn, where *rohū mananhā*, if “parsed” at all, may be parsed as an instrumental. In 31. 9, the fact that *ahurā* is vocative is not a sufficient reason for referring *yē vidvāo* to any other antecedent. Similar turns of thought, though less obscure in construction, occur in 31. 7 and 45. 4, where the third person and the address are found together.

ARTICLE VI.

THE AUÇANASĀDBHUTĀNI,

TEXT AND TRANSLATION.

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Presented to the Society May 15th, 1891.

THE text here presented is the result of a collation of the five known manuscripts of the seventy-first Atharvan Pariçīṣṭa. The manuscripts may be divided into two groups :

1. A, the oldest, belonging to the Bombay government, and described in the Proc. A. O. S., Oct., 1888 (Journal, vol. xiv., p. xii ff.); D, the Berlin MS. No. 1497 (New Berlin Cat., 1st Part, 1886, pp. 87-89); H, the Haug MS. in the Bavarian National Library at Munich (Sanskrit 25).

2. B, the blue MS. of the Bombay government (see Proc. A. O. S. *ibid.*); C, Chambers MS. 365-366 (Berlin Cat. 1853, p. 89 ff.).

Manuscripts A, D, and H are practically identical, and no one of them furnishes many valuable corrections for either of the others. An account of the origin of H, found among the papers of Dr. Haug, is as follows: "Among the manuscripts collected during my journey in Gujerat in the winter of 1863-64 is a complete copy of the Pariçīṣṭas. It was prepared for me in Baroda, and is much better than Weber's [C] in Berlin. The original comes from Telingāna, and was sent about 30 years before by a learned Brahmin, and a copy from Telugu into Devanāgarī was made, of which this is a copy." It seems possible that A, coming from Bombay, may be the first copy into Devanāgarī. B and C are quite independent, though poorly written and excessively corrupt. In some points they show similarities as contrasted with the other group. Among the hundreds of variant readings in these texts, only such are quoted as seem of value. In place of the universal *anusvāra*-sign, euphony has been made. Grammatical points have already been noticed in the Proc. A. O. S. (as above); to these



may be added the frequent use of the ablative expressive of subsequent time, either with or without a particle meaning 'thereafter:' as, § 2. *navamāsāt param*; 5. *saṁvatsarād ūrdhvam*; 3. *tryahād ūrdhvam*; 6. *pakṣamāsāt*; 14. *māsāṣṭakāt*. The form, 11., *daṣamāsataḥ* 'for ten months' is also to be noted.

As a work of the human mind the subject of the text seems beneath our notice, in spite of the fact that it is related to a large class of similar Sanskrit literature,\* for it pictures the lowest depths of popular superstition and priestly domination, and a degenerate demonology, pure and simple. Even as hard-headed and practical a people as the Romans were subject to the universal belief in manifestations of divine power which foretold the future, and which were most often called "prodigia." In Greece such men as Pythagoras, Democritus, Socrates, the Academicians, Peripatetics, and Stoics, held firmly to their importance.† Aristander of Macedon wrote on the subject, according to Pliny, N. H. xvii. 25. Macrobius (S. 3. 7. 1) mentions the *Ostentarium Tuscum*, a book of prognostics; the Sibylline Books, in charge of the *decemviri sacrorum*, were often consulted by the Senate in case of portentous occurrences. Pliny treats of them in his Natural History, and the sixth chapter of the first book of Valerius Maximus is devoted to prodigies. Livy and Tacitus revel in them, and Cicero holds up his hands in horror at the temerity of P. Claudius, who disregarded such an indication during the Punic war.‡ The fullest work which has come down is that of the otherwise unknown Julius Obsequens (who probably lived in the 4th century A.D.), who in the fragmentary "De Prodigis" gives a catalogue of ominous occurrences from the times of Romulus to those of Augustus, taken for the most part from authenticated classical sources. A comparison of superstitions so closely agreeing with those developed on Indian soil has been made in the notes to the translation, and will, it is hoped, be of some interest to students of philology, in the broadest sense of the term.

I have to express thanks to the directors of the Newberry Library, Chicago, for facilities afforded, and especially to Dr. W. F. Poole, the Librarian of that institution.

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\* Cf. the last group of these *Parīṣṭas*; also Weber, *Zwei Vedische Texte über Omina und Portenta*, Berlin, 1858; the *Bṛhatsamhitā* of Varāha Mihira, Bibliotheca Indica, 1864-1865; the *Parīṣṭa* to the *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*, in the *Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, 1879, 39 ff., etc.

† *Cic. de Div.* i. 3.

‡ *De Nat. Deor.* 2, 3.

TEXT.

*papracchoṣanasam<sup>a</sup> kāvyam<sup>b</sup> nāradaḥ paryavasthitah :*  
*divyāṅś cāivāntarikṣāṅś ca utpātān pārthivāṅś tathā.<sup>c</sup>*  
*kratūnām ca viparyāse tathāiva mrgapakṣiṇām :*  
*amānuṣāṇām vyāhāre sthāvarānām vyatikrame.*  
*yonivyatikare cāiva māṇsaṇitavarsane :*  
*anagnijvalane cāiva tathā yānānusarpane.*  
*gastraprajvalane cāiva cāityaṣṣkavīrohane :*  
*līṅgūyatunacitrānām rodane garjane tathā.*  
*udapānatadāgānām jvalane garjane 'pi vā :*  
*matsyasarpadvijātānām rasānām ca pravarṣane. 1.*  
*āyudhānām prajvalane garjane ca viṣeṣataḥ :*  
*puspe phale ca vṛkṣāṇām akāle ca virohane.*  
*prāsādādrivimānānām prākārāṇām ca kampane :*  
*gītavādītraṣabdhāḥ ca yatra syur animittataḥ.*  
*ye cānye kecid utpātā jāyante vikṛtātmakāḥ :*  
*teṣām phalaṁ ca kālāṁ ca tattvenācakṣva bhārgava.*  
*sa tasmāi prcchate samyaṁ nārādāyoṣanāḥ kaviḥ :*  
*trivīdhān apy athotpātān vyākhyātum upacakrame.*  
*yadā cīte bhavaty usnam uṣṇe cītam atīva ca :*  
*navamāsāt paraṁ vidyāt<sup>d</sup> teṣu deṣeṣu vāi bhayam.<sup>e</sup> 2.*

TRANSLATION.

1. Nārada came into the presence of Uṣanas Kāvya and asked him concerning the portents which have to do with the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth, and said : "Whenever an ill-omened occurrence takes place in sacrifices, or in the case of beasts and birds ; when things not human speak out, or when stationary things move ; so also when there are abortive births, or when flesh and blood fall in showers ; when flames break out without there being a fire, and when vehicles [suddenly] move ; when weapons gleam, and when a withered fig-tree grows ; when images, altars, or pictures cry out or give forth sounds ; when wells or pools flame or give forth sounds ; or fishes, serpents, birds, or juices rain down ;

2. When weapons shine, or especially when they give forth sounds ; when the fruits and flowers of trees appear at an undue season ; also when palaces, mountains, royal dwellings, and walls shake, and when without cause musical instruments sound and give forth tones ; and whatever other prodigies of strange nature come to pass, O son of Bhṛgu, tell me truly in regard to the result of them and its time."

The sage Uṣanas proceeded to set forth to Nārada, having rightly made inquiries, the three sorts of portents : When heat

<sup>a</sup> A.B.C. *prapacchāu* ; D. *paprcchāu*.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Mahābhārata*, ii. 1635-6.

<sup>d</sup> MSS. *vidyā*.

<sup>b</sup> D. *kalpanā*.

<sup>e</sup> A.B.D.H. *bhṛṣam*.

*yatrānrtāu pravṛddhena tryahād ūrdhvam pravarsati :*  
*tasmin dege pradhānasya puruṣasya vadho bhavet.*  
*kokilāḥ ca mayūrāḥ ca akāle madabhāgināḥ :*  
*saṁsargaṁ vāpi gaccheyur vidyāj jānapadam<sup>a</sup> bhayam.*  
*ruravaḥ<sup>b</sup> cāiva rūdrāḥ ca prsatā harinās tathā :*  
*yeṣu degeṣu dṛṣyante tān arāṇyāni<sup>c</sup> nirdiṣet.*  
*pradhānāḥ cāiva vadhyante pakṣe saptadaye tathā :*  
*tasmiṁ janapade cāiva mahad utpadyate bhayam.*  
*gāvo 'cāvāḥ kuṅjarāḥ cāvāḥ kharostrā vānararagāḥ :*  
*nakulī pakṣiṇo vyūlāḥ<sup>d</sup> sūkarā mahiṣā mṛgāḥ. 3.*  
*sattvāny etāni jalpanti yeṣu degeṣu mānuṣam :*  
*teṣu degeṣu rājā tu śasthe māsi vinaṣyati.*  
*utpātā vikṛtātmāno dṛṣyante yatra tatra vāi :*  
*dege bhavati śighraṁ hi ṣaṁmāsād bhayam uttamam.*  
*āsanāṁ paṇānāṁ yānāṁ yadā yatra prasarpati :*  
*vīpakṣāt tatra tatsvāmī bhayam prāpnoti dāruṇam.*  
*dhānyakoṣṭhāyudhāgārāḥ pāśānāḥ kūpaparvatāḥ :*  
*etāni yatra sarpanti vikṛtāni vadanti ca.*  
*bahu vā jāyate tīvraṁ tasmin dege bhayam mahat :*  
*trin māsān parakāle nu ṣeṣe sāumyāni kam phalam. 4.*

arises upon a cold body, or upon a hot body excessive cold, let it be known that in that realm there will be a calamity nine months later.

3. When at the wrong season it rains excessively for more than three days[?], in this country will occur the death of the chief man. When kokils and peacocks are in love or have intercourse out of season, let it be known that there is danger at hand for the people. When antelopes and wild creatures [deer?], likewise gazelles and stags, are seen in any region, one should declare those places to be deserts[?]. The chief men likewise perish there in the seventeenth fortnight, and great fear arises among the people. When the following creatures: cows,<sup>1</sup> horses, elephants, dogs,<sup>2</sup> asses, camels, apes, serpents, ichneumons, birds, wild beasts, boars, buffalos, and deer—

4. When these creatures speak in any region with a human voice, there the king goes to his destruction in six months. Wherever portents of an abnormal nature are seen, the greatest danger comes to pass quickly after six months. When a seat, a couch, or a vehicle moves itself, its owner will receive lamentable injury from an enemy. When granaries, depositories of weapons, stones, caves, and mountains move,<sup>3</sup> change their form, or speak out, very great fear arises in this realm for three months, but in the subsequent time the result is favorable[?].

<sup>a</sup>A. *janapadam*. <sup>b</sup>B. *ruruvaḥ*; A.D.H. *haravaḥ*. <sup>c</sup>A.C.H. *arāṇyāya*.

<sup>d</sup>MSS. *vyūlā*.

dege vā yadī vā grāme yonivyatikaro bhavet :  
 tatra saṁvatsarād ūrdhvam mahad utpadyate bhayam.  
 gaur aṣvaṁ vadavām vāpi yasmin dege prasūyate :  
 abhyantareṇa tadvarṣād rājño maraṇam ādiṣet.  
 mānuṣī janayed yatra tṛṇādān<sup>a</sup> vivīdhān paṇin :  
 ṣaṇmāsottham<sup>b</sup> bhayaṁ tīvraṁ tatra tūtpadyate mahat.  
 paracakrāgamaṁ cāiva nirdiṣed iha cāstravit :  
 saṁgrāmāḥ cātra vipulā jāyante vikṛtātmakāḥ.  
 sarpaṁ vā pakṣiṇaṁ vāpi janayed yatra mānuṣī :  
 pracālas<sup>c</sup> tasya dehasya ṣaṇmāsāt tu param bhavet. 5.  
 uṣṭraṁ vā yā prasūyeta vānaraṁ vāpi mānuṣī :  
 anyad vā jaṅgamaṁ kiñcit sthāvaraṁ vāpi kiñcana.  
 rogena cāstrapātena durbhiksena ca pīditāḥ :  
 sa deḥ vyathate<sup>d</sup> cighraṁ rājā tatra vīnaṣyati.  
 amānuṣī mānuṣaṁ vā mānuṣī vāpy amānuṣam :  
 prasūyate tu jānīyāt paracakrāgamaṁ dhruvam.  
 caturakṣaṁ dvīcīrṣaṁ vā gātrāir nyūnādhikāis<sup>e</sup> tathā :  
 vyañjanāḥ cāiva sampannam mānuṣī yā prasūyate.  
 dvīsaṁvatsaraparyanto<sup>f</sup> rājā tatra vīnaṣyati :  
 uṣṭro vṛṣo vāpy aṣvo vā gaḥ vā yatra jāyate.  
 pakṣān māsāc ca<sup>g</sup> bhavati rājñas tatra bhayam mahat :  
 paracakrasamutthān vā sa deḥ bhayam ṛcchati.<sup>h</sup> 6.

5. If in any realm or village an abortive birth occurs, great peril arises in a year thereafter. When in any realm a cow gives birth to a horse<sup>a</sup> or mare, it betokens the death of the king within that year. Where a woman brings forth various sorts of herbivorous cattle, six months thereafter arises great peril. There let the sage foretell the coming of a hostile army, and great wars of unusual nature. When a woman bears a serpent<sup>b</sup> or a bird, six months later the land will be disturbed.

6. Where a woman brings forth a camel or an ape, or any other animal or vegetable whatsoever, that land, afflicted with sickness, war, and famine, quickly goes to ruin, and its king perishes. When an animal brings forth a human being, or a human being brings forth an animal, let one know assuredly that a hostile army is to come. Where a woman bears a four-eyed child,<sup>c</sup> a two-headed child,<sup>d</sup> or a child with defective or excessive limbs,<sup>e</sup> or one having birth-marks, the king will perish inside of two years. When a camel, a boar, a horse, or an elephant<sup>f</sup> is born, there is great misfortune to a king within a month and a half; that country expects the appearance of a hostile army as a calamity.

<sup>a</sup>A.D. tṛṇādān. <sup>b</sup>D. ṣaṇmāsāttham. <sup>c</sup>D. pracāras; B. pracālas.  
<sup>d</sup>A. vyathata. <sup>e</sup>A. gātrāirnyūnādhikas. <sup>f</sup>MSS. -paryantā. <sup>g</sup>A. masaḥ;  
 B. pakṣāt māsacca; C. māsādva; D. pakṣamāsāc ca. <sup>h</sup>A.D. icchati.

*yonivyatikaram yatra kuryur evamvidham<sup>a</sup> striyaḥ :  
 gāur vā sūyet tathānyāni tatra rājyaṁ vinaṣyati.  
 vasanti yeṣu deṣesu teṣu vidyān mahad bhayam :  
 tasmād etāni sattvāni rājā kṣipram pravāsayet.  
 aṣṭvā kiṣoraṁ janayec ṣṛṅginam<sup>b</sup> yatra tatra tu :  
 ādiṣen maraṇam rājño varṣābhyantara eva hi.  
 māghe budhe ca mahiṣi grāvane vadavādi vā :  
 siṁhe gāvah prasūyante svāmīno mṛtyudāyakāḥ.  
 iti cāstrasamuccayāt.<sup>c</sup>*

*nārī kharavr̥ṣoṣṭrācīvāṁ cunah cūkaragardabhīn :  
 rākṣasān vā piṣācān vā yadāpy evam prasūyate.  
 vyāpadyante 'tra dhūnyāni sasyāni ca dhanāni ca :  
 caturvidham bhayaṁ ghoram kṣipram tatra pravartate. 7.  
 vadhyante hi pradhūnās tu sūrdhe<sup>d</sup> māsūṣṭame tathā :  
 vyādhiḥ ca teṣu deṣesu trīni varṣāni nārdiṣet.  
 anagnir jvalate yatra deṣe tūrnām anindhanaḥ :  
 yo rājā tasya deṣasya sadēṣaḥ<sup>e</sup> sa vinaṣyati.  
 māṁsavarṣeṇa maghavān yatra deṣe pravarṣati :  
 asthīni rudhīram majjām vasūm vāi teṣu vāi dhrūvam.  
 paracakrāgamaḥ ṣiḡhraṁ vijñeyas tu mahad bhayam :  
 āhāvāc cātra jāyante vipulā vikṛtātmakāḥ.*

7. Where women bring forth such abortions, or a cow bears other creatures, the realm goes to ruin. In whatever realms they abide, one should recognize a great calamity; therefore let the king quickly expel these creatures. Wherever a mare brings forth a horned colt, one must verily indicate the death of the king within a year. When a buffalo-cow brings forth during the month Māgha, or under the planet Mercury, or if a mare (and so forth) brings forth during the month Ārdrā, or cows bring forth under the sign of the Lion, they cause the death of their masters.

Thus from the canonical collection. Where a woman thus bears an ass, a boar, a camel, horses, dogs, wild-boars or asses, goblins or demons, there crops of grain and property go to destruction, and a terrible fourfold calamity arises quickly.

8. The chief men, truly, are destroyed in eight and a half months thereafter, and one shall announce sickness in those countries for three years. When in a region there burst out flames without there being a fire,<sup>10</sup> suddenly, and without the presence of fuel, the king of that region goes to ruin with the region. Where in any district Indra rains down flesh,<sup>11</sup> bones, blood,<sup>12</sup> marrow, fat, one is to understand that a calamity is portended, the quick

<sup>a</sup>A. *eva vidham*; B. *evam vidhiṁ*. <sup>b</sup>MSS. *ṣṛṅgiṇo*. <sup>c</sup>B.C. insert the three preceding lines after *dhanāni ca* below. <sup>d</sup>A.D. *sardha*; C. *sardve*. <sup>e</sup>A. *samdeṣaḥ*.

*aṅgūravālukādhūnyam yatra devaḥ pravarsati :  
kṣipram tatra bhayaṁ ghoram pravartate caturvidham. 8.*  
*sarpān matsyān paksīṇa vā yatra devaḥ pravarsati :  
tatra sasyopaghātaḥ syād bhayaṁ cūtipravartate.  
surāsavaṁ tathā kṣāudraṁ sarpis tāḷam payo dadhi :  
yatra varṣati parjanyaḥ kṣudrogas tatra jāyate.  
ulkātārāḥ ca dhīṣṇyeṣu yadāṅgārāḥ ca varsanti :  
tadā vyādhībhayaṁ ghoram teṣu deṣeṣu nirdiṣet.  
pumān aṣṇo gajo vāpi yadā yatra pradīpyate :  
daṣamāsūt param tatra jānīyād rāṣṭrasamplavam.  
nārācūḥ śaktayaḥ khadgāḥ\* pradīpyante yadā muhuḥ :  
tadā śastrabhayaṁ ghoram teṣu deṣeṣu nirdiṣet. 9.*  
*cūṭyavṛkṣāḥ prabhajyante visvaram vinadanti ca :  
prahasanti prasarpanti gūyanti ca rudanti ca.  
āgamah paracakrasya teṣu cūpadyate tvaram :  
sacakrā vāpi naṣyanti pradhānaḥ cātra vadhyate.  
yatra sravec cūṭyavṛkṣāḥ sahasā vividhān rasin :  
prthak prthak samastān vā tat pravakṣyāmi lakṣaṇam.  
ghṛte madhuni dugdhe ca ghṛte dugdhe tathām̐bhasi :  
kṣāudre madhuni tāḷe vā vyādhayaḥ syuḥ sudūruṇāḥ.  
surāsave mītho bhedaḥ ṣoṇite śastrapātānam :  
tāḷe pradhānā vadhyante bhakṣe kṣudbhayaṁ ādiṣet. 10.*

arrival of a hostile army ; great battles arise there, of strange character. Where the divinity rains down coals, sand,<sup>13</sup> or corn, a dreadful fourfold calamity quickly arises there.

9. Where the divinity rains down serpents, fishes, or birds, there will be destruction of the growing corn, and terror arises. When the rain-god pours down alcoholic spirits, honey, melted butter, oil, milk,<sup>14</sup> or curds, then famine arises. When meteors,<sup>15</sup> stars, and coals rain down upon the fire-places, one shall announce a dreadful peril of disease to those realms. Wherever man,<sup>16</sup> horse, or elephant breaks into flames, let one know that in ten months thereafter that place will go to ruin. When arrows, spears, and swords suddenly break into flames,<sup>17</sup> let one point out a dreadful peril of the sword in those realms.

10. When sacred fig-trees are broken, or cry out in the midst of silence ; when they laugh, move about, sing, or weep, in these realms a hostile army comes on quickly ; or they go to destruction along with their armies, and the chief in that place is destroyed. Where suddenly a sacred fig-tree trickles with various juices, either severally or combined, I will explain this portent. Where there is a flow of ghee, honey, and milk, also of ghee, milk, and water, *kṣāudra*-honey, or oil, there will be very lamentable sicknesses. Where alcoholic spirits flow, there will be mutual dissen-

\*A.C.D. *khaṅgāḥ* ; B. *ṣaṅgāḥ*.

*anrtū cet phalaṁ yatra puṣpaṁ vā sūyate drumaḥ :*  
*vidyād vā<sup>a</sup> daṣame māsi rājñas tatra viparyayam.*  
*puspe puṣpam bhaved yatra phale vā syāt tathā phalam :*  
*parṇe parṇaṁ vijānīyāt tatra jānapadam bhayam.*  
*çuklena vāsasū yatra cūṭiyavṛkṣaḥ samāhitaḥ :*  
*brāhmaṇānām bhayaṁ ghoram āṣu tīvraṁ vinirdiçet.*  
*raktavastrāvṛtāḥ cānyāḥ kṣatriyānām mahad bhayam :*  
*pītavastrāḥ tu vāiçyānām çūdrānām kṛṣṇavāsasūḥ.*  
*nīlāḥ sasyopaghātāḥ syūc citrāḥ tu mṛgapakṣiṇām :*  
*vīvarṇāḥ vyādhasyaḥ tīvrāḥ paraṁ syur daṣamāsataḥ.<sup>b</sup> 11.*  
*dāivatāni prasarpanti yatra rāstre hasanti vā :*  
*udīkṣante 'tha ghorāṁsi tatra vidyān mahad bhayam.*  
*vihasanti nimilanti gāyanti vikṛtāni ca :*  
*mūṁsaçonitagandhāni yatra tatra mahad bhayam.*  
*yatra citram udīkṣeta gāyate ceṣṭate muhuḥ :*  
*etesv aṣṭasu māseṣu rājño maraṇam ādiçet.*  
*citrāni yatra līṅgāni tathāivāyatanāni ca :*  
*vikāraṁ kuryur atyartham tatra vidyān mahad bhayam.*  
*udapānaṁ tadāgam vā saraḥ parvata eva vā :*  
*samuddeçeṣu dīpyante vidyād bhayam upasthītam. 12.*

sion ; where blood flows, there will be fighting. Where oil flows, the chiefs perish ; where drink flows, one should indicate peril of famine."

11. If in any place a tree shall produce out of season fruit or flower, let them know that in ten months there will be misfortune to the king. Where a flower shall grow upon a flower, or a fruit upon a fruit, or a leaf upon a leaf, let one recognize there calamity to the people. Where a sacred tree is surrounded by a white covering, let one quickly point out great and terrible danger to the Brāhmanas ; by trees covered with red coverings great peril to the Kṣatriyas is indicated ; with yellow coverings, peril to the Vāiçyas ; with black, to the Çūdras." If surrounded with blue coverings, there will be destruction to the crops ; with parti-colored, to beasts and birds ; with colorless, there will be excessive sicknesses continued for ten months.

12. Whenever in a region idols move about<sup>a</sup> or laugh, when they have a frightful appearance, let one know that there is great peril. When they laugh out, wink, sing, and are changed, and whenever there is the odor of meat and blood, is great peril. In cases where a picture looks, sings, or moves suddenly, let one declare the death of the king in eight months. Where pictures, images, and altars undergo a great change, let one know that there is great peril." In whatever places a well or a pond, a lake or a mountain, break into flames, one should know that peril is at hand.

<sup>a</sup> MSS. vā.

<sup>b</sup> A.D. daṣamāyataḥ.

*prahaseyu staneyur vā ṣvā vā mārjāravad vadet :*  
*tasya deṣasya rājā tu pīḍām āpnoti dūruṇām.*  
*ṣaṅkhavāṇavatūryānām dundubhīnām ca nisvanāḥ :*  
*deṣe yatra bhr̥ṣaṁ tatra rājadaṇḍo nīpātyate.*  
*yasya rājño janapade nityodvignāḥ prajāḥ kṣayam :<sup>a</sup>*  
*gacchanti na cirāt tatra vināṣam api nīrdiṣet.*  
*yasya rājño janapade nityam eva gavāṁ kṣayaḥ :*  
*bhayaṁ tatra vijānīyād acirāt samupasthitam.*  
*yasya rājño janapade nadī vahati kardamam :*  
*kāṣṭhāṁ tṛṇāṁ copalāṁ vā mṛtamatsyāṁ grahāṁ tathā. 13.*  
*madyaṁ kṣāudraṁ ca māṁsaṁ ca sarpiḥ tūlām payo dadhi :*  
*anyarājāgamabhayaṁ tatra deṣe samūdiṣet.*  
*yasya rājño janapade pratiṣroto nadī vahet :*  
*mūsāṣṭakūḍ jānapadam<sup>b</sup> bhayaṁ syāc chatrapāṇinaḥ.<sup>c</sup>*  
*kūpo vā garjate yatra yadā vāpy avadīpyate :<sup>d</sup>*  
*lohitāṁ vātha pūyaṁ vā bhayaṁ tatra vinīrdiṣet.*  
*āyudhāni pradhāvanti tīvrām pratyūharanti ca :*  
*tūnīrāt sahasā bāṇū udgiranti nadanti ca.*  
*svabhāvataḥ ca pūryante dhanūṁṣi prajvalanti ca :*  
*saṁgrāmo dāruṇas tatra deṣe bhavati niṣcītaḥ. 14.*  
*akāle puspavantaḥ ca phalavantaḥ ca pādapāḥ :*  
*dr̥ṣyante yasya rāṣṭreṣu tasya nāṣo vibhāvyaṭe.*

13. Where [dogs] laugh or growl, or where a dog makes the cry of a cat, the king of that realm receives a lamentable affliction. Where there is a vehement sounding-out of conch-shells," of bamboo musical-instruments, and of drums, there a penalty is made to fall upon the king. When in the realm of any king the people, continually horrified, experience destruction, one must declare that ruin is not far off. Whenever in the country of a king there is frequent death of cows, let one know that danger is pending, near at hand. Wherever in the country of a king a river bears along mud, logs, grass, stone, dead fishes," crocodiles,

14. The *madya*-drink, *kṣāudra*-honey, flesh, ghee, oil, milk, curds, at such a time let one point out that there is peril to that region of the coming of another king. Wherever in the country of a king a river shall flow backwards," in eight months the people will be in peril from him who has the umbrella in his hand." Where a well gives forth a roaring sound, flames, blood," or a disagreeable odor, one is to point out danger. Where weapons come forth from their receptacles in an unnatural manner and return again ; where arrows suddenly come forth from the quiver, speak out or make sounds," and where bows are bent of their own accord or gleam, lamentable war certainly occurs in that region.

<sup>a</sup> D.B. *prajākṣ-*.

<sup>b</sup> MSS. *jana-*.

<sup>c</sup> Perhaps *ca* *kra-* should be read.

<sup>d</sup> MSS. *avadīryate*.



*vrksā vālpāṣ ca<sup>a</sup> tarunā yatra syuḥ phalapuspādāḥ :*  
*akāle cāpi dṛṣyeyus tatra vidyān mahad bhayam.*  
*prāsādāni vimānāni prajvalanti tu yatra vāi :*  
*dṛḍhāni ca viṣṛyante sa yasya mriyate cīrāt.*  
*vadanty aranye tūryāni grūyante vyomni nityaṣaḥ :*  
*nivasetā<sup>b</sup> tadā rājū samūgamya diṣo diṣam.*  
*yasya veṣmani grūyante gītavādītranisvanāḥ :*  
*akasmān mriyate samyag dhanam vāsyā vilupyate.*  
*caṅkhavāṇavavinūṣ ca bherīmurajagomukhāḥ :*  
*vādyamānūḥ praḍṛṣyante deṣe yatrāpy aghattitūḥ.*  
*sambhṛtyeva tamo bhāram anyam janapadam vrajet :*  
*mrgavāns tu sa deṣo hi vāyuṣ cātropajāyate.*  
*anāhatā dundubhāyo vāditrāṇi vadanti ca :*  
*chidrāṇi ca grhe yasya sa śighram bhayam ṛcchati.*  
*devarājadhvajānām ca patanam bhaṅga eva vā :*  
*kravyādūnām praveṣam ca rājñāḥ pīḍākaram bhavet.*  
*vājivāraṇamukhyānām akasmān maraṇam bhavet :*  
*itarakṣmāpates tatra vijñeyā satvarā gatiḥ. 15.*  
*aṣvatthe puspīte kṣatram brāhmaṇam cūpy udumbare :*  
*plakṣe vāiṣṭyas tu pīḍyante nyagrodhe dasyavas tathā.*

15. When trees are seen in blossom or fruit at an improper time, he is surely destroyed in whose realm this occurs. Where small and tender trees bear fruits and flowers, or where [fruits and flowers] are seen out of their season, one shall recognize great peril. Also where temples and palaces flame, and where firm things fall to pieces, their owner dies in a short time. If musical instruments sound in a desert place, or are heard continually in the sky,<sup>a</sup> let the king take up his abode there, having gone from place to place. Where in a dwelling singing is heard, or the sound of musical instruments, all [the possessions] of the owner perish unexpectedly, or his wealth is stolen. When conchshells, bamboo tubes, lutes, drums, tambourines, and trumpets are heard giving forth a sound in any region, not having been touched, let him [the ruler] enter another people, bearing with him, as it were, darkness as a burden. That realm becomes the home of wild beasts and a wind arises there. When drums and musical instruments sound without having been struck, and when in the house of any person there are holes, he soon experiences a calamity. Also when there is a falling or breaking of the flags of a divinity or a king, or when a carnivorous animal comes in,<sup>b</sup> these things shall cause distress to the king. If the best steeds and elephants die without a cause, this betokens the sudden coming of another ruler.

16. When the peepul-tree is in bloom, the Kṣatriya caste is afflicted; when the orange-colored *figus* is in bloom, the Brah-

<sup>a</sup> MSS. *vrkṣāvalpaṣca*. <sup>b</sup> A.H. *nivātseta*; D. *nivāsetse*.

cvetam indrāyudham viprān raktam ksatriyanāṣanam :<sup>a</sup>  
 vāiṣyānām pītakam rātrāu kṣṇam cūdravināṣanam.  
 nirghāte bhūmikampe ca cūityaṣṣkavirohane :  
 deçapīḍām vijānīyāt pradhānaç cātra vadhyate.  
 indrayastir bhajyate<sup>b</sup> vā viçasto vā paçur vrajet :  
 yadā tadā vijānīyāt rājñah pīḍām upasthitām.  
 pītāmahe vū sudeve some dharmayameṣu<sup>c</sup> api :  
 nimittam aṣubham yatra brāhmaṇānām bhayāvaham. 16.  
 brhaspatāu vā çukre vā pāvake pākaçāsane :  
 yāni rūpāni drçyante vidyāt tāni purohite.  
 mahādeve kubere ca tathā skandaviçākhayoh :  
 nimittam tat pārthiveṣu vijñeyam sampravartitam.<sup>d</sup>  
 devānām pārthivānām ca ratho yatra nimajjati :  
 bhayam tatra vijānīyāt pārthivasyāçur<sup>e</sup> adbhutam.  
 some ca vāsudeve ca varune pākaçāsane :  
 yad bhayam drçyate tad dhi jñeyam bhāṇḍādhi ke jane.  
 vāte prajāpatāu cāiva viçvakarmaṇi cāiva hi :  
 pravartate yan nimittam taj jānapadikam bhavet.  
 kumārīṣu kumārīṇām kumārānām kumārājam :  
 tathā preṣyeṣu<sup>f</sup> sarveṣu kalpaye çāstrataḥ phalam.

manic caste is afflicted ; when the *ficus infectoria*,<sup>g</sup> the Vāiṣyas ;  
 when the banyan-tree, the barbarians<sup>h</sup> are afflicted. A white  
 rainbow destroys the Brahmins ; a red one brings destruction to  
 the Kṣatriyas ; a yellow one at night [brings destruction] to the  
 Vāiṣyas ; a black one is deadly to the Cūdras. Where there is a  
 whirlwind, an earthquake,<sup>i</sup> the growing of a withered tree, let  
 one recognize an affliction to the country ; the chief man there is  
 also destroyed. Or if the Indra-staff<sup>j</sup> is broken, or whenever a  
 mutilated animal goes about, let one know that affliction is come  
 unto the king. Where there is an unfavorable omen relating to  
 Pitāmaha, Sudeva, Soma, Dharma, and Yama, it causes fear to  
 the Brahmins.

17. Where manifestations are seen in the case of Brhaspati,  
 Çukra, Pāvaka, and Pākaçāsana, they are to be understood as  
 referring to the chief priest. When an omen occurs [in connec-  
 tion with] Mahādeva, Kubera, and also Skanda and Viçākha, it is  
 to be known as referring to the king. When the car of gods or  
 princes goes down, let one know that there is danger to the king ;  
 it is a quick prodigy. Whatever prodigy is seen [in connection  
 with] Soma, Vāsudeva, Varuna, or Pākaçāsana, that is to be  
 known as referring to the people who are rich in goods. What-  
 ever omen arises [in connection with] Vāta, Prajāpati, and Viçva-  
 karman has reference to the people. [In connection with] girls,

<sup>a</sup> MSS. kṣetriya-. <sup>b</sup> MSS. bhajyante. <sup>c</sup> A. dharmāry-. <sup>d</sup> B.C.D.H.  
 add : akasmād drçyate yat tū nimittam sampravartitam. <sup>e</sup> B. āsur.  
<sup>f</sup> A.B.C.D. praṣyeṣu.

*indrānī varuṇānī ca bhadrakālī mahābalā :  
vīramātā ca yad brūyus tad rājamahiṣibhayam.  
ekāivāsūn tathā cānyā yāc cānyā devatūstriyaḥ :  
kuryur nimittam tat strīnām pradhānām ca vinirdiṣet.  
gandharveṣu nimittam yat tad anyesu pradṛṣyate :  
senāpatīnām bhayakṛt sacivānām bhayāya ca.  
rākṣasanagayakṣeṣu<sup>a</sup> līṅgasyāyataneṣu ca :  
yathārūpaṁ yathākarma puruṣeṣu vyavasthitam. 17.  
dakṣiṇeṣu ṣarīreṣu devatūnām ca veṇmasu :  
sarveṣu aṅgeṣu nūrīnām tulyaṁ syād ubhayor bhayam.  
svaṣarīre yathotpātū vihitā dātvacintakāḥ :  
tathāiva pariśamkhyeyaṁ sarvatrāiva ṣubhāṣubham.  
mānibhadrādayo<sup>b</sup> yakṣā gandharvāc citrasenayaḥ :  
tad bhayaṁ tu pradhānānām amātyānām vibhāvayet.  
yeṣu deṣeṣu dṛṣyeta dāivatesu<sup>c</sup> ṣubhāṣubham :  
te ca deṣū vinaṣyanti rājā vātha vinaṣyati.  
brāhmaṇā yatra vadhyante grāme rāstre 'tha vā pure :  
rājadhāniṣu vā yatra tad abhāvasya lakṣaṇam. 18.  
yatrābalaṁ vadhyamānaṁ rājā nāivābhirakṣati :  
tatra devakṛto dāṇḍo nīpataty āṇu rājani.*

and of girls ; in [the case of] boys and that arising from boys ; likewise [in the case of] all servants—I will arrange the outcome [of these portents] according to the canon. Whatever Indrānī, Varuṇānī, Bhadrakālī, Mahābalā, and Vīramātā<sup>a</sup> shall utter is a cause of fear to the royal wife. And whatever any of these divinities shall do individually, or any other female divinities whatsoever, this should be pointed out as having reference to the chief women. And whatever prodigy is beheld belonging to the other Gandharvas, this causes fear to generals and ministers. When there is a manifestation or a performance in the case of demons and mountain-sprites, or on the altars of an image, this is appointed [as referring] to men.

18. When occurring in the case of the right side of bodies, and in the temples of divinities, and in all the limbs of women, there is a like peril to both[?]. Just as portents are classified by the astrologers when they occur in one's own body, so the enumeration is particular in every case, whether favorable or unfavorable. Where Mānibhadra and the rest of the Yakṣas, the Gandharvas, and the Citrasenis<sup>b</sup> [are concerned], let one recognize this as a peril to the chief counsellors. In whatever realms a favorable or unfavorable omen is beheld in the case of [these] divinities, those realms perish, or the king perishes. Where Brahmans perish in village, realm, or city, or among the royal residences, this is the sign of annihilation.

<sup>a</sup>A.B. rakṣayanna- ; C. -panna- ; H. rakṣaṣanna-. <sup>b</sup>C. mānibhad-.  
<sup>c</sup>MSS. devateṣu.

chatradhvajapatākāsu devasthāne grheṣu ca :  
 dvārāddūlakaharmyeṣu kāraved dhomavācanam.  
 yatra prakṛtibhūtāni līṅgāni vikṛtāni ca :  
 devatāḥ cāpi nadyaḥ ca kṣarakṣāmā<sup>a</sup> mahīruhāḥ.  
 senā cāiva na dr̥ṣyeta hastyaḥcāiḥ ca padātibhiḥ :<sup>b</sup>  
 hīnāṅgā vikṛtāṅgā vā pralayaṁ tatra nirdiṣet.  
 stambhavṛkṣā dhvajā yatra sraveyū<sup>c</sup> rudhirāmbu ca :  
 dhūmayeyur jvaleyur vā mantrinām tatra vāi vadhaḥ.  
 jagatsvāmini jānīyād yadi ced divi jāyate :  
 āntarikṣaṁ tu<sup>d</sup> deḥ syād<sup>e</sup> bhūmaṁ sasye patisyati.<sup>f</sup>  
 bhāryāyām vāhane putre koḥ senāpatāu pure :  
 purohite narendra vā patate dāivam<sup>g</sup> aṣṭadhā.  
 mūhendrim amṛtām rūdrīm vāiḥvadevīm athāpi vā :  
 utpātesu mahācāntīm kāraved bahudakṣiṇām.  
 śāmyanti yena ghorāni yogakṣemaṁ ca jāyate :  
 rūjāno muditās tatra pālayanti vasundharām.  
 pālayanti vasundharām iti. 19.

ity aṣṇasādhutāni samāptāni.<sup>h</sup>

19. Where the king does not protect the powerless who is ready to perish, a divinely-appointed punishment falls quickly upon the king. In [the case of] umbrellas, banners, flags, in the temple of a god, and in houses, in doors, pavilions, and castles, let one make the speech of offering. Where original things become secondary, when divinities, rivers, and trees perish and wither, where the army-[order] may not be seen because its divisions are destroyed or disturbed by elephants, horses, or footmen, then destruction may be indicated." When pillars, trees, and banners shall trickle blood and water, or shall smoke or flame," there indeed is destruction of counsellors. If [an omen] comes to pass in the sky, let one know that it threatens the king ; if in the atmosphere, the country ; if on the earth, it will fall upon the crops." An ill-fate falls upon these eight victims : a wife, a draught-animal, a son, a vessel, a general, a city, a chief-priest, or a king ; when these portents occur, let him have performed a great expiation, immortal, pertaining to great Indra, pertaining to Rudra, or pertaining to all the gods, accompanied by many fees, whereby these terrible manifestations are appeased, and safety arises ; and the kings, delighted, rule the earth.

Thus endeth the Aṣṇasādhutāni.

\* MSS. kṣarakṣāma. <sup>b</sup> A.H. sāvā cāivana dr̥ṣyeta na hastyaicāiḥ ca padātibhiḥ ; B. hastaḥcāiḥ. <sup>c</sup> MSS. -yu. <sup>d</sup> A. āntarikṣantu. \* MSS. deḥsyād. <sup>f</sup> MSS. sasyopatiṣṭhati. <sup>g</sup> A.D.H. devam. <sup>h</sup> A. iti aṣṇasādhutāni s- ; B. iti kuṣṇasādhutāni s- ; C.D. iti aṣṇasādhutāni s- ; H. iti uṣṇasādhutāni s-.

## NOTES UPON THE TRANSLATION.

(These notes give for the most part a citation of similar portents and prodigies from classical sources.)

1. The speaking of an ox is a frequent prodigy in Roman writers. Livy mentions its occurrence during the war with the Volscians (8. 10), and with Hannibal (27. 11). The same portent took place in the time of Otho, Tac. Hist. 1. 86.—2. In regard to dogs speaking, v. Obseq. 103, 122, etc.—3. Earthquakes are among the commonest signs of misfortune with the Romans: "Si caelum stetit, si terra movit; 'Christianos ad leones!'" Tert. Apol. 40. Cf. Tac. Ann. 12. 43; Livy 30. 88.—4. In the year 215 B.C. a cow bore a colt at Sinuessa. Obseq. 83.—5. The bearing of a serpent [= tape-worm?] is mentioned by Pliny N. H. 7. 3; Tac. Ann. 14. 12. Obsequens tells us that when such a birth had been cast into a stream it swam off through the water (c. 118).—6. Such a prodigy cited in time of Claudius, Tac. Ann. 12. 64.—7. Cf. Tac. Ann. 15. 14.—8. A child born without hands or feet, and one without eyes or nose after the second Punic War. Obseq. 51.—9. Livy vouches for the birth of a boy with an elephant's head (27. 11).—10. The shores blaze with fires, Livy 22. 1: cf. Verg. Georg. 1. 466 ff.—11. For showers of flesh, cf. Val. Max. 1. 6. 5; Obseq. 16.—12. Blood rains down in Rome, Livy 24. 10 (and other writers, frequently).—13. Showers of earth mentioned by Obseq. 28, 51, etc.—14. Showers of stones, blood, mud, and milk mentioned by Cicero, de Div. 1. 43: cf. Livy 27. 11. Among other miraculous showers, the Brhatsamhitā speaks of stones, dust, gold, cattle (!), fruits, flowers, clouds, abortive animals, butter, hot water. Chalk, mud, oil, and potsherds can be added to this list from Roman authors. (Livy 24. 10 etc.).—15. For the frequent mention of the falling of red-hot stones from heaven cf. Livy 21. 62; 22. 1; 22. 86; 30. 88.—16. The head of Servius Tullius was seen to blaze with fire, Cic. de Div. 1. 53; cf. Verg. Aen. 2. 680 ff.—17. Darts take fire, Livy 22. 1; Obseq. 19. 69. Fire on spear-points taken as a good sign. Cic. d. Nat. Deor. 2. 8. 9; Dion. Hal. 5. 46. In reign of Claudius, the ensigns and tents of the soldiers are scorched with fire from heaven, Tac. Ann. 12. 64.—18. On these manifestations cf. Brhatsam. 46. 26–27.—19. In regard to the frequent association of these colors with the four castes, cf. Brhatsam. 3. 25; 33. 14.—20. The statue of Juno nods its head, Obseq. 19. The goddess of Victory lets fall the reins of her chariot. Tac. Hist. 1. 86. The spear of Mars moves of its own accord, Livy 24. 10. The statue of Caesar turns from west to east, Tac. Hist. 1. 86.—21. In the 72d Parīṣṭa (the Mahādbhutāni) idols laugh, sing, weep, shriek, perspire, shine, smoke, tremble, wink, grow, trickle, and move about. Apollo's statue at Cumae wept for three days, Obseq. 69. As to perspiring idols, cf. Aen. 2. 171; Cic. de Div. 1. 34. Livy 22. 1, 36; Milton, Ode on the Nativity, l. 195.—22. A trumpet sounds in the sky, Obseq. 73.—23. In Roman times the casting up of dead fish by the sea is considered ominous, also an inundation of the Po which left a large number of serpents: Obseq. 89. 128.—24. As to inundations as prodigies cf. Suet. Otho 8; Plutarch, Otho 4; Cic. de Div. 1. 44; Livy 5. 15, etc.—25. Perhaps the adjective should read *cakrapāṇināḥ*, an epithet of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa.—26. Pools and fountains are tinged with blood, Livy 22. 1; 24. 10; 27. 11.—27. Arms rattle in the temple of Hercules, Cic. de Div. 1. 24. Armor falls to ground in temple, id. 1. 34.—28. Cf. Verg. Georg. 1. 466–488.—29. In the second Punic war, a wolf enters the city at night and wounds the watchman, Obseq. 40. Cf. id. 49. 50, and Livy 21. 62.—30. This plant bears white blossoms.—31. Notice that the Cūdras here have the appellation *dasyavas*.—32. A very common portent among the Romans.—33. In the Mahādbhutāni, the Indra-staff is mentioned as blazing.—34. The prominence of secondary and female divinities shows the late date of this text.—35. Citrasena is a serpent-demon; the form *citraseni* is new.—36. Cf. Livy's account of armed legions being seen upon the Janiculum (24. 10).—37. A green palm-tree takes fire, Livy 24. 10.

## ARTICLE VII.

# WHERE WAS ZOROASTER'S NATIVE PLACE?

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WITH regard to the native place of the founders of three of the great Oriental religions—Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism—the authorities are mostly in agreement; with reference to Zoroastrianism, however, the case is far different. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans we are told that seven cities claimed to be the birth-place of the poet Homer; if we take into account the various opinions on the question of the native country of the prophet Zoroaster, the same may also be said of him. The question in regard to Zoroaster's home is one of interest, for with it is connected the question where we are to place the cradle of the Mazdean religion. The subject has given rise to the liveliest dispute.

Arguments have been brought forward by some to show that we must place the home of Zoroaster in the east of Iran, in Bactria; he is accordingly often styled "the Bactrian sage." By others it is claimed that he came from the west of Iran, or rather from Media, some say from Persia. In spite of these contradictory views, the difficulty may be overcome, it is believed, and the problem may be solved, if the subject be looked at in its right light. Both sides are in part wrong, both sides in part right. The fallacy, it may at the outset be stated, lies in assuming that the scene of the prophet's real activity and of his mission must likewise have been his native place. It is with this word of caution in mind that all the statements and theories on the subject will here be examined, and the endeavor will be made to clear away the difficulty.

The authorities of antiquity to whom we may look for information on the subject and whose statements form the source from which our views are deduced, are—

## a. Classical

## b. Oriental.

The principal passages have already been collected by Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 270 ff.; but some points in the later tradition have been overlooked. As important deductions may be drawn from these latter, it is useful to add them, and to arrange anew all the material that bears as evidence on the subject. The allusions to the country of Zoroaster we may therefore take up in detail, presenting, first, statements referring to Bactria, or the east of Iran; second, allusions to Zoroaster as belonging in the west, in Media or Persia.

## A. CLASSICAL AND NON-IRANIAN.

## 1. Bactria—Eastern Iran.

The following allusions in the classic writers of Greece and Rome show that Zoroaster was thought of as a Bactrian, or at least as exercising his activity in the east of Iran.

The authority of the historian Ktesias (B. C. 400) is quoted by Diodorus Siculus (1st century A.D.), ii. 6, for the statement that Ninus, with a large army, invaded Bactria, and with the aid of Semiramis gained a victory over King Oxyartes. See *Fragm. of the Persika of Ktesias*, ed. Gilmore, p. 29. Instead of the name 'Οξυάρτης, the manuscript variants show also 'Εχαόρτης, Χαόρτης, Ζαόρτης. Attempts have been made to identify the name, or rather its variants, with Zoroaster, inasmuch as later writers—Kephallion, Justin, Eusebius, Arnobius—drawing on Ktesias, make Zoroaster the opponent of Ninus. Their statements are next cited.

Fragments of Kephallion (A.D. 120), preserved in Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 43, ed. Aucher, describe the rebellion of Zoroaster the Magian, the king of the Bactrians, against Semiramis: *de Zoroastri Magi Bactrianorum regis debellutione a Semiramide*. See Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 676. In agreement with this is also cited Eusebius (A.D. 300), *Chron.* iv. 35, ed. Aucher, *Zoroastres Magus rex Bactrianorum*. Add to this, Eusebius, *Præparatio Evang.* x. 9, according to which statement also Zoroaster the Magian ruled over the Bactrians, *Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε*.

Similarly Theon (A.D. 130?), *Progymnasmata* 9 (*Peri Syngri-seos*, ed. Spengel, *Rhæt. Græc.*, p. 115), in connection with Semiramis, speaks of "Zoroaster the Bactrian," *Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Βακτρίου*. See also Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 290.

Justin (A.D. 120), moreover, in his *Hist. Philippic.* i. 1, distinctly makes Zoroaster the opponent of Ninus, and says that he was king of Bactria: *Postremum illi bello cum Zoroastre rege Bactrianorum fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse*

*et mundi principia siderumque motus diligentissime spectasse.* See Gilmore, *Ktesias' Persika*, p. 29.

In like manner Arnobius (A.D. 297), *Adversus Gentes* i. 5, mentions a battle between the Assyrians and the Bactrians, under the leadership respectively of Ninus and Zoroaster, *inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastreque ductoribus*. See Gilmore, *Ktesias*, p. 36. A parallel statement, *Zoroastres . . . Bactrianus*, in *Adv. Gent.* i. 52, confirms the view that Arnobius regarded Zoroaster as a Bactrian.

Two later but independent classical authors rightly place Zoroaster under a King Hystaspes (i. e. Vishtaspa, Gushtasp), and one of these distinctly calls him a Bactrian. These are Ammianus Marcellinus (5th century A.D.), and Agathias (6th century A.D.). Ammianus, xxiii. 6. 32, p. 294, ed. Ernest, says: *cui scientiam seculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres; deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus Darii pater*. Agathias, ii. 24, writes: *Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὁρμάσδεως . . . οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ζωροάδδος, ἦτοι Ζαράδης (διττὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡ ἐπωνυμία), ὀπηνίκα μὲν ἤκμασε τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο, οὐκ ἔνεστι σαφῶς διαγινῶναι. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ νῦν ἐπὶ Ἑσπέρῳ, οὕτω δὲ τι ἀπλῶς φασὶ γεγονέναι, ὡς λίαν ἀμφιγνοεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι μαθεῖν, πότερον Δαρείου πατὴρ εἶτε καὶ ἄλλος οὗτος ὑπῆρχεν Ἑσπέρῳ κ.τ.λ.* See Gilmore, *Ktesias*, p. 29. Both these writers therefore recognize Zoroaster, not as a king, but as the founder of a religion under a king Hystaspes. Ammianus does indeed identify Hystaspes (Vishtaspa, Gushtasp) with the father of Darius; but Agathias properly observes that the Persians do not make it clear whether by the name Hystaspes we are to understand the father of Darius, or another Hystaspes.

This concludes the list of classical authors that refer to Zoroaster as a Bactrian, or to that region as the scene of his prophetic activity. Let it be observed that the majority of the statements speak of him as a king; this doubtless is due to confusion with King Vishtaspa (Hystaspes), under whom he flourished. Doubts may be expressed as to whether all the allusions really refer to the founder of the Mazdean faith; there can be little question, however, that the allusions are intended for him, whatever may be the time at which they may suppose him to have lived.

Having thus considered the views pointing to Bactria, we may turn to those suggesting the west of Iran, Media or Persia, as the home of the prophet.

## 2. Media or Persia—Western Iran.

The following allusions in the classics unanimously mention Zoroaster in connection with the west of Iran.

Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. 200) sometimes speaks of Zoroaster as a Mede, but sometimes as a Persian. The latter allusion we find in his *Stromata*, i. 357, where he makes Pythagoras one



of his followers: Ζωροάστρην δὲ τὸν Μάγον τὸν Πέρσῃν ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐξήλωσεν. The accuracy of the statement in regard to Pythagoras is of course extremely questionable. See Windischmann, *Zoroastriche Studien*, p. 263. On another occasion Clemens identifies Zoroaster with Er, the son of Armenius, a Pamphylian. This would place Zoroaster in Asia Minor. See Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 273 note, referring to *Stromata*, v. 711, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς (Πλάτων) ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς πολιτείας Ἡρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Παμφύλου μέμνηται, ὃς ἐστὶ Ζωροάστρης (sic)· αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ Ζωροάστρης γράφει· Τάδε συνέγραψεν Ζωροάστρης ὁ Ἀρμενίου τὸ γένος Πάμφυλος κ.τ.λ.

Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23-79), in his *Hist. Nat.* xxx. 1, 2, makes Zoroaster's native land even further west, in Proconessus, the island in the Propontus. See Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 299.

Hermodorus, the disciple of Plato, quoted by Diogenes Laertes, Proem. 2 ad init., speaks of Zoroaster as a Persian: Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσῃν.

Suidas in his Lexicon (s. v. Ζωροάστρης) terms Zoroaster a "Perso-Median" (Περσόμεδος σοφός). This point also is worth noticing.

The Armenian Moses of Chorene (A.D. 431), i. 16, makes Zoroaster a contemporary of Semiramis, and calls him "a Magian, the sovereign of the Medes." See Gilmore, *Ktesias' Persika*, p. 30 note, and Spiegel, *Iranische Alterthumskunde* i. 682.

Arguments have furthermore been brought forward to show that in the fragments that have been preserved of Berosus of Babylon (B.C. 250) mention is made of the name Zoroaster as a Median; but whether the founder of the religion is to be understood by this remains uncertain.

The classical references above, if viewed alone, appear on the surface extremely contradictory; and from them it would seem as if little could with certainty be deduced. Laying aside these authorities, however, recourse may now be had to the more direct Iranian tradition. To this may be added one or two quite explicit statements from other Oriental, though non-Iranian sources. If these be carefully examined, we shall be surprised to find that there really is an agreement in references on the one hand to the field of Zoroaster's preaching, and on the other to his probable home. This will give us a new light in which to criticise the classical statements.

## B. IRANIAN—THE TRADITION.

### 1. Bactria—Scene of Prophetic Career.

A study of the Avesta shows that most of the scenes described in that book are to be located in eastern Iran; in the later Persian epic, the Shāh-Nāmāh, also, it is in the east that Zoroaster's mission is carried on. Tradition also has it that the prophet ended his life in Balkh. These points all become significant when

viewed in their right light. Before proceeding to draw conclusions, however, we must examine in detail what is said in the Avesta and other Zoroastrian works with regard to the first appearance of the prophet. This point is of importance.

## 2. Media, Atropatene—Scene of the Prophet's Appearance.

Turning to the Zoroastrian books themselves, we find statements which plainly lead us to infer that the prophet really first appeared in the west of Iran, either in Atropatene or in Media proper.

The Bundahish places the home of Zoroaster in Iran Vej (*Airyana Vaejah*), by the river Darja, and adds the fact that his father's house stood on a mountain by that river. For instance :

Bd. xx. 32 : *Dāraja rūd pavan Airān Vēj, mānaš mām-ī Pōrūšasp abīdar-ī Zaratūšt pavan bār yehevūnd*

'The Daraja river is in Airan Vej, on a hill (*bār*) by which was the house of Porushasp, the father of Zaratusht.' See also West, *Pahlavi Texts* transl., *S.B.E.* v. 82. Again,

Bd. xxiv. 15 : *Dāraja rūd rūdbārān rad, mamanaš mām-ī abīdar-ī Zaratūšt pavan bālā ; Zaratūšt tamman zād*

'The Dāraja river is the chief of exalted rivers, for the dwelling of Zaratusht was upon its banks ; and Zoroaster was born there.'

There can be little doubt that these unequivocal statements of the Bundahish rest upon good old tradition. The statements carry out in detail the lines found in the Avesta itself. In Vd. xix. 4, 11, we also learn that the temptation of Zoroaster by Ahri-man on the one hand, and the prophet's communings with Ormazd on the other, took place on a mountain by the river Darja, where was the house of his father Pourushaspa.

Vd. xix. 4 : *darejya paiti zbarahi nmanahe Pourušaspahe*

'by the Darja, upon a mountain, at the home (loc. gen.) of Pourushaspa.'

Vd. xix. 11 : *peresāt Zarathuštrō Ahurem Mazdām . . . [darejya paiti zbarahi Ahurāi vanhave vohumaidhe doñhānō, Ašāi Vahištāi, Khšathrāi Vairiyāi, Spentayāi Armatēē]*

'Zoroaster questioned Ahura Mazda . . . upon the hill by the Darja, praying to Ahura Mazda, the good, who is endowed with good, to Asha Vahishta, Khshathra Vairya, and Spenta Armaiti.'

The reference to the 'hill,' Av. *zbarah* (Skt. *hvāras*, Phl. *bār* Bd. xx. 32), is quite in accord with the tradition that Zoroaster retired to a mountain for meditation : cf. Vd. xxii. 19 : *gairīm avi speñtō-frasnāo, vurešem avi speñtō-frasnāo* 'toward the mountain

of the holy communion, toward the forest of the holy communion.' Similarly elsewhere (see below) reference is made to Zoroaster's communings upon a mountain. Such prophetic meditations are thoroughly Oriental.

This river Darja we may perhaps localize ; it may be identical with the river Darya, which flows from Mount Savellan (Sebilān) in Adarbījān (Atropatene) into the Aras or Araxes. So also Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta* transl., *S.B.E.* iv., Introd. p. xlix. For the Aras (Araxes) see de Harlez, *Avesta* traduit, p. viii, map, and Phillip and Son's (London) map of Persia. If this identification be correct, the ancient Darja was in Media Atropatene.

Another explicit, although late and non-Iranian, tradition connecting Zoroaster with the region of Atropatene is found in Kazwini. In this Arabic writer, Zoroaster is associated with Shīz, the capital of Atropatene. Consult Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta* transl., *S.B.E.* iv., Introd. p. xlix, where Rawlinson's identification of Shīz with Takht-i Suleiman is noted. The passage from Kazwini (quoted from Rawlinson) reads : "In Shiz is the fire-temple of Azerekhsh, the most celebrated of the Pyræa of the Magi ; in the days of the fire-worship, the kings always came on foot, upon pilgrimage. The temple of Azerekhsh is ascribed to Zeratust, the founder of the Magian religion, who went, it is said, from Shiz to the mountain of Sebilān, and, after remaining there some time in retirement, returned with the Zend-Avesta, which, although written in the old Persian language, could not be understood without a commentary. After this he declared himself to be a prophet." Thus far Kazwini.

The account here given, we observe, tallies accurately with the statements and suggestions made immediately above. In the Avesta, as above quoted, it was on a hill by the river Darja that Zoroaster communed with God. The hill (*zbarah*) or mountain (*gairi*) thus referred to by the Avesta would answer to Kazwini's Mount Sebilān ; the proposed identification of the Avestan Darja with the modern river Darya would be confirmed, as this latter river flows from Mt. Sebilān into the Aras.

For the region of Atropatene speaks also the authority of Yāqūt (see Spiegel, *Iranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 684), who, like Abulfedā, points to the town of Urumia as the native place of Zoroaster. See also foot-note below, p. 231.

At this point we must furthermore take up the tradition which directly connects the opening of Zoroaster's prophetic career with Airyana Vaejah or Iran Vej. This land is often regarded as mythical ; it may originally have been so, but there is good reason for believing that the fact of the later localization of this region in the west of Iran points to the common belief that Zoroaster originally came from that direction. The Bundahish xxix. 12 connects Iran Vej directly with Atropatene : *Airān Vēj pavan kōst-i Atarō-pūtākān*. The river Darja, near which stood the house of Zoroaster's father, is especially stated in Bd. xx. 32 to have been in Iran Vej. In the Avesta, moreover, Zoroaster is

familiarly called "the renowned in Airyana Vaejah": Ys. ix. 14, *srūtō airylene vaejahe*. The prophet is there also represented as offering sacrifice in Airyana Vaejah by the river Dāitya: Yt. v. 104; ix. 25; xvii. 45, *airylene vaejahi vanhuyāo dāityayāo*. In the later Persian Zartusht-Nāmah—see Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 491—it is the waters of the Dāiti that Zoroaster crosses in a miraculous manner after he has had the vision of the conflict with the demons and of the final conversion of Medyo-māh. After passing Dāiti, he receives the visions of God (with which compare Ys. xliii. 3–15), and thence he proceeds to King Vishtaspa. The Dāitya was perhaps a border stream; it is to be remembered that it was on the other side of it (cf. *pasne*, Yt. xvii. 49) that Vishtaspa sacrificed. The Bundahish likewise alludes to Zoroaster's first offering worship in Iran Vej, and receiving Medyo-māh as his first disciple:

Bd. xxxii. 3: *Zaratūšt, amataš dīn dūtīvand, fratūm dēn Airān Vej frāj yašt paršūnd; Mēdyōk-māh dīn mināš mekadlund*

'Zoroaster, when he brought the religion, first celebrated worship in Airan Vej, and Mēdyōk-māh received the religion from him.' Cf. Justi, *Bundahish*, p. 79, and West, *Pahlavi Texts* transl., S.B.E. v. 141. This Mēdyōk-māh is the Maidhyo-māh of the Avesta, Yt. xiii. 95; Ys. li. 19, the cousin of Zoroaster; and he seems to have been a man of influence. That he was the prophet's first disciple is distinctly recognized also by the Avesta, Yt. xiii. 95: *yō paoiryō Zarathuštrāi mātremca gūšta sāsniōsca*.

All these traditional Oriental allusions are unanimous in placing Zoroaster in Adarbījān or Media Atropatene. There is yet another passage drawn from the Avesta that connects his name with Ragha (Rai) in the same region, or more particularly in Media, properly so called. This allusion is in the Pahlavi version of Vd. i. 16. The Avesta text reads:

*dvadasem asanhāmca šōithranāmca vahištem frāth-veresem azem yō ahurō mazdāo, Raghām thrizañtūm [vaēdhanhō nōit uzōiš (dahākāi)].*

'As the twelfth, I created Ragha of the three races.' The Pahlavi commentary adds 'triple-raced Rāk, of Ataro-pātakān (Atropatene); some say it is Rāi; . . . some say Zaratūšt belonged there.'

This connection of the name of Zoroaster with Ragha is also given elsewhere in the Avesta. In Ys. xix. 18, mention is made of the five lords, "the lord of the house, the village, the province, and the country, and the Zarathushtra as the fifth." By *Zarathuštrō pukhdhō*, a high-priest or Iranian pope is apparently intended. This order of lords holds good for all countries "except the Zarathushtrian Ragha." "The Zarathushtrian Ragha has four masters, the master of the house, the village, the province, and the Zarathushtra as the fourth":

*āōnhām dahyūnām yāo anyāo Rajōit Zarathushtrōit.  
Cathru-ratuš Ragha Zarathushtriš. Kaya aīnhāo rat-  
avo? Nmānyasca, vīsyasca, zañtumasca, Zarathuštō  
tūiryō.*

This reference, in addition to the Pahlavi just above quoted, at least shows plainly that Ragha (Raji) must have been the chief seat of the religious government, the papal see. In like manner, Yāqūt, cited by Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta* transl., *S.B.E.*, iv. p. xlviii, describes a celebrated fortress in the province of Rai, which was the stronghold of the Zoroastrian high-priest. If Ragha was indeed the "Zoroastrian Ragha," and enjoyed such religious prominence, it must have been because of Zoroaster's connection with it in some way or other. What was this connection?

The direct Iranian tradition, we have seen, connects Zoroaster's birth and the opening of his career with the west of Iran; but how shall we account for his name being associated first with Atropatene and then with the Median Rai? The solution of the difficulty may be found. An interesting allusion cited from Shahrastani by Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.*, p. 298, seems to have been overlooked; it apparently contains the key to the problem. Hyde, in referring to the Magi, quotes a passage from Shahrastani, rendering it thus: *hi* (inquit Shahrastani) *fuertunt Asseclae roū Zerdusht Sapientis filii Purshasp, qui apparuit tempore* يشتاسف *Hystasp. Ex regione Aderbayagjan fuit Pater ejus, et ex urbe* رى *Rey orta est Mater, cujus nomen fuit* دغدو *Doghdū.* Here we have a new clew, and apparently the answer to the question why Zoroaster's name should be connected with both places. Zoroaster's mother, as the tradition has preserved, was from Rai; his father was a native of Atropatene (Adarbijān). In the latter region Zoroaster probably was born, and he seems to have spent there the first part of his life, probably by the river Darja. It was there his religious meditations began. That accounts for his name being associated with all this territory, Urumiah, Shīz, Mount Sebīlān. His connection with Ragha may furthermore be plausibly explained.

There is great reason to believe that if, as seems most likely, Zoroaster was born in Atropatene, he was drawn toward the important city of Ragha, somewhat perhaps as Christ went to Jerusalem. This would be natural if we remember Shahrastani's statement, just above, connecting his mother's family with Ragha. Let us again consult the tradition, and bring its allusions, wherever possible, to honor. In the Zartusht-Nāmāh, while much is purely legendary, there is also much that is based on good foundation. The book itself claims to be founded on old Pahlavi works. In the narrative there given we are told that Zoroaster was thirty years of age when he began his ministry. He apparently leaves his native land, presumably Atropatene if the above views be correct, for "his heart was directed to Iran." See Wilson, *Parsi*

*Religion*, p. 490. He sets out, as described in the narrative, with a company of followers, crosses a sea, journeys during the month of Spendārmāt (February), and on the last day of the month he finds himself upon the confines of Iran. It is there that he has the vision that Medyo-māh will receive his religion, and he dreams of the army of demons from the east. It is with this point we may connect Zoroaster's first attempt at preaching in Ragha.

If the view here adopted be correct, the vision of the army of demons may have been a forecast of Zoroaster's ill success at first in Ragha and elsewhere—misfortune, however, that was destined ultimately to turn out successfully and in victory. There is good reason for believing that Zoroaster's teaching did not at first meet with success. The statement of Zād-spāram (see West, *Pahlavi Texts*, transl., *S.B.E.* v. 187) would carry out this view. It is there noted that during the first ten years Zoroaster obtained one disciple, Medyōk-māh. This might apply well to Ragha.

A polemical allusion to Ragha, as shrewdly suggested by Geldner, *K.Z.* xxviii. 202–203, is perhaps to be found in the Gāthās, Ys. liii. 9. Unfortunately the passage is not quite clear, and the reading of the text is somewhat uncertain. Manuscript authority, however, gives the following text (Ys. liii. 9):

*duzvarenāiš vaēšō rāstī tōi narepiš rajiš*  
*aēšasā dējūt-aretū pešō-tanvō*  
*kū ašavā ahurā, yō īš jyūteuš hēmīthyāt vasē-itōišcā*  
*kū mazdā tavā khšathrem yā erezejyōi dāhī drigaovē vahyō?*

This may provisionally be rendered (cf. Geldner, loc. cit.): 'To the evil-believers hell (lit. poison, i. e. of hell) belongs. Those man-banishing(?) Raghians, . . . the unrighteous (*dējūt-aretū*), are accursed (*pešō-tanvō*)! Where is the righteous one, O Ahura, who will deprive them of their life and freedom? Where is that kingdom of thine, O Ahura, by which thou wilt give to the right-living man, though poor, the best reward?' The text and the passage, as stated, are obscure; but there certainly seems to be contained in it the reminiscence of an imprecation against the Raghians, the generation of vipers that shall not escape damnation. This Capernaum, though now exalted, shall be thrust down to hell. Cf. St. Luke x. 15, St. Matthew xi. 30 ff.

Zoroaster, cast out from Ragha in Media, may have turned to Bactria, where at last he was received by King Vishtaspa. According to the Zartusht-Nāmāh, Zoroaster seems to have journeyed for a month or so, after his first vision of the army of fiends, and then to have crossed the Dāitī, which, according to the suggestion above (p. 227), appears to have been a border river. There he receives the visions of God and the archangels, before proceeding to Balkh. The book of Zād-spāram (cf. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, transl., v. 187) allows two years to have elapsed from the time of Medyo-māh's conversion to the time that Zoroaster won Vishtaspa over to the faith. The latter event, it assumes,

took place twelve years after Zoroaster had entered upon his ministry. All this is consistent with the idea of wandering and meditation, when we take into account also the thousand or more miles that separated Balkh from Atropatene and Ragha.

Assuming the supposition to be true that Zoroaster originated in Atropatene and was then drawn toward Ragha, but thence rejected, how are we to reconcile with this curse against the Raghians (Ys. liii. 9) the fact that the same city became the acknowledged head of the Zoroastrian faith? A solution may be offered. It is not at all impossible that, after success was won in the east, in Bactria, a religious crusade was begun toward the west, especially against Ragha. Hystaspes himself may have joined in the movement; his name is sometimes mentioned in connection with Media;\* and, according to the Shāh-Nāmā, his son Isfendiyar promulgated the faith of Zoroaster in several countries. Ragha, we can imagine, may have been among these; and we may suppose that this Jerusalem—if we may with all reverence adopt the phrase of our own Scriptures—the city which had stoned the prophet, at last received and blessed him that came in the name of Ormazd. Ragha was at last glad to claim Zoroaster (Ys. xix. 18) as its head.

The assumption of the reminiscence of a severe struggle against unbelief, and of a change of heart in the people, would make clear why heresy *aghemca uparō-vīmanōhīm* as the counter-creation of Ahriman, should be so markedly associated with Ragha, Vd. i. 16; and it would explain why the scholiast in the Pahlavi version of the passage should add the saving clause, *vaēdhanhō nōit uzōiṣ*, Ragha belongs no longer to heresy, but to the faith. It has become the "Zarathushtrian Ragha."

Résumé.—If the above views be correct, Zoroaster indeed arose in the west, most probably somewhere in Atropatene. He then presumably went to Ragha, but, finding this an unfruitful field, turned at last to Bactria, where the prophet was destined no longer to be without honor. He met with a powerful patron in the king; church and state became one. From Bactria, the now organized state-religion spread back towards Media; thence down to Persia.

It can hardly be said that thus to reconcile the conflicting statements is begging the question; authority can be given for

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\* In the Yātkār-i Zarīran, ed. W. Geiger, *Sitz. bayer. Akad.*, 1890, p. 50, there also lurks, perhaps, in the words *Hutōs-i Rajūr*, an allusion to Ragha; and from them it might possibly be suggested that Vishtaspa's interest in Media was partly through his marriage, as well as on political grounds. If there is such an allusion to Hutaosa's having come from Ragha, we might perhaps conjecture that the new prophet Zoroaster was originally attracted from Ragha to Balkh through the queen's alliance. Let us then recall Augustine in connection with Emma and Æthelbert. But the passage requires further study before mere fanciful conjectures are made, especially in the light of some apparently contradictory passages in the Avesta and the Zartusht-Nāmā.

every point that has been made. All the difficulties disappear. The references to Bactria in the Avesta and in the classics are quite correct; there was the scene of the great teacher's activity. The references to Media in the classics and in the tradition are equally correct; Media in its broadest sense was the original home of the prophet; thence came the priests, for there, as Marcellinus xxiii. 6 later tells us, were "the fertile fields of the Magi." The hint, moreover, that Zoroaster after the conversion of Vish-taspa visited his own native land again, but was at last murdered at Balkh in Bactria, is furthermore given according to tradition also by Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. 2, p. 52; ii. p. 807-808, Index. The latter fact about Zoroaster's death may not have been untrue.

The conclusion arrived at is that, though Zoroaster originally came from the west, he taught and elaborated his religion in Bactria; its blossoms later bore fruit in the west. The upholders of each side of the much-mooted question are in part right, and yet in part wrong; the horns of the dilemma are at last united, the question is at last solved. Honor to the tradition where honor is due.\*

## APPENDIX.

Av. *vaēdhanhō nōit uzōiš* Vd. i. 16.

In the Avestan account of the creation and counter-creation by Ormazd and Ahriman, the text at Vd. i. 16 reads :

*dvadasem asanhām sōithranāmca vahistēm frāthwere-  
sem azem yō ahurō mazdāo raghām thrizañtūm [vaēd-  
hanhō nōit uzōiš]; āat ahe paityārem frākereñtat anrō  
mainyuš pouru-mahrkō aghemca uparō-vimanōhīm.*

'As the twelfth, the best of regions and of places, I Ahura Mazda, created triple-raced Ragha [of . . . ]. Then as a counter-creation the baneful Angra Mainyu created also the evil of excessive skepticism.'

The words *vaēdhanhō nōit uzōiš* are apparently a gloss; the Pahlavi version does not render them. They have excellent manuscript authority, however, and there must have been some good reason for adding them. As yet they seem not to have been satisfactorily explained. A suggestion may perhaps tentatively be put forward.

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\* Mr. A. Yohannan writes me that at a place about a mile from his home in Oroomiah there is a pile of ashes from the fire-worshippers, and that the place is generally admitted by the people to have been the abode of Zeradusht.



In codex K, the word *dahākāi* is added after *uzōiš*. This addition is of no value, however, as *dahākāi* is evidently due only to a mistake occasioned by the resemblance in sound between *uzōiš* and *azōiš*. The manuscript in fact itself has the word afterwards stricken out. See notes on the variants in Spiegel's edition of the texts, *ad loc.* We may therefore dismiss *dahākāi* without consideration. There remain *vaēdhanhō* and *uzōiš* still to be interpreted.

The genitive *vaēdhanhō* comes evidently from a stem *vaēdhah*. An identification with Skt. *vēdhās* adj. subst., from Skt. *√vidh* 'worship, serve, piously honor,' at once suggests itself. On the usage of the root, see the Petersburg Lexicon, s. v. The word Av. *vaēdhah* is probably best taken as a neuter substantive. Its meaning would be 'worship, service, piety.' To the same radical, Skt. *vidh*, belongs also the familiar form Av. *nivāēdhayemi* in the invocation of the Yasna sacrifice. Perhaps also here the form Av. *vaēthāhu*. The root requires further investigation, however.

For the unexplained *uzōiš* I would also suggest a connection with the secondary root in Skt. *ujh* 'forsake, abandon,' cf. Whitney, *Skt. Gram. Verb Supplement* s. v. The signification of *uzi* would be 'apostasy, heresy, backsliding.' For the religious sense compare also Skt. *brahmōjhatā*.

The gloss *vaēdhanhō nōit uzōiš*, as an added attribute of *raghām thrizañtām*, becomes full of meaning. Viewed in the light of the above (p. 230), we may well believe that Ragha, which had cast out Zoroaster, may have been a hot-bed of heresy, *uparō-vīmanōhīm*, the creation of Ahriman, in opposition to its being the chosen spot (*vahištem*) of God. In the ultimate triumph of the faith, it became the chief seat of the Zoroastrian religion. The scholiast, therefore, in adding *vaēdhanhō nōit uzōiš*, is anxious to assure us of the triumph; the city is not alone 'triple-raced Ragha,' but also Ragha 'of the faith, not of heresy.' The attribute, moreover, emphasizes the distinction from Ahriman's *uparō-vīmanōhīm*. It carries out more perfectly the dualistic system. The passage thus is interesting from the historical point of view as well as from that of text-criticism.

ARTICLE VIII.

EXTRACTS FROM THE

JĀIMINĪYA-BRĀHMAṆA AND UPANISHAD-  
BRĀHMAṆA,

PARALLEL TO PASSAGES OF THE  
ÇATAPATHA-BRĀHMAṆA AND CHĀNDOGYA-UPANISHAD.

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Presented to the Society April 23d, 1892.

THE manuscripts from which the transliterated copy was made on which the text of the following extracts is based have been briefly described by Professor Whitney in the Proceedings for May, 1883 (Journal, vol. xi., p. cxliv ff.). The first two extracts are found in the Brāhmaṇa proper, while the rest belongs to the Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa, of which only the Kena-Upanishad (= iv. 10. 1-4) has thus far been published. The text and a translation of the first piece were privately printed by Burnell in 1878.\* As Burnell at that time was unable to make use of the readings of the complete MS. A (see his note, *l. c.*, p. 6), and as his translation was in many points unsuccessful, it is thought not superfluous to print here an emended text and translation of this interesting version of the Bhrgu-legend, together with the var. lect., which may, at the same time, give an idea of the condition of the text the MSS. offer.

The remaining extracts furnish valuable parallels to passages of the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa and Chāndogya-Upanishad: viz.—

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\* *A Legend from the Talavakāra or Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda*, by A. C. Burnell. Mangalore. Printed at the Basel Mission Press. 1878. pp. 40, 24mo. (Of this only 50 copies were struck off.) Reprinted in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*. Firenze. 1881. Vol. ii. pp. 97-111.

II. is closely similar to ÇB. xi. 6. 3 (cf. also xiv. 6. 1, 9; Bṛh. Ār. Up. iii. 9);

III. 1-3 are different versions of the same legend: cf. Chānd. Up. i. 2 and ÇB. xiv. 4. 1 (Bṛh. Ār. Up. i. 3);

IV. corresponds to Chānd. Up. iii. 16;

V. is parallel to Chānd. Up. iv. 16;

VI. gives the same story as Chānd. Up. iv. 3.

Finally, I wish to express my thanks to Professor Whitney for his kind assistance throughout this work.

#### I. THE STORY OF BHṚGU (JB. i. 42-44).

*Bhṛgur ha vārunir<sup>1</sup> anūcāna āsa.<sup>2</sup> sa hū 'ty eva pīṭaram mene 'ti devān aty anyān<sup>3</sup> brāhmanān anūcānān.<sup>4</sup> sa ha varuṇa īkṣān cakre<sup>5</sup> na<sup>6</sup> vāi me putrah kimcana prajānāti. hantāi 'nam prajānāpayāni<sup>7</sup> 'ti. tasya ha prāṇān abhijagrāha. sa ha tatāma.<sup>8</sup> sa ha tāntaḥ paraṁ lokam jagāma. sa hū 'mṛṣmīn loka ājagāma. puruṣa eva puruṣam<sup>9</sup> saṁvṛccyā<sup>10</sup> 'thāi 'nam jaghāsa.<sup>11</sup> sa ho 'vācū 'bhūd bate<sup>12</sup> 'daṁ kim svid idam iti. taṁ ho "cuḥ pīṭaram varuṇam prcchāsi.<sup>13</sup> sa<sup>14</sup> ta idam pravakte 'ti. dvitīyaṁ hū "jagāma. puruṣa eva puruṣam ākrandayantaṁ jaghāsa.<sup>15</sup> sa ho 'vācū<sup>16</sup> 'bhūd bate 'daṁ kim svid idam iti. taṁ ho "cuḥ pīṭaram varuṇam prcchāsi. sa ta idam pravakte 'ti. tṛtīyaṁ hū "jagāma. puruṣa eva puruṣam<sup>17</sup> tūṣṇīm avyāharantaṁ"*

#### TRANSLATION.

Bhṛgu, Varuṇa's son, was a student. He thought himself above his father, above the gods, above the other Brahman-students. Varuṇa considered: "Not indeed doth my son understand anything whatever. Come now, I will make him understand." He seized on his breaths. He (B.) fainted. Having fainted, he went to the other world. He arrived in yonder world. A man, having cut a man into pieces, then devoured him. He said: "Ah! hath this been! What is this?" They said to him: "Ask thy father Varuṇa, he will explain this to thee."

He came to a second. A man devoured a man [who was] crying out. He said: "Ah! hath this been? What is this?" They said to him: "Ask thy father Varuṇa, he will explain this to thee."

He came to a third. A man devoured a man who in silence did not speak. He said: "Ah! hath this been? What is this?" They said to him: "Ask thy father Varuṇa, he will explain this to thee."

<sup>1</sup> A. vā vārunir. <sup>2</sup> So B.; A. anūcāna āhasa; C. anūcānāsi. <sup>3</sup> A. anyāt. <sup>4</sup> B.C. ananū-. <sup>5</sup> B. cake. <sup>6</sup> So all MSS. <sup>7</sup> A. prajānap-. <sup>8</sup> C. tatām. <sup>9</sup> A. puruṣa. <sup>10</sup> B.C. saṁvṛccā. <sup>11</sup> C. javyāsa. <sup>12</sup> C. bane. <sup>13</sup> A. prcchā. <sup>14</sup> C. om. <sup>15</sup> C. javāsa. <sup>16</sup> A. om. 'bhūd . . . pravakte 'ti. <sup>17</sup> A. om. <sup>18</sup> B. tūṣṇīm vyāh-.

jaghāsa.<sup>18</sup> sa ho 'vācū 'bhūd bate 'dam kiṃ svid idam iti. taṃ ho "cuḥ pitarāṃ varuṇam prcchāsi. sa ta idam pravakte 'ti. caturtham hā "jagāma. dve striyāu mahad vittaṃ jugupatuh. sa ho 'vācū 'bhūd bate 'dam kiṃ svid idam iti. taṃ ho "cuḥ pitarāṃ<sup>19</sup> varuṇam prcchāsi. sa ta idam pravakte 'ti. pañcamam<sup>20</sup> hā "jagāma. lohītakūlyā<sup>21</sup> ca ghṛtakūlyā<sup>22</sup> ca prabāhuk<sup>23</sup> syandamāne. sū<sup>24</sup> yā lohītakūlyā<sup>25</sup> sa tām kṛṣṇo nagnaḥ puruṣo<sup>26</sup> musatī jugopā 'tha yā ghṛtakūlyā<sup>27</sup> tasyāi hiraṇmayāḥ puruṣo<sup>28</sup> hiraṇmayāḥ<sup>29</sup> camasāis<sup>30</sup> sarvān kāmān udacīre.<sup>31</sup> sa ho 'vācū<sup>32</sup> 'bhūd bate 'dam kiṃ svid idam iti. taṃ ho "cuḥ pitarāṃ varuṇam prcchāsi. sa ta idam pravakte 'ti. sasthan<sup>33</sup> hā "jagāma. pañca nadīḥ puṣkarinīḥ pundarikinīḥ madhūdākās<sup>34</sup> syandamānāḥ.<sup>35</sup> tāsu nṛtagītāṃ vinūghoṣo 'psarasāṃ gaṇās surabhir<sup>36</sup> gandhō mahān ghōṣo babhūva. sa ho 'vācū 'bhūd bate 'dam kiṃ svid idam iti. taṃ ho "cuḥ pitarāṃ varuṇam prcchāsi.<sup>37</sup> sa ta idam pravakte<sup>38</sup> 'ti. || 42 ||

sa ha tata evā 'vavṛte. sa ha varuṇam evā "jagāma. taṃ ho 'vācū "gās<sup>39</sup> tātāṣ<sup>40</sup> ity āgām tate 'ti. "adarṣas tātāṣ ity adarṣaṃ tate<sup>41</sup> 'ti.<sup>42</sup> "kiṃ tātāṣ<sup>43</sup> iti. puruṣa eva puruṣaṃ saṃ-  
vr̥ṣyā<sup>44</sup> 'thāi 'nam aghad<sup>45</sup> ity om iti ho 'vāca. ye<sup>46</sup> vū asmin<sup>47</sup>

He came to a fourth. Two women watched a large property. He said: "Ah! hath this been? What is this?" They said to him: "Ask thy father Varuṇa, he will explain this to thee."

He came to a fifth. A river of blood and a river of ghee [were] flowing side by side. As for the river of blood, a black naked man with a club watched it; and as for the river of ghee, from it golden men with golden cups drew up all desires. He said: "Ah! hath this been? What is this?" They said to him: "Ask thy father Varuṇa, he will explain this to thee."

He came to a sixth. Five rivers [were] flowing, with blue lotus and white lotus, with honey as water. In them there was dancing and singing, the sound of lutes, crowds of Apsarases, fragrance, a great noise. He said: "Ah! hath this been? What is this?" They said to him: "Ask thy father Varuṇa, he will explain this to thee."

He returned from there. He came to Varuṇa. He (V.) said to him (B.): "Hast thou come, my son?" "I have come, father."

<sup>18</sup> C. jayyāsa; A. om. sa ho 'vācū . . . . . pravakte 'ti. <sup>19</sup> A. pitarāṃ ca, om. varuṇam . . . . . pravakte 'ti. <sup>20</sup> A. pañcama. <sup>21</sup> So C.; A.B. rohīt-; all MSS. -kūlyāṃ. <sup>22</sup> C. pravāha; A.B. prabāhu. <sup>23</sup> B. sa. <sup>24</sup> So A.; B.C. -kūly-. <sup>25</sup> A. puruṣo puruṣo. <sup>26</sup> All MSS. -kūly-. <sup>27</sup> C. om. hiraṇmayāḥ puruṣā; B. hiraṇmayāma pu-. <sup>28</sup> B.C. hiraṇmayāḥ. <sup>29</sup> A. camasāi. <sup>30</sup> An anomalous form; B.C. udacīre. <sup>31</sup> A. om. 'bhūd . . . . pravakte 'ti. <sup>32</sup> A. sasthan; B.C. vadhūhka; B.C. madhūdākā. <sup>33</sup> A. syadātmānā. <sup>34</sup> So all MSS. <sup>35</sup> A. pracchasi; B.C. pracchāsi. <sup>36</sup> A. pravakta. <sup>37</sup> A.C. ga; B. haṃs. <sup>38</sup> B.C. tātāṣ; A. om. here the 3, as do all MSS. below. <sup>39</sup> A. om. adarṣas . . . . . ity. <sup>40</sup> All MSS. taṃte. <sup>41</sup> C. ta. <sup>42</sup> A. om. kiṃ . . . . . iti. <sup>43</sup> B.C. tate 'ti. <sup>44</sup> B.C. saṃvr̥ṣā; A. saṃvr̥ṣyā. <sup>45</sup> A. rad; B. aghasat; C. vyad. <sup>46</sup> All MSS. evā. <sup>47</sup> A. 'smin.

loke 'gnihotram ajuhvato nāi 'vaṁvido vanaspatīn saṁvṛccyā<sup>49</sup>  
 'bhyādadhātī<sup>50</sup> tām<sup>51</sup> vā amuṣmīn loke vanaspatayaḥ puruṣarūpaṁ  
 kṛtvā pratyadanti. tasya kām nīṣkṛtīr<sup>52</sup> iti. yadā<sup>53</sup> vā<sup>54</sup> 'tat  
 samidham abhyādadhātī sām<sup>55</sup> tasya nīṣkṛtīr<sup>56</sup> tayā tad atimucyata<sup>57</sup>  
 iti. kim dvīṣyam iti. puruṣa eva puruṣam ākrandayan-  
 tam aghad<sup>58</sup> ity om iti ho 'vāca. ye<sup>59</sup> vā 'asmin loke agnihotram  
 ajuhvato nāi 'vaṁvidah<sup>60</sup> paṣūn ākrandayataḥ<sup>61</sup> pacante<sup>62</sup> tām  
 vā<sup>63</sup> amuṣmīn<sup>64</sup> loke paṣavaḥ puruṣarūpaṁ kṛtvā pratyadanti.  
 tasya kām nīṣkṛtīr<sup>65</sup> iti. yadā<sup>66</sup> vā<sup>67</sup> 'tad vācā pūrvam<sup>68</sup> āhutīm  
 juhōti sām tasya nīṣkṛtīr<sup>69</sup> tayā tad atimucyata iti. kim tṛṣyam  
 iti. puruṣa eva puruṣam<sup>70</sup> tūṣṇīm avyāharantam<sup>71</sup> aghad<sup>72</sup> ity  
 om iti ho 'vāca. ye<sup>73</sup> vā 'asmin loke agnihotram ajuhvato nāi  
 'vaṁvido vṛhiyavāṇs<sup>74</sup> tūṣṇīm<sup>75</sup> avyāharataḥ<sup>76</sup> pacante tām vā<sup>77</sup>  
 amuṣmīn<sup>78</sup> loke vṛhiyavāṇs<sup>79</sup> puruṣarūpaṁ kṛtvā pratyadanti.  
 tasya kām nīṣkṛtīr<sup>80</sup> iti. yadā<sup>81</sup> vā<sup>82</sup> 'tan manaso 'ttarām<sup>83</sup> āhutīm  
 juhōti sām tasya nīṣkṛtīr<sup>84</sup> tayā tad atimucyata iti. kim cuturtham  
 iti. dve strīyāu mahad<sup>85</sup> viltam ajugūpatam<sup>86</sup> ity om iti ho  
 'vāca. ṣṛaddhā ca vā<sup>87</sup> te aṣṛaddhā<sup>88</sup> cā 'bhūtām.<sup>89</sup> ye vā asmin<sup>90</sup>  
 loke 'gnihotram ajuhvato nāi 'vaṁvido 'ṣṛaddadhānā<sup>91</sup> yajante<sup>92</sup>

"Hast thou seen, my son?" "I have seen, father." "What, my son?" "A man, having cut a man into pieces, then devoured him." "Yes," he (V.) said; "those who in this world, not offering the *agnihotra*, not knowing thus, put forest-trees into the sacrificial fire, having cut them down, those the trees, having taken human form, eat in their turn in yonder world." "What expiation is there of this?" "When one thus puts fuel into the sacrificial fire, that is its expiation; thereby that is avoided."

"What second?" "A man devoured a man [who was] crying out." "Yes," he (V.) said; "those who in this world, not offering the *agnihotra*, not knowing thus, cook for themselves animals which cry out, those the animals, having taken human form, eat in their turn in yonder world." "What expiation is there of this?" "When one offers the first oblation with the voice, that is its expiation; thereby it is avoided."

"What third?" "A man devoured a man who in silence did not speak." "Yes," he (V.) said; "those who in this world, not offering the *agnihotra*, not knowing thus, cook for themselves

<sup>49</sup> B.C. saṁvṛccā. <sup>50</sup> A. 'bhyādadhātī; B.C. -dhātī. <sup>51</sup> A. tām. <sup>52</sup> A. nīṣkṛtīr. <sup>53</sup> B.C. yade. <sup>54</sup> A. vā. <sup>55</sup> A. om. <sup>56</sup> B.C. nīṣkṛtīr. <sup>57</sup> A. avī-  
 mut-. <sup>58</sup> A. aghad; B. aghad; aghasad sec. man.; C. agha ty. <sup>59</sup> A. e.  
<sup>60</sup> A. om. asmin . . . . 'vaṁvi. <sup>61</sup> A. -da. <sup>62</sup> B.C. ākranda-. <sup>63</sup> B. pa-  
 vate; C. pibaṇte. <sup>64</sup> A. vo. <sup>65</sup> B.C. 'muṣmīn. <sup>66</sup> A. nīṣkṛtīr. <sup>67</sup> B.C. yade.  
<sup>68</sup> A. pūrvam. <sup>69</sup> A. tadā. <sup>70</sup> A.B. puruṣa. <sup>71</sup> B.C. vyāhar-. <sup>72</sup> A. agham;  
 B. aghasam, aghasad sec. man.; C. ajaghandad. <sup>73</sup> B.C. e. <sup>74</sup> A. om.  
 asmin . . . . 'vaṁvi. <sup>75</sup> B.C. vṛhiy-. <sup>76</sup> B.C. kūṣṇīm. <sup>77</sup> B.C. vyāh-.  
<sup>78</sup> B.C. cā. <sup>79</sup> B.C. 'muṣmīn. <sup>80</sup> B.C. yade. <sup>81</sup> B.C. manaso arām. <sup>82</sup> A.  
 nīṣkṛtīr. <sup>83</sup> A. maha. <sup>84</sup> A. jugūpatām; B.C. jugupetām or jugupto.  
<sup>85</sup> B. tāi va; C. vāi va. <sup>86</sup> A. aṣṛāv. <sup>87</sup> A. 'bhūtāy. <sup>88</sup> A. 'smin. <sup>89</sup> A.  
 'ṣṛaddadh-. <sup>90</sup> So A.B.; C. yajate.

*tad aṣṭradhām<sup>91</sup> gacchati yac<sup>92</sup> chraddadhānās<sup>93</sup> tac<sup>94</sup> chraddhām. tasya kā niskṛtīr iti. yadāi<sup>95</sup> 'vāi 'tad<sup>96</sup> dvīr aṅgulyā prācṇāti sū tasya niskṛtis tayā tad atimucyata iti. || 43 ||*

*kim pañcamam iti. lohītakūlyā<sup>97</sup> ca ghṛtakūlyā<sup>98</sup> ca<sup>99</sup> prabāhuk<sup>100</sup> syandamāne. sā yā lohītakūlyā<sup>101</sup> 'bhūt<sup>102</sup> tān kṛṣṇo nagnah puruṣo musalī jugopā<sup>103</sup> 'tha yā ghṛtakūlyā<sup>104</sup> tasyāi hīranmayāḥ puruṣā hīranmayāḥ camasāis sarvān kāmān udacanta ity om īti ho 'vāca. ye<sup>105</sup> vā asmīn<sup>106</sup> loke 'gnihotram ajuhvato<sup>107</sup> nāi 'vaṇvīdo brāhmaṇasya lohītam<sup>108</sup> utpīlayanti<sup>109</sup> sū<sup>110</sup> sū<sup>111</sup> lohītakūlyā<sup>112</sup> atha ya enām<sup>113</sup> kṛṣṇo nagnah puruṣo musaly ajugupat krodhas sa.<sup>114</sup> tasya tad evā 'nnam īti. tasya kā niskṛtīr iti.<sup>115</sup> yadāi<sup>116</sup> 'vāi 'tat srucaḥ prācṇāti sū tasya niskṛtis tayā tad<sup>117</sup> atimucyata iti. atha yā etām<sup>118</sup> srucaḥ nirṇījyo<sup>119</sup> 'dīcīr apa utsīcatī sū sū ghṛtakūlyā<sup>120</sup> tasyāi hīranmayāḥ puruṣā hīranmayāḥ camasāis sarvān kāmān udacanta iti. kim saṣṭham iti. pañca nadīḥ puṣkariṇī<sup>121</sup> puṇḍarikīṇīr madhūdakās<sup>122</sup> sya-*

rice and barley, which in silence do not speak, those rice and barley, having taken human form, eat in their turn in yonder world." "What expiation is there of this?" "When one offers the after-oblation with the mind, that is its expiation; thereby it is avoided."

"What fourth?" "Two women watched a great property." "Yes," he (V.) said; "they were Faith and Non-Faith. Those who in this world, not offering the *agnihotra*, not knowing thus, sacrifice without faith—that [sacrifice] goeth unto Non-Faith; what [they sacrifice] with faith, that [goeth] unto Faith." "What expiation is there of this?" "When one thus tastes twice with a finger, that is its expiation, thereby it is avoided."

"What fifth?" "A river of blood and a river of ghee [were] flowing side by side. As for the river of blood, a black naked man with a club watched it; and as for the river of ghee, from that golden men with golden cups draw up all desires." "Yes," he said. "Those who in this world, not offering the *agnihotra*, not knowing thus, press out the blood of a Brahman—that is the river of blood; and the black naked man who watched it with a club, he is Wrath. That indeed is his food." "What expiation is there of this?" "When one thus tastes with a sacrificial spoon, that is its expiation; thereby it is avoided. Moreover, what waters one pours out toward the north, having washed that spoon, that is the river of ghee. From that golden men with golden cups draw up all desires."

<sup>91</sup> B.C. *aṣṭrad-*. <sup>92</sup> B.C. *ya ṣṭrad-*. <sup>93</sup> All MSS. *tach*. <sup>94</sup> A. *ta dvīr*; B.C. *te dvīr*. <sup>95</sup> A.B. *rohī-*; all MSS. *-kūly-*. <sup>96</sup> A. om. *ghṛtakūlyāḥ ca*; B.C. *-kūly-*. <sup>97</sup> B.C. *prabāhuka*. <sup>98</sup> B.C. *-kūly-*. <sup>99</sup> B.C. *pr*. <sup>100</sup> The perfect in quotation is very irregular. <sup>101</sup> B.C. *-kūly-*. <sup>102</sup> C. *yo*. <sup>103</sup> A. *'smīn*. <sup>104</sup> A. *ujuhv-*; C. *jujuhv-*. <sup>105</sup> C. *lohī-*. <sup>106</sup> C. *upriyayanti*. <sup>107</sup> A. *su*. <sup>108</sup> B. *yā*. <sup>109</sup> C. *ṣṭām*. <sup>110</sup> MSS. *sa tasyo 'tad evā 'nnam* (C. *-nām*) i (B. *īti*). <sup>111</sup> A. *ī*. <sup>112</sup> B.C. *tanad*. <sup>113</sup> A. *etā*. <sup>114</sup> B.C. *nirṇījyo*. <sup>115</sup> All MSS. *puṣkariṇī*. <sup>116</sup> All MSS. *-kū*.

*ndamānās tāsū nṛtagītāṃ vīnāghoṣo 'psarasāṃ gaṇās sura-  
bhīr'<sup>118</sup> gandho mahān ghoṣo 'bhūd'<sup>119</sup> ity om iti ho 'vāca. mama'<sup>120</sup>  
vāi te lokā abhāvann iti. te kenā 'bhijāyā'<sup>121</sup> ity'<sup>122</sup> etenāi 'va  
pañcagrhitena pañconnitene 'ti. sa ho 'vāca na vāi kilā 'nyatrā  
'gnihotrā'<sup>123</sup> lokajityā avakāṣo 'sty'<sup>124</sup> adyāi 'va me 'gnyādheya-  
syo'<sup>125</sup> 'pavasatha iti. tasya ha'<sup>126</sup> tathā cakruḥ.<sup>127</sup> sa ya evaṃ  
vidvān agnihotraṃ juhōti'<sup>128</sup> nāi 'nam amuṣmīn loke vanaspa-  
tayah puruṣarūpaṃ kṛtvā pratyadanti na paçavo na vṛihiyavā'<sup>129</sup>  
nā 'sye 'stāpūrte çraddhām cā 'çraddhām'<sup>130</sup> cā'<sup>131</sup> gacchato 'pahate  
lohitakulyām' avarundhe ghṛtakulyām.' || 44 ||*

"What sixth?" "Five rivers with blue lotus and white lotus, having honey as water, [were] flowing; in them there was dancing and singing, sound of lutes, crowds of Apsarases, fragrance, a great noise." "Yes," he (V.) said; "these were just my worlds." "By what are they to be won?" "By this same that is five times dipped out, five times drawn up." He said: "Not indeed is there an opportunity for the conquest of worlds otherwise than by the *agnihotra*. To-day is my fast-day preceding the building of the sacrificial fire." Thus they did for him. He who knowing thus offers the *agnihotra*, neither do the trees in yonder world, having taken human form, eat him in their turn, nor the animals, nor rice and barley; nor do his sacrifices and good works go to Faith and Non-Faith. He smites away the river of blood; he obtains the river of ghee.

## II. YAJÑAVALKYA AND THE BRAHMANS OF THE KURUPAÑCĀ- LAS (JB. ii. 76-77).

*Janako ha vāideho bahudakṣinena yajñene 'je. taṃ tad u ha  
kurupañcālīnām brāhmaṇā abhīsamāyagmuḥ. sa ha sahasraṃ  
gavām avarundhann' uvāca brāhmaṇā etā vo yo brahmīṣṭhas sa  
udajatām' iti. 'sa ho 'vāca vājasaneyō' 'rvācīr etās some' 'ti.  
taṃ ho 'cus tvam' nu no brahmīṣṭho 'sī' 'ti. sa ho 'vāca namo vo  
brahmīṣṭhāyā' 'stu. gokāmā eva vāyam sma iti. te ho 'cuḥ ko na*

### TRANSLATION.

Janaka the Videhan offered a sacrifice provided with many sacrificial gifts. To him then the Brahmans of the Kurupañcālas came together. He, setting apart a thousand cows, said: "Ye Brahmans! Who of you is the greatest Brahman, let him drive these out." He, Vājasaneyā, said: "[Drive] them hither-

<sup>118</sup> A. *sunabhīr*. <sup>119</sup> B.C. *'bhṛd*. <sup>120</sup> B.C. *mamāi*. <sup>121</sup> C. *abhijiryyā*.  
<sup>122</sup> A. *jety*. <sup>123</sup> A. *agnihotrā*. <sup>124</sup> A. *syadāi*; B. *saty adyāi*; C. *syadyāi*.  
<sup>125</sup> C. *'ñnādh-*. <sup>126</sup> C. *om*. <sup>127</sup> A. *ca*. <sup>128</sup> B. *juhoty anenāi*. <sup>129</sup> A. *traddh-*.  
<sup>130</sup> C. *cā*.

<sup>1</sup> A. *-ruñdhānina*; B.C. *-ruñdhāna*. <sup>2</sup> A.C. *udavatām*; B. *udacatām*.  
<sup>3</sup> MSS. *vājasaneyō*. <sup>4</sup> So also Ch. Up. iv. 4. 4 al.—Whitney, AJPh. xi. 412; B.C. *sāṇmye*. <sup>5</sup> B.C. *tañ*. <sup>6</sup> MSS. *-thāya 'stu*.

imam prakṣyati' <sup>1</sup>ti. sa ho 'vāca vidagdha<sup>2</sup> cakalyo 'ham iti. tam ha puraskṛtye' <sup>3</sup>yus. tam ha pratikhyāyū<sup>4</sup> "yantam vāca tvām svic<sup>5</sup> chākalya brāhmaṇā ulmukāvaksayanam<sup>6</sup>" akīṭāṣ<sup>7</sup> iti.<sup>8</sup> sa ho 'vāca yadi teno 'lmukāvaksayanam<sup>9</sup> smaḥ prakṣyāmo<sup>10</sup> nvāi tvām<sup>11</sup> iti. tam ha papracha kati devā yājñavalkye 'ti. sa ho 'vāca trayaṣ ca triṇṣad ca trayaṣ ca trī<sup>12</sup> ca gatū trayaṣ ca trī<sup>13</sup> ca sahasrā yāvanto nividā 'bhyūhūtā<sup>14</sup> iti. om iti ho 'vāca. [katy eva devā iti. trayaṣ triṇṣad iti. om iti ho 'vāca.]<sup>15</sup>

77. katy eva devā iti. traya iti. om iti ho 'vāca. katy eva devā iti. dvāv iti. om iti ho 'vāca. katy eva devā iti.<sup>16</sup> eka iti. om iti ho 'vāca.

"katame trayaṣ ca triṇṣad ca trayaṣ ca trī ca gatū trayaṣ ca trī ca sahasre 'ti<sup>17</sup> mahimāna evāi 'sām ta iti ho 'vāca. trayaṣ triṇṣad vāve 'ti. katame trayaṣ triṇṣad iti. astāu vasava ekādaṣa rudrā dvādaṣā<sup>18</sup> dityā indraṣ cāi 'va prajāpatiṣ ca trayaṣ triṇṣāv iti. katame vasava<sup>19</sup> iti. agniṣ ca prthivī ca vāyuṣ cā 'ntariṣam cā<sup>20</sup> dityaṣ ca dyāuṣ ca candramāṣ ca nakṣatrāṇi cāi

ward, my dear!" They said to him: "Art thou now the greatest Brahman of us?" He said: "Obeisance to the greatest Brahman of you; we simply have a desire for the cows." They said: "Who of us shall question him?" He, Vidagdha Çakalya, said: "I." Placing him at the head, they went. Having noticed him as he came, he (Y.) said: "Have the Brahmins made thee an extinguisher of the torch?"\* He said: "If we therefore are an extinguisher of the torch, we will ask thee." He asked him: "How many gods are there, O Yājñavalkya?" He said: "Thirty-three and three hundred and three and three thousand and three; as many as are called unto by the *nivid*." "Yes," he said; "how many gods?" "Thirty-three." "Yes," he said; "how many gods?" "Three." "Yes," he said; "how many gods?" "Two." "Yes," he said; "how many gods?" "One." "Yes," he said.

"Who are the thirty-three and three hundred and three and three thousand and three?" "These are just their majesties," he said; "there are just thirty-three." "Who are the thirty-three?" "Eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, and Indra and Prajāpati as thirty-second and thirty-third." "Who are the Vasus?" "Fire and earth and wind and atmosphere and sun and sky and moon and the constellations; these are the Vasus,

<sup>1</sup> B.C. pravakṣ-. <sup>2</sup> A. vidagdha. <sup>3</sup> A. purastutye. <sup>10</sup> MSS. prativyāyā yant-. <sup>11</sup> A. syuch; B.C. syuc. <sup>12</sup> MSS. unmuk-; A. -vakṣanam. <sup>13</sup> MSS. om. the 3. <sup>14</sup> MSS. repeat after iti: tam ha puraskṛtye 'yus. tam ha . . . . uvāca. <sup>15</sup> MSS. 'nmuk-; B.C. -yanaḥ. <sup>16</sup> A. prakṣāme; B.C. -mo. <sup>17</sup> MSS. tvā ma iti. <sup>18</sup> A. trī. <sup>19</sup> A. trā. <sup>20</sup> MSS. nu vido bhyahūtā. <sup>21</sup> katy eva . . . ho 'vāca om. MSS. <sup>22</sup> A. om. iti. <sup>23</sup> katame . . . sahasre 'ti om. MSS. <sup>24</sup> MSS. vasa.

\* ulmukāv- here and ÇB. xi. 6. 3. 3 = aṅgārāvaksayanam ÇB. xiv. 6. 9. 19 (Bṛh. Ār. iii. 9. 18).



'te vasavaḥ. eṣeṣu hī 'daṁ sarvaṁ vasu'' hitam'' iti.'' tasmād vasava'' iti.

katame rudrā iti. daṣa puruṣe prāṇā iti ho 'vācū'' 'tmāi 'kādaṣaḥ. te yado 'tkrāmanto yanty atha rodanti. tasmād rudrā iti.

katama ādityā iti. dvādaṣa māsas samvatsarasye'' 'ti ho 'vācāi 'ta ādityāḥ. ete hī 'daṁ'' sarvaṁ ādadānā yanti.'' tasmād ādityā iti.

katame traya iti 'ma eva'' lokā iti. katamāu dvāv iti. ahorātrāv iti. katama indrah katamah prajāpatir iti. vāg eve 'ndro manah prajāpatir iti. katamāi 'kā devate 'ti. prāṇa'' iti. sa ho 'vācū 'natipraṇnyām'' vāi mā devatām atyaprākṣiḥ'' puras'' tāva-tithyū'' mātā 'si. na te ṣarīrāṇi cana gṛhān prāpsyantī 'ti. tad dha tathāi 'vā'' 'sa. sa ha tathāi 'va mamāra. tasya hā 'pahārīṇo 'nantarena'' ṣarīrāṇy apajahrur'' anyan'' manyamānāḥ. tasmād u ha no 'pavaded. api hy evaṁvīt paro bhavati 'ti.

for in these all that is good (*vasu*) is placed ; therefore they are [called] *Vasus*." "Who are the *Rudras*?" "The ten breaths in man," he said ; "the Self is the eleventh. When these depart, going out [of the body], then they cause wailing (*rud*) ; therefore they are [called] *Rudras*." "Who are the *Ādityas*?" "The twelve months of the year," he said ; "for they go taking (*ā-dā*) this whole [universe] ; therefore they are [called] *Ādityas*." "Who are the three?" "Just these worlds." "Who are the two?" "Day and night." "Who is *Indra*, who *Prajāpati*?" "Speech is *Indra*, mind *Prajāpati*." "Who is the one deity?" "Breath."

He said : "Thou hast asked me too much concerning the deity about whom one must not ask too much. Before such and such a date thou wilt die. Thy body will not at all reach home." And it happened thus. He died just thus. His body robbers carried away at once (?), thinking it to be something else. Therefore one should not insult [a Brahman] ; for one who has the true knowledge becomes his superior.

### III. THE CONTEST OF THE GODS AND ASURAS : 1 (JUB. i. 18. 5).

devāsuraḥ aspardhanta. te devā manaso 'dagāyan.' tad eṣāṁ asuraḥ abhidrutya' pāpmanā samasṛjan.' tasmād bahu kiṁ ca

#### TRANSLATION.

The gods and Asuras contended. The gods sang the *udgūtha*

<sup>28</sup> A. *su*. <sup>29</sup> MSS. *hitam*. <sup>30</sup> B.C. om. *iti*. <sup>31</sup> A. *tasmāc casava*. <sup>32</sup> A. *vāvā*. <sup>33</sup> MSS. *samvatsara*, which might be apposition. <sup>34</sup> B.C. *ida*. <sup>35</sup> MSS. *yayanti*. <sup>36</sup> A. *eca*. <sup>37</sup> A. *prāṇā*. <sup>38</sup> MSS. *praṇam*. <sup>39</sup> A. *-kṣiḥ*. <sup>40</sup> A. *puro*; B.C. *pure*. <sup>41</sup> B.C. *-tikthyā*; see Whit., Gr. § 1242e. <sup>42</sup> MSS. *'va*. <sup>43</sup> MSS. *'ntar-*. <sup>44</sup> A. *jahrir*. <sup>45</sup> MSS. *-yam*. <sup>46</sup> MSS. *manaso 'gāyan*. <sup>47</sup> MSS. *abhidrakṣya* or *-dratya*. <sup>48</sup> MSS. *-srajan*.

*kiṁ ca manusā dhyāyati. puṇyaṁ cāi 'nena dhyāyati' pāpam ca. te vāco 'dagāyan. tān tathāi 'vā 'kurvan.' tasmād bahu kiṁ ca kiṁ ca vācā vadati. satyaṁ cāi 'nayā vadaty anṛtaṁ ca. te cakṣuṣo 'dagāyan. tat tathāi 'vā 'kurvan. tasmād bahu kiṁ ca kiṁ ca cakṣuṣā paśyati. darśanīyaṁ cāi 'nena paśyaty adarśanīyaṁ ca. te śrotreno 'dagāyan. tat tathāi 'vā 'kurvan. tasmād bahu kiṁ ca kiṁ ca śrotrena śṛnoti. śṛavanīyaṁ cāi 'nena śṛnoty aśṛavanīyaṁ ca. te 'pāneno 'dagāyan. tān tathāi 'vā 'kurvan. tasmād bahu kiṁ ca kiṁ cā 'pānena jighrati. surabhī cāi 'nena jighrati durgandhī ca. te prāneno 'dagāyan.' athā 'surā ādravaṁs tathā karisyāma iti manyamānās. sa yathā 'śmānam ṛtvā loṣṭho vidhvaṁsetāi 'vam evā 'surā vyadhvaṁsanta.' sā eṣo 'śmā 'khaṇam' yat prāṇaḥ. sa yathā 'śmānam ākhaṇam' ṛtvā loṣṭho vidhvaṁsata' evam eva sa vidhvaṁsate ya evam vidhvaṁsam upavadati.*

with the mind. The Asuras, running against this [mind] of them, combined it with evil. Therefore with the mind one thinks many a thing of this kind and of that; both [what is] good one thinks with it, and [what is] evil. They sang the *udgītha* with speech. That [speech] they treated in just the same way. Therefore with speech one speaks many a thing of this kind and of that; both [what is] true one speaks with it, and [what is] untrue. They sang the *udgītha* with sight. That [sight] they treated in just the same manner. Therefore with sight one sees many a thing of this kind and of that; both [what is] seemly one sees with it, and [what is] unseemly. They sang the *udgītha* with hearing. That [hearing] they treated in just the same manner. Therefore with hearing one hears many a thing of this kind and of that; both [what is] worth hearing one hears with it, and [what is] not worth hearing. They sang the *udgītha* with exhalation. That [exhalation] they treated in just the same manner. Therefore with exhalation one smells many a thing of this kind and of that; both fragrance one smells with it, and bad odor. They sang the *udgītha* with breath (inhalation). Then the Asuras ran against it, thinking: "We will treat it the same manner." As a clod of earth colliding with a stone would break to pieces, even so the Asuras broke to pieces.\* The stone as a target is breath (inhalation). As a clod of earth, colliding with a stone as target, breaks to pieces, even so he breaks to pieces who speaks ill of one who knows thus.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. *ddhyāyanti*, *n* struck out. <sup>5</sup> MSS. 'va *kūrvan*. <sup>6</sup> MSS. *satya*. <sup>7</sup> MSS. *vāi*. <sup>8</sup> A. om. *kiṁ ca*. <sup>9</sup> B. *udagāt*. <sup>10</sup> A. *vyadhvaṁsate*; B. *vyadhvaṁsantā*. <sup>11</sup> MSS. 'khaṇam. <sup>12</sup> B. *āṇem*. <sup>13</sup> MSS. -*te*.

\* The same comparison (*yathā 'śmānam ākhaṇam ṛtvā loṣṭho vidhvaṁseta*) occurs again at i. 1. 7 and ii. 2. 1.

## III. 2 (JUB. ii. 1. 1).

*devānām vāi śaḍ udgātāra āsan. vāk ca manaḥ ca cakṣuḥ  
ca śrotraṁ cā 'pānaḥ ca prānaḥ ca. te 'dhriyanta. teno 'dgā-  
trā dīkṣāmahāi yenā 'pahatya mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānam  
svargaṁ lokam iyāme 'ti. te 'bruvan vāco 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti.  
te vāco 'dgātrā 'dīkṣanta. sa yad eva vācā vadati tad ātmana  
āgāyad atha ya itare kāmās tān devebhyah. tām pāpmā 'nvas-  
ṛjyata. sa yad' eva vācā pāpaṁ vadati sa eva sa pāpmā. te  
'bruvan na vāi no 'yam mṛtyum' na pāpmānam atyavākṣit.  
manaso 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. te manaso 'dgātrā 'dīkṣanta. sa  
yad eva manasā dhyāyati tad ātmana āgāyad atha ya itare  
kāmās tān devebhyah. tat pāpmā 'nvasṛjyata. sa yad eva ma-  
nasā pāpaṁ dhyāyati sa eva sa pāpmā. te 'bruvan' no nvāva  
no 'yam' mṛtyum' na pāpmānam atyavākṣit.' cakṣuḥ 'dgātrā  
dīkṣāmahā iti. te cakṣuḥ 'dgātrā 'dīkṣanta. sa yad eva cakṣuḥ  
paśyati tad ātmana' āgāyad atha ya itare kāmās tān devebhyah.  
tat pāpmā 'nvasṛjyata. sa yad eva cakṣuḥ pāpaṁ paśyati [*sa  
eva sa pāpmā*].<sup>1</sup> te 'bruvan' no nvāva no 'yam' mṛtyum' na pāp-  
mānam atyavākṣit. śrotreṇo 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. te śrotreṇo*

## TRANSLATION.

Of the gods there were six Udgātars : viz., speech and mind and sight and hearing and exhalation and inhalation. They resolved : "Let us consecrate ourselves with that Udgātar by whom, having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, we may go to the heavenly world." They said : "Let us consecrate ourselves with speech as Udgātar." They consecrated themselves with speech as Udgātar. What one speaks with speech, that it sang to itself, and what the other desires are, those [it sang] to the gods. Evil was created after it. What evil thing one speaks with speech, that is that evil. They said : "This one hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with the mind as Udgātar." They consecrated themselves with the mind as Udgātar. What one thinks with the mind, that it sang to itself, and what the other desires are, those [it sang] to the gods. Evil was created after it. What evil thing one thinks with the mind, that is that evil. They said : "This one hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with sight as Udgātar." They consecrated themselves with sight as Udgātar. What one sees with sight, that it sang to itself, and what the other desires are, those it sang to the gods. Evil was created after it. What evil thing one sees with sight [that is that evil]. They said : "This one hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with hearing as Udgātar." They consecrated

<sup>1</sup> MSS. *tāma*. <sup>2</sup> MSS. *ya yad*. <sup>3</sup> MSS. *tyu*. <sup>4</sup> A. *bravīn*. <sup>5</sup> MSS. *non-vanoyam*. <sup>6</sup> A. *avatyapākṣic*; B. *avatyavākṣic*. <sup>7</sup> B. *ātmana*. <sup>8</sup> *sa . . . pāpmā om*. MSS.

*dgātrā 'dīksanta. sa yad eva grotrena ṣṛnoti tad ātmana āgāyad atha ya itare kāmās tān devebhyah. tat pāpmā 'nvasrjyata. sa yad eva grotrena pāpam ṣṛnoti sa eva sa pāpmā. te 'bruvan no nvāva no 'yam mṛtyum na pāpmānam atyavāksit.\* apāneno 'dgātrā dīksāmahā iti. te 'pāneno 'dgātrā 'dīksanta. sa yad evā 'pānenā 'pāniti tad ātmana āgāyad atha ya itare kāmās tān devebhyah. tam pāpmā 'nvasrjyata. sa yad evā 'pānena pāpam gandham apāniti sa eva sa pāpmā. te 'bruvan no nvāva no 'yam mṛtyum na pāpmānam atyavāksit. prāneno 'dgātrā dīksāmahā iti. te prāneno 'dgātrā 'dīksanta. sa yad eva prānena prāniti tad ātmana āgāyad atha ya itare kāmās tān devebhyah. tam pāpmā nū 'nvasrjyata. na hy etena prānena pāpam vadati na pāpam dhyāyati na pāpam paśyati na pāpam ṣṛnoti na pāpam gandham apāniti.<sup>10</sup> tenā 'pahatya mṛtyum<sup>11</sup> apahatya pāpmānam svargaṁ lokam āyan. apahatya hāi 'va mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānam svargaṁ lokam eti ya evam veda.*

themselves with hearing as Udgātar. What one hears with hearing, that it sang to itself, and what the other desires are, those [it sang] to the gods. Evil was created after it. What evil thing one hears with hearing, that is that evil. They said : " This one hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with exhalation as Udgātar." They consecrated themselves with exhalation as Udgātar. What one exhales with exhalation, that it sang to itself, and what the other desires are, those [it sang] to the gods. Evil was created after it. What evil odor one exhales with exhalation, that is that evil. They said : " This one hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with breath (inhalation) as Udgātar." They consecrated themselves with breath (inhalation) as Udgātar. What one breathes with breath (inh.), that it sang to itself, and what the other desires are, those it sang to the gods. No evil was created after that. For with this breath (inh.) one speaks no evil thing, thinks no evil thing, sees no evil thing, hears no evil thing, exhales no evil odor. By it having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, they went to the heavenly world. Having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, he who knows thus goes to the heavenly world

### III. 3 (JUB. ii. 4. 1).

*devāsura samayatante 'ty āhuḥ. na ha vāi tad devāsuras sam-  
yete. prajāpatiḥ ca ha vāi tan mṛtyuḥ ca samyete. tasya ha*

#### TRANSLATION.

They say the gods and Asuras strove together. Truly, the gods and Asuras did not thus strive together. Both Prajapati

\* MSS. *atyapā-*. <sup>10</sup> MSS. *apariti*. <sup>11</sup> MSS. *mṛtyum*.

*prajāpater devāḥ priyāḥ*<sup>1</sup> *putrā anta āsuh. te 'dhriyanta. teno 'dgātrā dīkṣāmāhāi yenā 'pahatya mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānam svargam lokam iyāme 'ti. te 'bruvan vāco 'dgātrā dīkṣāmāhā iti. te vāco 'dgātrā dīkṣanta. tebhya' idam vāg āgāyad yad idam vācā vadati yad idam vācā bhuñjate. tām pāpmā 'nvasṛjyata. sa yad eva vācā pāpam vadati sa eva sa pāpmā. te 'bruvan na vāi no 'yam mṛtyum na pāpmānam atyavāksit.'* *manaso 'dgātrā dīkṣāmāhā iti. te manaso 'dgātrā dīkṣanta. tebhya idam mana āgāyad yad idam manasā dhyāyati yad idam manasā bhuñjate. tat pāpmā 'nvasṛjyata. sa yad eva manasā pāpam dhyāyati sa eva sa pāpmā. te 'bruvan no nvāva no 'yam mṛtyum na pāpmānam atyavāksit. caksuso 'dgātrā dīkṣāmāhā iti. te caksuso 'dgātrā dīkṣanta. tebhya idam caksur āgāyad yad idam caksusā paśyati yad idam caksusā bhuñjate. tat pāpmā 'nvasṛjyata. sa yad eva caksusā pāpam paśyati sa eva sa pāpmā. te 'bruvan no nvāva no 'yam mṛtyum na pāpmānam atyavāksit. crotreno 'dgātrā dīkṣāmāhā iti. te crotreno 'dgātrā dīkṣanta. tebhya idam crotam āgāyad yad idam crotreṇa cṛnoti yad idam crotreṇa bhuñjate. tat pāpmā 'nvasṛjyata.*

and Death thus strove together. Now the gods were in the presence (?) of this Prajapati, [being his] dear sons. They resolved: "Let us consecrate ourselves with that Udgātar by whom, having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, we may go to the heavenly world." They said: "Let us consecrate ourselves with speech as Udgātar." They consecrated themselves with speech as Udgātar. Speech sang to them that which one speaks here with speech, which one enjoys here with speech. Evil was created after it. Just what evil thing one speaks with speech, that is that evil. They said: "Indeed, this [Udgātar] hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with mind as Udgātar." They consecrated themselves with mind as Udgātar. Mind sang to them that which one thinks here with the mind, which one enjoys here with the mind. Evil was created after it. Just what evil thing one thinks with the mind, that is that evil. They said: "Indeed, this [Udgātar], too, hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with sight as Udgātar." They consecrated themselves with sight as Udgātar. Sight sang to them that which one sees here with sight, which one enjoys here with sight. Evil was created after it. Just what evil thing one sees with sight, that is that evil. They said: "Indeed, this [Udgātar], too, hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with hearing as Udgātar." They consecrated themselves with hearing as Udgātar. Hearing sang to them that which one hears here with hearing, which one enjoys here with hearing. Evil was created after it. Just what evil

<sup>1</sup> B. *priyāṇaḥ*. <sup>2</sup> A. has between *te* and *bhya*, *no 'dgātrā dīkṣāmāhā iti*, which is struck out in red. <sup>3</sup> MSS. *avaty-*.

sa yad eva crotreṇa papaṁ cṛṇoti sa eva sa pāpmā. te 'bruvan no nvāva no 'yam mṛtyum' na pāpmānam atyavākṣit. 'prāṇeno 'dgātrā dīksāmahā iti. te prāṇeno 'dgātrā dīksanta. tebhya idam prāṇa āgayad yad idam prāṇena prāṇiti yad idam prāṇena bhuñjate. tam pāpmā 'nvasrjyata. sa yad eva prāṇena prāṇiti sa eva sa pāpmā. te 'bruvan no nvāva no' 'yam mṛtyum na pāpmānam atyavākṣit. anena mukhyena prāṇeno 'dgātrā dīksāmahā iti. so 'bravān mṛtyuḥ. esa eṣāṁ sa udgātā yena mṛtyum atyesyanti 'ti. na hy etena prāṇena pāpaṁ vadati na pāpaṁ dhyāyati na pāpaṁ paśyati na pāpaṁ cṛṇoti na pāpaṁ gandham apāniti. tenā 'pahatya mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānam svargaṁ lokam āyan.' apahatya hāi 'va mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānam svargaṁ lokam eti ya evaṁ veda.

thing one hears with hearing, that is that evil. They said : "Indeed, this [Udgātar], too, hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with breath (inhalation) as Udgātar." They consecrated themselves with breath as Udgātar. Breath sang to them that which one breathes here with breath, which one enjoys here with breath. They said : "Indeed, this [Udgātar], too, hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with this breath of the mouth as Udgātar." They consecrated themselves with this breath of the mouth as Udgātar. Death said : "This is this Udgātar by whom they will go beyond death." For with this breath one speaks no evil thing, sees no evil thing, hears no evil thing, exhales no evil odor. By it having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, they went to the heavenly world. Having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, he, indeed, goes to the heavenly world who knows thus.

#### IV. MAN AND THE SACRIFICE (JUB. iv. 2. 1).

puruṣo vāi yajñāḥ. tasya yāni caturviṁṣatir' varṣāṇi tat prātassavanam. caturviṁṣatyaksarū gāyatrī. gāyātram prātassavanam. tad vasūnām. prāṇā' vāi vasavaḥ. prāṇā hī 'daṁ sarvaṁ vasv ādadate. sa yady enam etasmin kāla upatapat

#### TRANSLATION.

Man is the sacrifice. His (first) twenty-four years are the morning-libation. The gāyatrī has twenty-four syllables. The morning-libation is connected with the gāyatrī. It belongs to the Vasus. The breaths are the Vasus ; for the breaths take to

<sup>4</sup> MSS. mṛtyu. <sup>5</sup> B. inserts sa before prāṇeno. <sup>6</sup> MSS. ne. <sup>7</sup> MSS. matyam. <sup>8</sup> MSS. gamayan.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. -ti. <sup>2</sup> MSS. -ṇa.

*upadravet sa brūyāt. prānū<sup>3</sup> vasava idam me prātassavanam mādhyandinena savanenā 'nusaṁtanute 'ti. agado hāi 'va bhavati. atha yāni catuṣcatvāriṅgataṁ varṣāni<sup>4</sup> tan mādhyandinam savanam. catuṣcatvāriṅgadakṣarā triṣṭup. trāiṣṭubham mādhyandinam savanam. tad rudrānām. prānū vāi rudrāḥ. prānū hī<sup>5</sup> daṁ sarvaṁ rodayanti. sa yady enam etasmin kūla upatapat upadravet sa brūyāt. prānū rudrā idam me mādhyandinam savanam tṛtīyasavanenā 'nusaṁtanute 'ti. agado hāi 'va bhavati.*

*atha yāny astūcatvāriṅgataṁ varṣāni tat tṛtīyasavanam. astūcatvāriṅgadakṣarā jagatī. jūgataṁ tṛtīyasavanam. tad ādityānām. prānū vā ādityāḥ. prānū hī<sup>5</sup> daṁ sarvaṁ ādadate. sa yady enam etasmin kūla upatapat upadravet sa brūyāt. prānū ādityā idam me tṛtīyasavanam āyusā 'nusaṁtanute 'ti. agado hāi 'va bhavati. etad dha tad vidvān brāhmaṇa uvāca mahidāsa āitareya upatapati. kim idam upatapati yo 'ham aneno 'patapatā na preṣyāmī 'ti. sa ha ṣoḍaçaçataṁ varṣāni jīva. pra ha ṣoḍaçaçataṁ varṣāni jīvati nāi 'nam prāṇas sāmy<sup>5</sup> āyuso jahāti yā evaṁ veda.*

themselves all this that is good (*vasu*). If in that time an illness should attack him, he should say: "Ye breaths, ye Vasus, continue this morning-libation of mine by the noon-libation." Verily, he becomes well.

His [next] forty-four years are the noon-libation. The *triṣṭubh* has forty-four syllables. The noon-libation is connected with the *triṣṭubh*. It belongs to the Rudras. The breaths are the Rudras; for the breaths cause this whole [universe] to wail (*rud*). If in that time an illness should attack him, he should say: "Ye breaths, ye Rudras, continue this noon-libation of mine by the evening-libation." Verily, he becomes well.

Moreover his [next] forty-eight years are the evening-libation. The *jagatī* has forty-eight syllables. The evening-libation is connected with the *jagatī*. It belongs to the Ādityas. The breaths are the Ādityas; for the breaths take to themselves [*ā-dā*] this all. If in that time an illness should attack him, he should say: "Ye breaths, ye Ādityas, continue this my evening-libation by my life-time." Verily, he becomes well.

Now the Brahman Mahidāsa Āitareya, knowing this, said in (his) illness: "Why dost thou attack me, who am not to die of this illness?" He lived a hundred and sixteen years. He lives on to a hundred and sixteen years, [his] breath does not leave him in the midst of his life-time, who knows thus.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. insert *vāi*. <sup>4</sup> MSS. *varṣmāṇi*. <sup>5</sup> MSS. *samy*.

V. THE SILENCE OF THE BRAHMAN-PRIEST DURING THE SACRIFICE (JUB. iii. 4. 2-3).

*ayaṁ vāva yajño yo 'yam pavate. tasya vāk ca manas ca vartanyāu. vācā ca hy eṣa etan manasā ca vartate. tasya hotā 'dhvaryur udgāte 'ty anyatarāṁ vācā vartanīṁ saṁskurvanti. tasmāt te vācā kurvanti. brahmāi 'va manasā 'nyatarāṁ. tasmāt sa tūṣṇīm āste. sa yad dha so 'pi stūyamāne vā ṣasyamāne vā vāvadyamāna āsita. anyatarāṁ evā 'syā 'pi tarhi sa vācā vartanīṁ saṁskuryāt. sa yathā puruṣa ekupād yaṁ bhreṣann<sup>1</sup> eti ratho vāi 'kacakro vartamāna' evam eva tarhi yajño bhreṣann<sup>2</sup> eti. etad dha tad vidvān<sup>3</sup> brāhmaṇa uvāca brahmāṇam prātaranuvāka upākṛte<sup>4</sup> vāvadyamānam āsinam<sup>5</sup> ardhān<sup>6</sup> vā ime tarhi yajñasyā 'ntaragur<sup>7</sup> iti. ardhān hi te tarhi yajñasyā 'ntarīyuh.<sup>8</sup> tasmād brahmā prātaranuvāka upākṛte vācānyama āsita<sup>9</sup> "paridhānīyāyā ā vasatkārād itaresāṁ stutaṣastrāṇām evā<sup>10</sup> "saṁsthāyāi pavamānānām. sa yathā puruṣa ubhayāpad yaṁ bhreṣann<sup>11</sup> na nyeti<sup>12</sup>" ratho vo 'bhayācakro vartamāna evam etarhi yajño bhreṣann<sup>13</sup> na nyeti.<sup>14</sup>*

*sa yadī yajña ṛkto bhreṣann iyād<sup>15</sup> brahmane prabrūte 'ty āhuḥ. atha yadī yajusto<sup>16</sup> brahmane prabrūte 'ty āhuḥ. atha*

TRANSLATION.

This sacrifice verily is he that cleanses here. Speech and mind are the two tracks of it. For thus it rolls along by speech and mind. Of it 'Hotar,' 'Adhvaryu,' 'Udgātar' arrange the one [track] by speech. Therefore they officiate by speech. The Brahman-priest [arranges] the other by the mind. Therefore he sits in silence. If he should sit talking aloud, while the *stotra* or the *ṣastra* are being uttered, then he would arrange with voice the one track of it. As a one-legged man, going, keeps on tumbling, or a one-wheeled chariot, rolling, even so the sacrifice then keeps on tumbling. A Brahman said this to a Brahman-priest who, when the *prātaranuvāka* was begun, sat talking aloud: "These here then have excluded half of the sacrifice." For half of the sacrifice they then did exclude. Therefore the Brahman-priest should sit in silence, when the *prātaranuvāka* is begun, till the final verse, till the utterance of *vasat* of the other *stotra* and *ṣastra*, even till the completion of the libations. As a two-legged man, going, does not go down a-tumbling, or a two-wheeled chariot, rolling, even so the sacrifice then does not go down a-tumbling. If that sacrifice should go tumbling from the side of the *ṛc*, they say: "Tell it to the Brahman-priest;" and if from the *yajus*, they say: "Tell it to the Brahman-priest;" and if from the *sāman*, they say: "Tell it to the Brahman-priest;"

<sup>1</sup> MSS. -rān. <sup>2</sup> B. ṣreṣ. <sup>3</sup> MSS. -ānam. <sup>4</sup> So B.; A. ta vid-. <sup>5</sup> MSS. -to. <sup>6</sup> B. repeats āsinam. <sup>7</sup> MSS. ardhān. <sup>8</sup> MSS. -gurūr. <sup>9</sup> MSS. 'ntarīyuh. <sup>10</sup> MSS. eva. <sup>11</sup> MSS. bhreṣannanyeti. <sup>12</sup> MSS. bhreṣannanyeti. <sup>13</sup> MSS. iyāt. <sup>14</sup> MSS. -juso.



yadi sāmato brahmane prabrūte 'ty āhuh. atha" yady anupa-  
smṛtāt kuta idam ajanī 'ti brahmane prabrūte 'ty āhuh. sa brahmā  
prān udetya" sruvenā "gnīdhra ājyam juhuyāt. bhūr bhuvaḥ  
svar ity etābhir vyāhṛtibhiḥ. etā vāi vyāhṛtayas sarvaprayaḥ-  
cittayah. tad yatha lavanena suvarṇam saṁdadhyāt" suvarṇena  
rajatam rajatena trapu" trapunā lohāyasam lohāyasena kārṣ-  
ṇāyasam" kārṣṇāyasena dāru dāru ca carma ca gleṣmanā" evam  
evāi 'vam vidvāns tat sarvam bhīṣajyati.

tad āhur yad ahūsīn me grahān me 'grahād ity adhvaryave  
dakṣiṇā nayanti. ācūṣīn me vaśat" akar" ma" iti hotre. uda-  
gūṣīn ma ity udgātre. atha kiṁ cakruse brahmane tuṣṇīm āśīnāya  
samāvafār eve 'tarār" rtvigbhir dakṣiṇā nayanti 'ti. sa brūyād  
ardhabhāg gha vāi" 'sa yajñasyā 'rāham hy eṣa yajñasya vahatī  
'ti. ardha ha sma vāi purā brahmane dakṣiṇā nayanti 'ti. ardha  
itarebhya rtvigbhyah. tasyāi 'sa śloko—

mayi 'dam manye bhuvanādi sarvam  
mayi lokā mayi diṣaḥ catasro  
mayi" dam manye nīmiṣad yad ejati  
mayy ūpa oṣadhayaḥ ca sarvā iti.

and if from [a cause] not understood—[when they ask :] "Whence  
hath this arisen?"—they say : "Tell it to the Brahman-priest."  
That Brahman-priest going up toward the east should offer the  
sacrificial butter with a ladle in the āgnīdhra, with these excla-  
mations : "Bhūs, Bhuvas, Svar." For these exclamations expi-  
ate everything. As one would mend gold with salt, silver with  
gold, tin with silver, copper with tin, iron with copper, wood with  
iron, wood and leather with glue, even so one knowing thus cures  
everything.

This they say : "If with the words : 'He hath offered for me,  
he hath dipped the dippings for me,' they lead the sacrificial gifts  
to the Adhvaryu ; if with the words : 'He hath sung the *çastra*  
for me, he hath uttered the *vaśat* for me,' to the Hotar ; if with  
the words : 'He hath sung the *udgītha* for me,' to the Udgātar ;  
now then to the Brahman having done what, while he sat in  
silence, do they lead just as large sacrificial gifts as to the other  
priests?" Let him say : "He, indeed, shareth in half of the sac-  
rifice, for he carrieth half of the sacrifice." Indeed they formerly  
used to lead half of the sacrificial gifts to the Brahman-priest,  
half to the other priests. Of this there is the following *śloka* :

"In me, I think, is this whole creation etc.,  
In me the worlds, in me the four quarters,  
In me, I think, is that twinkling thing which stirs,  
In me the waters and all the herbs."

<sup>15</sup> MSS. ratha. <sup>16</sup> A. prāndu- ; B. prā-. <sup>17</sup> B. vidadhy-. <sup>18</sup> MSS. tra-  
pūh. <sup>19</sup> A. kar-. <sup>20</sup> A. çyeṣ- ; A. inserts saṁdadhyāt between çyeṣma  
and na, which is struck out in red. <sup>21</sup> So B. ; A. -ṣaḥ. <sup>22</sup> MSS. akrṇ-  
<sup>23</sup> MSS. may. <sup>24</sup> MSS. 'tarer. <sup>25</sup> MSS. ardhabhāghyāi 'ṣa. <sup>26</sup> So B. ; A  
mati.

mayi 'dam manye bhuvanādi sarvam iti. evaṁvidam ha vāve 'dam sarvam bhuvanam anvāyattam. mayi lokā mayi diṣaṣ catasra iti. evaṁvidi ha vāva lokā evaṁvidi diṣaṣ catasrah. mayi 'dam manye nimisād yad ejati mayy āpa oṣadhayaṣ ca sarvā iti. evaṁvidi" ha vāve 'dam sarvam bhuvanam pratiṣṭhitam. tasmād u hāi 'vaṁvidam eva brahmāṇam kurvīta. sa ha vāva" brahmā ya evaṁ veda.

"In me, I think, is the whole creation etc.," for on one knowing thus this whole creation is dependent. "In me the worlds, in me the four quarters," for in one knowing thus are the worlds, in one knowing thus the four quarters. "In me that twinkling thing which stirs, in me the waters and all the herbs," for in one knowing thus this whole creation has its support. And therefore one should make one knowing thus a Brahman-priest. He indeed is a Brahman-priest who knows thus.

#### VI. SUPERIORITY OF WIND AND BREATH (JUB. iii. 1. 1, 2).

ekā ha vāva kṛtsnā devatū. ardhadevatū evā 'nyāh. ayam eva yo 'yam pavate. eṣa eva sarveṣāṁ devānāṁ grahāḥ. sa hāi 'so 'stam nāma. astam iti he 'ha paçcād' grahān ācakṣate. sa yad ādityo 'stam agād iti grahān agād iti hāi 'tat. tena so 'sarvaḥ. sa etam evā 'pyeti. astam candramā eti. tena so 'sarvaḥ. sa etam evā 'pyeti. astam naksatrāṇi yanti. tena tāny asarvāṇi. tāny etam evā 'piyanti. anv agnir gacchati. tena so 'sarvaḥ. sa etam evā 'pyeti. ety ahaḥ. eti rātrih. tena te asarve. te etam evā 'pitāḥ. muhyanti diṣo na vāi tā rātrim prajñāyante. tena tā asarvāḥ. tā etam evā 'piyanti. varsati ca parjanya uc ca grhṇāti. tena so 'sarvaḥ. sa etam evā 'pyeti. kṣiyanta āpah. evam oṣadhayaḥ. evam vanaspatayaḥ. tena tāny asarvāṇi.

#### TRANSLATION.

One whole deity there is ; the others are half-deities. This one namely who cleanses here (the wind), he [represents] the seizers of all the gods. He, indeed, is 'setting' by name. 'Setting' they call here the seizers in the west. In that the sun has gone to setting, it has gone to the seizers. Therefore it is not whole. It goes unto that [god]. The asterisms set. Therefore they are not whole. They go unto that [god]. The fire goes out. Therefore it is not whole. It goes unto that [god]. Day goes ; night goes. Therefore they are not whole. The quarters are confounded ; they are not known by night. Therefore they are not whole. They go unto that [god]. Parjanya rains and holds up. Therefore he is not whole. He goes unto that [god]. The waters disappear, even so the herbs, even so the forest-trees.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. -vidam. <sup>2</sup> B. eva.

<sup>3</sup> B. paçcā gr-. <sup>4</sup> A. 'rātrah. <sup>5</sup> MSS. 'pitāḥ. <sup>6</sup> MSS. tāṁ. <sup>7</sup> After 'piyanti, tad yad etad is struck out in A. <sup>8</sup> B. inserts after 'sarvaḥ : sa sāma veda. <sup>9</sup> B. eṣadhayaḥ.

*tūny etam evā 'piyanti. tad yad etat sarvaṁ vāyur evā 'pyeti. tasmād vāyur eva sāma. sa ha vāi sāmavīt sa [kṛtsnam] sāma veda ya evaṁ veda. athā 'dhyātman. na vāi svāpan vācā vadata. se 'yam<sup>8</sup> eva prānam apyeti. na manasū dhyāyati. tad idam eva prānam apyeti.<sup>9</sup> na cakṣuṣā paśyati. tad idam eva prānam apyeti. na śrotreṇa śṛṇoti. tad idam eva prānam apyeti. tad yad etat sarvaṁ prānam evā 'bhisameti tasmāt prāna eva sāma. sa ha vāi sāmavīt sa kṛtsnam sāma veda ya evaṁ veda. tad yad idam āhur na batū 'dya vātī 'ti. [sa] hūi 'tad puruṣe 'ntar nīramate<sup>10</sup> sa pūrnas<sup>11</sup> svedamāna āste.*

*tad dha ṣaunakam<sup>12</sup> ca kāpeyam abhipratārinam ca [kāksase-nim] brāhmaṇaḥ pariveśyamānū<sup>13</sup> upāvavṛja.<sup>14</sup> tū ha bi-bhikṣe.<sup>15</sup> taṁ ha nū "dadrāte<sup>16</sup> ko vā ko ve 'ti manyamānau. tū ho 'pajagāu*

*mahātmanas caturo deva ekaḥ*

*kas sa<sup>17</sup> jagāra bhuvanasya gopāḥ :*

*taṁ kāpeya<sup>18</sup> na vijānanti eke*

*abhipratārin bahudhā nivīṣtam.<sup>19</sup>*

*iti. sa ho 'vācā 'bhipratārī 'mam vāva<sup>20</sup> prapadya pratibrūhi 'ti. tvayā vā ayam pratyucya iti.<sup>21</sup> taṁ ha pratyuvāca<sup>22</sup>*

*ātmā devānām uta martyānām<sup>23</sup>*

*hiraṇyadanto rabhaso<sup>24</sup> na<sup>25</sup> sūnur :*

Therefore they are not whole. They go unto that [god]. So, as this all goes unto wind, therefore wind is the sāman. He is sāman-knowing, he knows the [whole] sāman, who knows thus.

Now with regard to the self. One who sleeps speaks not with the voice. That same [voice] goes unto breath. He thinks not with the mind. That same [mind] goes unto breath. He sees not with the eye. That same [eye] goes unto breath. He hears not with the ear. That same [ear] goes unto breath. So, as this all goes together unto breath, therefore is breath the sāman. He is sāman-knowing, he knows the whole sāman, who knows thus. When they say now "Verily it doth not blow to-day," he is then resting within man ; he sits full, sweating (?).

Now unto Ṣaunaka Kāpeya and Abhipratārin [Kāksaseni], while they were being waited upon, a Brahman came. He begged food of them. They paid no attention to him, thinking "Who or who is he?" He sang unto them : "One [god]—who is he?—swallowed up four magnanimous ones, being a keeper of creation ; him, O Kāpeya, some do not know—him, O Abhipratārin, settled down in many places." Said Abhipratārin : "Stepping forward, answer this man ; by thee must this man be answered."

<sup>8</sup> MSS. se 'mam. <sup>9</sup> MSS. apyati. <sup>10</sup> MSS. -ramite. <sup>11</sup> MSS. pūrṇa. <sup>12</sup> A. -kāṣa. <sup>13</sup> MSS. pariveśyā. <sup>14</sup> MSS. -vapṛjā; after this: 16 prathamānūvāke prathamah khaṇḍaḥ (56). <sup>15</sup> A. dvibh-. <sup>16</sup> MSS. nā-drāte. <sup>17</sup> MSS. so. <sup>18</sup> B. kāpeya. <sup>19</sup> So B.; A. nivīṣtam. <sup>20</sup> A. 'bhipratārim(a)navayyā; B.C. -mayayyā. <sup>21</sup> A. tvayā vā ayam pratyucce ti; B.C. ayā vāva . . . . <sup>22</sup> MSS. -uyāca. <sup>23</sup> MSS. maty-. <sup>24</sup> A. rapaso; B. paraso. <sup>25</sup> MSS. nu.

*mahāntam asya mahimānam*<sup>26</sup> āhur  
*anadyamāno yad adantam*<sup>27</sup> attī  
'ti.

*mahātmanaḥ caturō [deva] eka iti. vāg vā*<sup>28</sup> *agnis sa mahātmā devaḥ. sa yatra svapitī*<sup>29</sup> *tad vācam prāno girati. manaḥ can-*  
*dramās sa mahātmā devaḥ. sa yatra svapitī tan manaḥ*<sup>30</sup> *prāno*<sup>31</sup>  
*girati. cakṣur*<sup>32</sup> *ādityas sa mahātmā devaḥ. sa yatra svapitī tac*  
*cakṣuḥ prāno girati. grotam diṣas tā*<sup>33</sup> *mahātmāno devaḥ. sa*  
*yatra svapitī tac*<sup>34</sup> *chrotram prāno girati. tad yan mahātmanaḥ*  
*caturō deva eka iti. etad dha tat.*

*ka*<sup>35</sup> *sa*<sup>36</sup> *jagāre*<sup>37</sup> 'ti. *prajāpatir vāi kaḥ. sa hāi 'taj jagāra.*  
*bhuvanasya gopā iti. sa u vāva*<sup>38</sup> *bhuvanasya gopāḥ. tam kā-*  
*peya*<sup>39</sup> *na vijānanti eka iti. na hy etam eke vijānanti. abhipra-*  
*tārin bahudhā nivīṣtam iti. bahudhā hy evāi 'sa nivīṣto yat prā-*  
*naḥ. ātmā devānām uta*<sup>40</sup> *martyānām iti. ātmā hy eṣa devānām*  
*uta martyānām. hiraṇyadanto rabhaso*<sup>41</sup> *na*<sup>42</sup> *sūnur iti. na hy eṣa*  
*sūnuḥ. sūnurūpo hy eṣa san na*<sup>43</sup> *sūnuḥ. mahāntam asya mahi-*  
*mānam āhur iti. mahāntam hy etasya*<sup>44</sup> *mahimānam āhuḥ.*<sup>45</sup>  
*anadyamāno yad*<sup>46</sup> *adantam attī 'ti. anadyamāno hy eṣo 'dan-*  
*tam attī.*

Him he answered : "The self of the gods and of mortals, with golden teeth, violent, not a son. Great they call his greatness, in that he, not being eaten, eats him who eats."

"One [god] four magnanimous ones." Voice verily is fire ; that is a magnanimous god. When one sleeps, then breath swallows up voice. Mind [is] the moon ; that is a magnanimous god. When one sleeps, then breath swallows up mind. Sight [is] the sun ; that is a magnanimous god. When one sleeps, then breath swallows up sight. Hearing [is] the quarters ; those are magnanimous gods. When one sleeps, then breath swallows up hearing. So, when [it is said] "One god four magnanimous ones," this is what that means.

"Who (*ka*) is he who swallowed up." Prajapati is *Ka*. He swallowed this up. "A keeper of creation." He, indeed, is a keeper of creation. "Him, O Kāpeya, some do not know." For some do not know him. "Him, O Abhipratārin, settled down in many places." For this breath has settled down in many places. "The self of the gods and of mortals." For he is the self of the gods and of mortals. "With golden teeth, violent, not a son." For he is not a son ; for he, having the form of a son, is not a son. "Great they call his greatness." For they call his greatness great. "In that he, not being eaten, eats him who eats." For he, not being eaten, eats him who eats.

<sup>26</sup> MSS. *mabhim*-. <sup>27</sup> A. *yad datam aṅti* ; B. *yadi daṅtam attī*. <sup>28</sup> A. *pācā* ; B. *vāyā*. <sup>29</sup> A. *svatipitī*. <sup>30</sup> A. *mana* ; B. *-naḥ*. <sup>31</sup> A. *prāṇ prāṇo*. <sup>32</sup> MSS. *cakṣar*. <sup>33</sup> MSS. insert *mahātmā*. <sup>34</sup> MSS. *tachr*-. <sup>35</sup> A. *ka*. <sup>36</sup> MSS. *so*. <sup>37</sup> MSS. *jagare*. <sup>38</sup> MSS. *sa u pāva*. <sup>39</sup> MSS. *kāpedha*. <sup>40</sup> MSS. *uto*. <sup>41</sup> A. *rapase* ; B. *-so*. <sup>42</sup> MSS. *nu*. <sup>43</sup> MSS. *nas*. <sup>44</sup> A. *se tasya*. <sup>45</sup> B. *āhur iti mahānta hy etasya mahim āhuḥ*. <sup>46</sup> MSS. *yadantam*.

## ARTICLE IX.

# PROBLEMATIC PASSAGES IN THE RIG-VEDA.

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I. RV. viii. 1. 1-2, *īndram ūt stotā vṛ'sanam . . avakraksīnam vṛsabhām yathā 'jūram gām nā carsanīśāham*. Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, i. 103, translates "den nicht alternden, der wie eine Kuh (erfreulich ist), den die Menschen bezwingenden," and separates *ajūram* from the noun, because *yathā* shows by its lack of accent that the comparison ends there. Apart from this reason, Pischel then adduces another, viz. that *gām nā* may not be construed with *carsanīśāham* because "a 'cow that subdues the folk' is just as silly as 'a bull that does not grow old.'" The silliness of speaking of a god represented as a bull that does not grow old is not altogether apparent; but my objection to this objection rests on usage rather than on abstract appropriateness of expression. In iii. 7. 7 'bulls that do not grow old' are referred to (*ukśāno ajuryāh*), whether applied to gods or to priests (Sāyana). The silliness of the second expression depends on whether *gām* must be taken as 'cow.' The proximity of *vṛsabhām* would seem to make it quite possible to take *gāūh* as *vṛsabhō gāūh*, as Agni in x. 5. 7 is called a *vṛsabhō dhenūh*: with which compare iii. 38. 7, *vṛsabhāsya dhenōh . . . gōh*. An ellipse such as Pischel assumes for our passage seems to me with these parallels in mind rather improbable. The final words, admitting that *yathā* closes the comparison, may be rendered 'crashing down like a steer, the ageless one who like a bull subdues the earth.\*'

\* It is perhaps not impossible that *gām* may be the object associated after that understood in *carsanīśāham*, 'who subdues the earth as if it were a cow,' preserving the image of the bull by implication. In v. 37. 8 Indra has to do with a 'woman seeking a husband,' who unites the conception of cow and earth. As Indra is *mahiśā*, she is *māhīśī*; she is also *īśirā*, 'strong,' an epithet given to earth in iii. 30. 9. Yet, apart from the syntactical question raised by this construction, this cow-earth image is, so far as I have observed, as rare in the Veda as it is common in the Epic. In iv. 41. 5; x. 133. 7. *māhī gāūh* must, I think, be the priest's productive song.

II. viii. 2. 12, *hr̥tsú pītāso yudhyante durmādāso nā sūrāyām* : *ū'dhar nā nagnā jarante*. Grassmann : "die hineingetrunknen kämpfen . . nahn der Brust wie nackte Kinder." Ludwig : "im geiste kämpfen die getrunkenen . . wie das euter rauschen sie nackt." Translate : 'Swelling in their hearts (the personified somas) fight like drunkards over liquor ; being (as yet) unclothed (i. e. not mixed with milk), they make a noise (in streaming down from the vats to the vessel) resembling (the noise made by streams of milk coming from an) udder.' This rather cumbersome translation gives, I think, the true sense, and is justified by the following considerations : \* *nagnāh*, compare viii. 1. 17, 'then press the soma with the stones, wash it in water ; clothing it as it were in garments of milk, so the men shall milk it out of the *vaksānū*.' 'Naked' applied to soma means, then, unclothed with milk.—*ū'dhar* : compare viii. 9. 19, *yād āpūtāso āṇāvo gāvo nā duhrā ū'dhabhih* : *yād vā vānir ānūsata*, 'when the swelling stalks like cows with udders are milked, and when the choric music sounds.' This verse also explains *pītāsāh* in our passage. It is the music of pressed soma dropping from the vat where are the swollen stalks to which reference is made. Even if verse 12 were not interpolated (which, as Ludwig shows, is probable), the order to mix with milk has only just been given (vs. 11). 'Like an udder' is for the prose 'as when cows are milked.' Compare also viii. 12. 32, *yād . . āsvaran dohānā(h)*. I fancy—a supposition not material to the meaning of our verse—that vs. 12 belongs after vs. 8 : 'three vats drip (with soma), three well-filled holders ;' then 12 = 'the streams of soma are dripping noisily so that it sounds like milking a cow ;' then 9 : 'O soma, thou art clear ; (when) mixed with milk (thou art) pleasant to Indra ;' then 10 : 'O Indra, thy pressed soma-drops are clear ; they are asking for the mixing of the milk ;' then 11 : 'mix the mixing of milk.' But in either position the soma-drops are not yet mixed, still less drunk. It is then impossible to suppose that they are fighting with their clothes off in Indra's belly, apart from the fact that *hr̥tsú* cannot bear this interpretation. In no further instance in the Rig-Veda cited by PW. and Grassmann for such meaning can *hr̥'d* (or *hr̥'daya*) mean 'breast and stomach especially ;' but it always means 'heart' or 'spirit.' Where PW. sees 'body' in viii. 17. 6, *hr̥'d* stands in direct antithesis to body (*svādās te astu samsūde mādhumān tanvè tāva : sōmah gām astu te hr̥dē*) : 'sweet to thy body and weal to thy heart be the soma.' How can one see 'stomach' here? Compare the same expression x.

\* I waive a refutation of Grassmann's guess. As for Ludwig's translation, he first explains it thus : The soma having been drunk is freed from the milk and becomes a divine drink ; as drunken people tear off each other's clothes, so do the soma-drops when Indra has drunk them—and then adds that the passage is as good as unintelligible. In his second attempt at an explanation (which is still worse as regards the first part of the passage) Ludwig has, however, found (but failed to use) the key.

86. 15 ; 186. 1, *vāta ā vātu bheṣajām gambhū mayobhū no hrđē*. The 'medicine which brings weal and joy' when blown by the wind is not one that affects the stomach. Of the same sort is i. 91. 13, *sōma rārandhī no hrđī* 'rejoice thyself in our heart,' followed by 'in thy friendship,' which indicates well enough that *hr'd* is heart, not stomach. So iii. 42. 8 ; iv. 53. 6, *antār hrđā mānasā pūyāmānāh*. In ix. 73. 8 and in x. 32. 9 *hrđī* has nothing to do with body, and in x. 25. 2 *hrđispr'ṣ* means 'tickling the heart,' pleasing the spirit. Other cases are comprised in the formula *hrtsū pītāh*. This formula in i. 179. 5 is out of connection with what precedes, but probably gives the same thought as in viii. 48. 12 : 'the soma-drop that, swelling in heart (i. e. fermented), immortal, has entered mortals.' The plural is formal, and gives the same abstract notion with that conveyed by the Greek plural (*φρένες* etc.). In i. 179. 5 ('this soma inside (me) swelling in heart I address') it is of course possible to interpret *pītā* as 'drunk,' but see the following. The finest example to compare with our passage is i. 168. 3, where the storm-winds are described as 'like soma-drops, which with swelling stems when pressed, in heart expanding, restless, sit not still' (*sōmāso nā yē sutās tṛptāṅcavo hrtsū pītāso duvāso nā "sate*), the same comparison. The drops are personified. It is evident, if we add to this the words of viii. 9. 19, *āpūtāso anṣāvaḥ*, of the stems swelling, that the soma is in the vat. According to the usage described in the Rig-Veda, the soma is allowed to stand for a day or two before drinking (*tirōahnyah*, iii. 58. 7). When it ferments it works, "geht auf," swells, or, as the poet cited above says, 'is restless, sits not still, expands in heart.'

The place where the soma goes when drunk by Indra is given in the exhortation at the beginning of our hymn : 'drink thy belly full' (*pībā sūpūrnam udāram* : compare ii. 11. 11, *kukṣī* ; so *jathāra*, i. 104. 9 etc.).

For another image of a similar noise, *ghṛtaṣcūt svārāḥ*, compare ii. 11. 7 ; and, for the udder as soma-holder, iii. 48. 3. In ii. 14. 10 we have a parallel simile, since the udder is here Indra's belly, which might tempt us to render the close of our verse "as to an udder they come ;" but the parallels above cited and *nagnāḥ* forbid this interpretation.\*

As for *pītā*, the verb in the active middle participle is peculiarly soma's. The fact that it once occurs in the form *ā + pīta* cannot give a necessary norm. Conversely, *hrtsū pītāh* in i. 168. 3 and viii. 2. 12 means the soma in heart in the vat (or nothing), and must be identical with *āpūtāso anṣāvaḥ* in viii. 9. 19. The only doubt that can hang about *pītā* is whether in i. 179. 5 we are authorized to give it the possible meaning of 'drunk,' requiring 'stomach' for *hrtsū* in addition to its necessary meaning of

\* Compare v. 44. 13 ; and, for another instance of the 'naked' metaphor, here streams, see *dvasānā ānagnāḥ*, iii. 1. 6. Compare viii. 1. 17 (above), *gavyā vāstreva*.

'swollen' above. I doubt this. The phrase is used conventionally. The passages that explain definitely what is meant show the signification to be 'swollen.'

III. viii. 2. 14 and 19-20 : 14, *ukthām canā śasyāmānam āgor arīr āciketa: nā gūyatrām gūyāmānam*. Grassmann omits *arī*; Ludwig alters the text. As *arī* is applied to the Maruts, v. 54. 12, may it not here be said of Indra? 'Neither the hymn that praises nor the song that is sung of him that is impecunious does he, the active one, notice.' It has just been said that the worshiper like the god shall be wealthy. Perhaps 'friend,' as in x. 28. 1?

19-20 (the idea of wealth is still prominent), 'Come hither to us with wealth; do not despise us; (come) like a rich bridegroom; may (the god) not make stop (?) away from us to-day, disagreeable as a poor son-in-law.\* The *hi* of the next verse shows that it is the wealth which the poet is after, 'for we know his generous kindness.' The *mahān yuvajānīh* is the bridegroom, antithetical to the 'poor son-in-law' following. Compare of Indra-Agni the expression in i. 109. 2 (*āgravaṃ hī bhūridītvattarā nām vījāmātur utā vā ghā syālāt*), 'I hear you are more generous than a son-in-law or a brother-in-law (wife's brother).' The *ina* is not included in the negative, and *mā hrñthāh* is to be taken parenthetically; in the second clause the negative (prohibition) is separated from the verb, and *iva* refers more especially to the adjective. *Śrī* is 'wealth.' Compare viii. 8. 17 (*krām nah śucrīyah*), 'make us very rich' (not 'beautiful'). The rich (*māhān*) son-in-law (bridegroom) gives his bride's family something; the poor one is disagreeable, ungracious.† The opposite point of view is given in x. 28. 1 : 'all other friends are arrived; only my father-in-law (Indra) is not come. May he eat corn and drink soma, and go back home satiated.' For here the poet is the giver, and the god the receiver. In x. 95. 4 food is apparently carried to the father-in-law; but the passage is doubtful.‡

I add doubtfully a suggestion. Comparing the frequent appeals to Indra not to 'stay away' (compare viii. 2. 26, *ārē asmāt*; vii. 32. 1, *mō sū tvā vāghātaḥ canā 'rē asmān nī rīraman*; vii. 22. 6, *mā 'rē asmān . . jyók kah*), it seems as if *adyā śāyām*, in spite of the caesura, might mean 'to-day till evening.' The ordinary meaning of *śāyām* would be kept, as antithetical to *prātār* (*nā śāyām*, v. 77. 2). The phrase *adyā śāyām* bears then the same relation to the verb that *jyók* does above. Compare i. 33. 15, *jyók tasthināṁso akran* 'they made it long, standing.' Compare

\* *mā hrñthā abhy āsmān, mahān iva yuvajānīh . . . aṣṛīrā iva jāmatā.*

† Of course in vi. 28. 6 the adjective must be taken as 'ugly.' Compare this Journal xiii. 345, on i. 109. 2.

‡ The cases are sociologically interesting. I have already pointed out in this Journal (Ruling Caste) that the received English notions in regard to patriarchal life in early India require revision. The present passages show that the sons-in-law had separate 'establishments.' [See now on this passage Pischel and Geldner's *Vedische Studien* ii. 78, with note at the end of this paper.]



*sāyāhna* = 'eve of the day' in Mbhā. We should thus translate literally, *mó sv ādyā durhānāvānt sāyān karad āre asmāt*, not with PW., 'make stop' (which assumes a unique meaning for *sāyām*, and interprets the passage as if it meant 'do not go off somewhere else'), but, understanding that the sacrifice takes place in the morning, 'may he not ungraciously to-day make it evening (that he stays) away from us, as if he were a poor (ungenerous) son-in-law : ' i. e. continue all day ungenerous.

IV. viii. 3. 16, *kānvā iva bhr'gavaḥ sū'ryā iva viśvām id dhītān ānaçuh : indrān stōmēbhīr mādāyanta āyāvaḥ priyāmedhāso asvāran*. Grassmann : "den Bhrgus gleich erreichten jeden Herzenswunsch die Kanvas." Ludwig : "wie die Kanvas sind die Bhrgus, wie sonnen ; all ihr gewünschtes haben sie erreicht." Both wrong, and Grassmann absurd. The meaning is 'the Kanvas, (clever) as the Bhrgus, (brilliant) as suns, have completed their hymn ; magnifying Indra with praises, the active Priyamedhas have sung.' Original finis. For the position of *iva* compare i. 127. 2 (*iva dyām*, cited *Ved. St.* p. 105) ; *iva sū'ryam*, *nā sū'ryam*, i. 130. 2 ; *nā mitrām*, ii. 4. 3 ; add *iva* in vii. 55. 2. But if no parallel existed sense must still prevail over usage. For the comparison see iv. 16. 20, and x. 39. 14 (*brāhmā' karma* and *stōmam . . ātakṣāma bhr'gavo nā rātham*), 'we have made a hymn as the Bhrgus did the chariot,' often referred to as artists (artisans). And, again, viii. 102. 4 (*āurvabhrguvāt . . ā huve*), 'I call (the god) like Āurva, like Bhrgu.' So *bhrguvāt*, viii. 43. 13. For the comparison of the mental brilliancy of the poet to the physical brilliancy of the sun, see below, on viii. 6. 7-8. The word *dhītā* means not 'wish' but 'what the poet has thought out,' and so his hymn. The same use of the verb occurs in connection with other words for hymns. In viii. 4. 6, *yās ta ānaḥ ūpastutim* means 'who has got to praise thee,' i. e. has sung a hymn to thee. Compare the exactly parallel expression in vii. 90. 2, *prāhutim yās ta ānaḥ*, which can mean only 'offers thee libation.' In vi. 15. 11, *tām pāsi . . yās ta ānaḥ . . dhītīm* means 'thou guardest him that has got to commemorate thee' (made thee a hymn). The (concluding) verse v. 81. 5 has *te stōmam ānaçe* 'got to praise thee.' Ludwig gives to *ūpastuti* a forced signification which is unnecessary. It means only 'laud,' as in vii. 83. 7, *satyā . . ūpastutir, devā esām abhavan*, their praise was so effective that they won over the gods to their side (for the phrase cf. viii. 16. 5). In viii. 8. 10, *viśvāni . . prā dhītāny agachātām* 'ye twain arrived at all your intent,' the phrase differs only in so far as that *dhītā* means here what was thought about, and so approaches the idea of wish. But *sān dhītām aṣnutām* in viii. 40. 3 means 'get the hymn,' applied to the gods (compare *gīh* in the following verse). Such is Sāyaṇa's explanation of ii. 31. 7, which, in diverse metre, concludes a racing song (perhaps placed here on account of *sāptir nā rāthiyah*), a passage which contains at once the phrase *ātakṣann āyārah* and *dhītīm aṣyāh*. The modern translators vainly struggle to make the subject of both verbs identical. Sāyaṇa trans-

lates : 'these words (*údyatā*) they actively fashioned, desiring fame and wishing wealth ; may (the host of gods) like a race-horse (i. e. speedily) get the hymn.' The last part is right, the first forced, but the best that can be done with the present text. As in iv. 5. 7, we might read *dhítir*, rendering 'may the hymn reach you ;' but it is more likely that, just as in ii. 19. 8 (penultimate verse) we find *mánma . . taksuh . . sumnám acyuh*, so here we should read a plural for *acyāh*. Grassmann's "they hasten to the goal like a race-horse" is incorrect, nor is Ludwig's "as a race-horse might reach (the goal, may they meet your) intention" to be called very felicitous. Reading *acyuh* would give the usual sense indicated above : 'they have actively fashioned and (swift) as a race-horse completed this hymn.' The general sense of viii. 3. 16 is, then, 'they have made a hymn, being as dextrous at their work as the Bhṛgus.' This is a common point of view of the poets themselves, as opposed to the 'seeing of song,' or inspiration, ascribed to them by their descendants.

V. viii. 4. 6, *sahásreneva sacate yavīyúdhā yās ta ānal ūpastutim : putrīm prāvargīm kṛṇute svārye dāgnōti námaūktibhīh*. The relative in the second clause corresponding to that in the same position of the first is understood : 'as if with a thousand good battle-men he is accompanied—who makes thee laudation ; his son he makes distinguished in warrior's strength—(who) adores thee with praises.' *Sacate* as in vs. 9, *vāyasā sacate*. Grassmann and Ludwig translate the last part with evasive participles. I have no exact parallel for the omission of the relative, but it must be omitted.\* Compare a somewhat similar case in the mistranslated verse vii. 84. 4 (*indravaruṇā . . rayīm dhattam . . prā yā ādityō ārtā mīndīy āmitā gāro dayate vāsanti*), 'Indra and Varuṇa, bestow ye wealth . . who (as) the son of Aditi destroys(t) untruth, (who as) a warrior gives(t) unmeasured goods.† The 'warrior' can be only Indra, but the connection is so close that perhaps only one relative is felt here.

VI. viii. 4. 7–8, *mahūt te vṛśno abhicakṣyaṁ kṛtām pácyema turvāṣaṁ yádum* (etc.). Before reading further, it is necessary to examine these words more particularly. The construction reminds us of viii. 45. 27, *satyām tát turvāṣe yádāu vīdāno ahnavāyyām : vyānaṭ turvāṇe śāmi* (where the pun *turvāṣa-turvān* must be noticed) ; and of iv. 26. 1–2, *ahám kavīh . . pácyatā mā : ahám bhū'mim adadām āryāya*, where 'I am the priest (the god) ; look at me ; I have given the earth to the Aryans' will show that the completion of the thought in one passage is to be expected in what immediately follows : 'great of thee, the bull, is the remarkable act accomplished—let us look upon Turvaṣa Yadu.' But Turvaṣa must first be investigated, before the following is introduced.

\* Unless *dāgnōti námaūktibhīh* could stand for *yā 'gnōti namaḥ* (like *yāh . . ānaḥ*) !

† Compare vii. 83. 6, 'Indra for wealth (*vāsvah*) and Varuṇa for victory they call.' *Ārtā*, abstract.

According to received opinion, the first and last books of the Rig-Veda are in general later than the body of the work which they enclose. In this earlier portion, however, certain verses have been after appended to old hymns, which express some singer's gratitude for favors received of a king. These verses, technically called 'gift-lauds,' are usually of later origin than the hymn, and not of great historical importance for the earlier period when containing data opposed, though of interest when showing that any old use of phraseology or custom still obtains. Thus Zimmer (*Alt. Leb.* p. 129) says of the Cedi that they are mentioned 'only in a gift-laud' and in literature still more modern, and so does not claim any great antiquity for them.

Turvaça, whom some have striven to turn into a whole tribe, occurs in the earlier part of the Rig-Veda only as the name of a man. It is in the 'gift-lauds' and in the first and tenth books that he appears as a plural (the Turvaça family). It is an interesting study to see not only how modern scholars can manufacture history to order, but also how the Hindus, who are supposed to have no history, preserve sufficient historical data in their stratified literature to enable us to trace the change from fact to fiction. There is an important tribe called Yadavas, mentioned in the Rig-Veda as *yádvo jánah*, and found also in later times and literature. That there is no *jánah* of Turvaça in the earlier part of the Rig-Veda, and no tribe of that name known later,\* is due to the fact that in the earlier time Turvaça is a contemporary hero (the king of the Yadavas); only in the 'gift-laud' period and that of the first book do we find the plural Turvaçāḥ, i. e. Turvaça's family, still called Yadavas. Thus, in the opening verse of our hymn (viii. 4. 1) it is said: 'O Indra, thou art most praised at the Anava's (king of Anavas) and at Turvaça's'—i. e. at the homes of these two friendly heroes; whereas the later 'gift-laud' appended to the end of the hymn speaks of gifts received not 'at Turvaça's' but 'at the Turvaçās' (*turvāçesu*), the plural occurring only here and in i. 108. 8: 'if ye are, O Indra-Agni, at the Yadavas', Turvaçās', if at the Druhyavas', Anavas', or Pūravas'—in each case the plural is not without significance. As we compare the different passages speaking of this 'Turvaça the Yadu,' it becomes more plain that we have to do with only one person. If the great deed referred to in our text (which is, as often stated, to save him from battle by getting him over the river) had been performed for the so-called 'Turvaça people' (in contradistinction to a Yadu-people), some token or mention of such a 'people' would have survived, as was the case with the 'Druhyu-people,' 'the Yadu-people,' etc. Nothing of the sort. 'Indra helped Turvaça (the) Yadu over the river' is all the text offers us (i. 174. 9; vi. 20. 12; v. 31. 8). The only passage that has a separation into two of Turvaça and Yadu is one that com-

\* The later "Turvaça horses" may be named from the family as well as from a tribe. See *Ind. Studien*, i. 220.

memorates the same fact so often with the words 'helped over Turvaṇa-Yadū,' which show that the poet understood Turvaṇa + Yadu : 'These two who could not swim Indra helped across' (iv. 30. 17, *utā tyā turvāṇāyādū asnātārā . . indrah . . apārayat*). If, however, we compare with this verse ii. 15. 5 (*sō asnāt' n apārayat*), and consider not only that it mentions another wonder not known to the earlier version of the story as told in the account of the Ten-kings' battle (*utā tyā . . āryā . . ārmacitrārathā 'vadhīh*, ib.), but that the content of the whole hymn shows its late origin, we shall not lay much stress on this as authority for the period when 'Indra helped Turvaṇa the Yadu' (vi. 45. 1 ff.) ; for the dual belongs to the same epoch with that in which for the first time is found *yādus turvāṇ ca* (*māmahe*, x. 62. 10), a copulation unknown to the earlier period, as is also the shorter form of the name. Yet even in this later time, when outside of gift-land the legend is recalled, the old form Turvaṇa Yadu (the Yadu) obtains (as in i. 36. 18 ; 54. 6 ; and x. 49. 8) ; and no *ca* is used. The formula Turvaṇa Yadu or Yadu Turvaṇa (v. 31. 8) is unvarying, except where once for emphasis a preposition separated from its verb is repeated, with the proper name and then with the tribal name, when on account of the separation the tribal name is turned into the adjective 'him of the Yadus', where 'king' is to be supplied. We find this in vii. 19. 8 : *nī turvāṇam nī yādvaṇi ṣiṣīhi atithigvāya śāṇsyam karisyān* 'down (smite) Turvaṇa, down the Yadu-man' (*atithigvāya* etc. = vi. 26. 3). This occurs in the hymn following the account of the battle of the Ten Kings, in which appears only Turvaṇa as representative of the Yadavas. The former tale, Turvaṇa's relations with Atithigva (Divodāsa, ix. 61. 2), is barely alluded to in the Rig-Veda. Our interest in Turvaṇa centres in the Ten-kings' battle, to which I now turn, adding only that, whereas Turvaṇa without Yadu may occur as proper name in the singular (i. 47. 7 ; vi. 27. 7, where Turvaṇa is distinguished from the plural peoples conquered, Vṛcīvantas : see Zimmer, loc. cit., p. 124, who regards them as the Turvaṇa people), Yadu never occurs so, but only the Yadavas (plural) or 'Yadu-people' (viii. 6. 46, 48, gift-land : cf. viii. 1. 31), *yādva* being apparently adjective to the same family with which Turvaṇa is identified, since the latter is especially dear to the poets of the eighth book (cf. viii. 4. 1, 19 ; 7. 18 ; 9. 14 ; 10. 5).

The distinction between singular and plural is important, because through ignoring it the facts in regard to one of the few historical occurrences mentioned in detail in the Rig-Veda have been distorted by modern commentators. But another element of error has been at work in disguising the true account of the Battle of the Ten Kings. As well known, certain scholars of the day have established a theory that the 'five peoples' mentioned in the Rig-Veda are enlisted as such in the great battle described in vii. 18. How far a too great zeal will carry the seeker after truth may be seen by comparing Zimmer, loc. cit., pp. 122, 124, who sets up, after Kuhn, the Yadavas, Anavas, Druhyavas, Turvaṇas,

and Pūravas as the names of these five peoples. Now the fact is that the grouping of the plural names mentioned above occurs only in one passage in a late book, i. 108. 8, for the other passage cited by Zimmer contains only four names, and these are not peoples, but persons in the singular (viii. 10. 5), whereas the designation 'five peoples' occurs frequently in the older books, with nothing to indicate who they were. But when Zimmer says that these five were opposed to Sudās, and goes on to describe those that fought under Sudās against the five, he is only sharing in the common misinterpretation of the hymn recounting the battle. Without any authority for such a division except what is contained in the hymn itself, current criticism divides the battle-forces into two great groups: one of the five peoples with a hero or two besides, and one of the Pakthas, Bhalūnas, Alinas, Viṣṇins, Çivas, and others. How forced and awkward is the translation based on this assumption may be seen in Ludwig. There is not a shadow of reason for it in the text. On the contrary, a simple ingenuous translation gives the perfectly plain result that all the other peoples mentioned in the hymn are opposed to Sudās and his Trtsus. But we must recall the situation. The priest Vasiṣṭha is triumphing in this hymn, not only over his master Sudās' foes, but also over the priest of those foes, his rival, Viçvāmitra. The tone of the hymn is exultation mingled with scoff at Viçvāmitra, whose name 'all-friend' is played upon, as was that of Turvaça (above); while other less palpable plays on words are strewn through the song, making havoc of the witless translations of those that cannot see the point of Vasiṣṭha's jokes.

Another remark before proceeding to interpret this hymn. The battle is called always 'that of the ten kings.' Where are the ten? By confusing plural and singular we shall not find them. It is strange that, with the distinction so pointedly made in the text, our translators keep on rendering 'the Druhyus' for either Druhyu or Druhyavas. The first is 'the Druhyu,' i. e. the king of the Druhyavas, and so throughout. Now if we regard this we shall find that we have just ten kings mentioned, either by title or by name. These all are the ten kings of the Battle of the Ten Kings. They collected, besides their own, a number of unimportant tribes, as is expressly stated of our hero: he led and others followed and formed a confederation. Some of these peoples are spoken of in the plural without kings worthy of mention, probably because they were underlings of the Ten—save that, antithetic to Druhyu, we find his people the Druhyavas, and to Ānava the Anavas, especially mentioned. The tribes of the other kings are not mentioned, but their part is designated by their leader. Of course I do not mean that the Druhyu is a name, but it is a title, 'the Druhyu' par excellence standing for the king of the Druhyavas, and to be kept apart from the plural Druhyavas = *druhyūr jānah*.

A detailed criticism of preceding translations of the hymn I must waive, except in so far as the following version in support of what I have said above is itself a criticism.

The Battle of the Ten Kings, Çimyu, Turvaça, the Druhyu, Kavaşa, the Pūru, the Ānava, Bheda, Çambara, Vaikarna I., Vaikarna II., who led against Sudās, the king of the Tṛtsavas, supported only by his own tribe, and by Indra with his priest Vasistha, their own and the following tribes (who were either not believers in Indra or trusted to the prayers of the priest Viçvāmitra), viz. the Matsyas, Pakthas, Bhalānas, Alinas, Viṣānins, Çivas, Ajas, Çigravas, and Yaksavas (vii. 18. 5 ff.).

(Translation :) 5. The floods that had extended themselves he that is worthy to be praised in song made shallow, easy to cross for Sudās; but Çimyu the vaunter, and them that hated him, Indra made to be the flotsam\* of rivers.

6. First to go as leader (as sacrifice) was Turvaça the Yaksu;† the Matsya people, too, as if *dead set* on riches, followed, the Bhṛgu-people [or priests] and the Druhyu-people. The Friend crossed (his) friend from one side to the other.‡

7. The Paktha-people (and) the Bhalāna-people chimed in, the Alina-people, the Viṣānin-people, (and) the Çiva-people;§ and he who (as) 'Friend of the Aryans' (mis)led (them)—herds of cattle (for booty) to the Tṛtsu-people—(he also) came in battle against (us) heroes.||

\* A pun on *çāpa* 'drift' and *çāpa* 'the oath' of the confederated kings? Compare *çupātha*, x. 87. 15, and see Mbhā. vii. 17. 18.

† Turvaça was the *puroḍās*, 'cake of sacrifice,' a pun on *puroḍās* 'the leader.' Below the scornful imagery is continued with *paçu* 'the beast of sacrifice,' and here intensified by substituting *yāksu* for *yādu*, the ordinary tribe-title of Turvaça, which not only makes him ridiculous, as if he belonged to the unimportant Yaksu tribe, but also, by the involuntary connection of this word with *yaj*, suggests the sacrificial idea prominent in *puroḍās*, as if *yāksyah* = *yaçavyah*, not as Sāyana takes it in viii. 60. 3, but (as *yaçavya* itself may mean) = 'the one to be sacrificed.' Those that would read *yādūh* here lose both points of the double sarcasm; and that the hymn is full of punning and disdainful innuendo he that runs may notice.

‡ The Matsya people are *mad* for wealth; *niçitāh* (compare in vs. 11 *niçitāti*) can be given only by rather vulgar English, meaning both eager and destroyed, hence the *iva*. In *sakhā* we have the first of five or six allusions to the name of Viçvāmitra (see below). The word *atarat* has two senses, 'overcame' and 'got over.' It is possible that in *viçūcoh*, which means 'in two ways,' as well as its obvious application would indicate 'on both sides' (of the river, of course), we also have an indication of the pun in the verb. Compare iii. 31. 8.

§ There is no indication here that a shift from Turvaça's side (that of the Ten Confederates) to that of the Tṛtsu is intended. *ā bhananta* means 'shouted toward' ("zujauchzen," PW.) with the sense of my translation.

|| The obvious force of *ā* is to repeat *ā bhananta* (as e. g. in 19. 11, *ūpa*) which would make two sentences. As it is possible, however, that *ā* goes with *ājagan*, this cannot be insisted upon. In *dnayat* used with accusative of offering and dative of person to whom the offering is brought we have the same construction as in i. 121. 5 and iii. 7. 6; the irony is again plain. The priest Viçvāmitra has in fact sacrificed his friends to the Tṛtsus by advising battle. He is present: cf. vii. 33. 6. Viçvāmitra, 'friend of all,' is here ridiculed as *sadhantā āryasya* 'friend of the Aryan people' (cf. 5. 6); for Vasistha regards himself (in the fam-

8. Evil-minded, misdirecting the unquenchable (river), fools, they have torn apart (the river) Paruṣnī. In greatness he encompassed, lording it over the earth—(till like) a beast (of sacrifice) the (sapient) priest lay frightened.\*

With this exultant mockery of his rival's discomfiture the poet turns to the account of the panic and retreat to the river.

9. They went, as if to a goal, to destruction, to (the river) Paruṣnī. Not even the swift one came home. To Sudās Indra overgave in flight the enemy (those that had no Friend), (bestowing) upon the manly one those of unmanly voice.†

10. They went, crowding as they could around the 'Friend,' like cattle from the meadow without a herdsman—pretty cattle, prettily cast to earth—horse and foot they followed one another.‡

11. Indra (was) the hero who as king for glory's sake strewed down the one and twenty tribes of the two sons of Vikarṇa, (and)

ily phraseology : compare vii. 76. 4, *tā id devānāṃ sadhamāda āsan*) as a *sadhamāda* of Indra (and *satyā tṛtsūnām abhavat purōhitih*, 83. 4), while Viçvāmītra is only ironically the 'Aryans' friend' (Indra's title). The Bhr̥guṣ may be priests, but in connection with the others they are here more probably a clan of fighters, as is perhaps implied in ix. 101. 13, *dpa çvānam arādhāsām hatā makhām nā bhr̥gavaḥ*. Read *gavyā* (cf. vs. 10) for *gavyā* (though not necessarily, as we may translate 'who as friend of the Aryans with lust for booty led his friends,' as in vs. 14). *Ajagan* : without preposition *gam* takes accusative in the sense 'go for, attack.' Compare *gāchā 'mītrān*, vi. 75. 16, of a weapon. With *nṛ'n* compare 19. 9-10, *sākhā . . nṛnām*, i. e. 'of us.'

\* With 'evil-minded' the description continues. The antithesis to the priest by whose advice the river was 'torn apart,' and who is therefore said to 'lord it over earth,' is found in vs. 16, where Indra is the real 'lord.' The evident pun in *cāyamāna* 'wise' and 'frightened' needs no commentary, but I cannot render it into English. The antithesis is very dramatic—'he encompassed earth lording it'—'he lay frightened like a beast of sacrifice.' The subject is of course the same. Latent is somewhat the same thought in *açayat* (*pr̥thivyām*) as that which is expressed by Æschylus with *ἐξουσι δὲν λάβωσιν ἐν ταφῇ χθονός* : only here the dishonored lying is simply contrasted with the proud encompassing. There may be a sinister meaning in *adītim*, as applicable to those that died in it.

† Compare *mṛdhrāvāc* in 13. *Ārtha* and *nyarthā* (goal and destruction), another simple pun. The following clause shows that the *ārtha* was the goal of safety sought in the retreat across the river, which, however, drowned the invaders. 'Not even' the swift, as in vii. 86. 6, *svāpnaç canēd* ; but in each case the negative force is doubtful, and the reference may be to Turvaça as the 'swift' one—the swift one alone came home.' *Amitrān*, a pun as in *durmitrā*, vs. 15, depending on accent, descriptive or possessive, evidently for the third time alluding to Viçvāmītra. *Abhipitvā*, perhaps the same as *ārtha*.

‡ 'Around the Friend' (*abhi mītrām*), for the fourth time alluding scornfully to Viçvāmītra. The very clear pun in *pr̥cni* has not escaped the translators—literally 'pretty (variegated) cattle (they were and) on the pretty (earth) cast down.' The translation is therefore a little free, keeping rather the tone than the exact sense. 'Horse and foot,' yoked (horses) and (foot) fighters.' The word *gāvaḥ* 'cattle' resumes the scorn in *gavyā* (*gavyā*) of vs. 7. With the 'meadow' image compare a different application, viii. 92. 12 ; i. 91. 13. 'Without a herdsman,' *āgopāḥ* : the true tender of flocks is Indra, *gōpatih*, vs. 4.

made of them an overthrow (an outpouring), even as a clever man chops down (at one stroke) the straw upon the ground (of sacrifice).\*

12. And thou, the Thunderer, didst cast down into the water (king) Kavaṣa, the renowned, the venerable, [after] the Anu, (and) the Druhyu (kings). Then thy followers who rejoiced in thee elected a (true) friendship for friendship.†

13. Indra swiftly broke apart their strongholds, with might (destroyed) their seven towns.‡ The booty of the Anu (king) thou hast given to the Trtsu (king). We conquered the Pūru (king), the false speaker in the assembly.§

14. The booty-seeking Anu-people and the Druhyu-people, sixty hundred, six thousand, sixty strong men and six, have fallen asleep (in death). All these heroic deeds were done of Indra [for his worshiper Sudās]|| as a reward.

15. By Indra directed, these [O ye] Trtsu-people ran down like waters let loose. The enemy [they that had a bad Friend], being well-nigh destroyed, have left all their good things for Sudās to enjoy.¶

16. The party of the strong (man), the (impious) drinker of cooked (milk), the one who rejected Indra, the vaunter, him Indra smote to earth, unmade the madness of the madness-maker, (truly) divided the paths, (truly) lording it over the course.\*\*

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\* *Ni ciṇāti . . sárgam akr̥not*. The second image reflects rather the idea of *ny dstaḥ*, yet so as to combine the fall in the first. Another allusion to sacrifice in *barhis*. Compare, 87. 1, *sárgo ná śr̥ṣṭāḥ*; also, with this verse, 3. 4. In x. 43. 2 the image is inverted, *rājeva dasma*. Compare Viçvāmitra in iii. 33. 11-12.

† Construe as in 87. 3. A repetition of the allusion above in *sákhā* to Viçvāmitra. All Indra's true followers now turned from the *anindrā* side (16) and acknowledged him. Such was Turvaṣa. Notice Druhyu (king) distinguished from the plural people. Compare 19. 9, *asmān vṛṇṣṭva yújyāya*.

‡ Perhaps only conventional: compare i. 63. 7, 'thou didst destroy their seven towns when thou didst overthrow them like straw.' Also i. 174. 2, idem, with an allusion to 'false speakers,' as here in vs. 13. In the first passage Purukutsa and Pūru are punned upon with *púraḥ* (towns). Compare with *mṛdhrāvāc* vii. 6. 3, *akratān . . mṛdhrāvācaḥ pañān . . ayajñān*.

§ Probably not in apposition, but from the common use of *vidātha* referring to Viçvāmitra. The singular again or the adjective for him who is *kar' iṣṭhān* the Pūru, the king; the Anu (*ānavāḥ*), the king of the 'Anu-people' (*ānavāḥ*).

¶ Suggested by Ludwig's translation. *Duvoyú* = *durasýú*; *durasýú*, *duvasý* 'give,' as in *sudās dá*, but form and caesura oppose the ingenious idea.

¶ *Trtsavaḥ* is almost certainly *trtsavaḥ*, as the image, in view of the above comparison alone, must apply to the enemy. In *durmitrāsaḥ* we have another pun depending only on the accent. This is the last of the five or six evident allusions to Viçvāmitra.

\*\* Rhetorical antithesis to the false lord, the weak divider of courses and paths, in vs. 8. In *manyūm manyumyō mimāya* a slight alliteration, as if intended for a pun. The title 'vaunter' recalls Çimyu, who is so called in vs. 5. Perhaps better 'even a lion.'



17. With but little (help) this one thing did (Indra)—he smote a lion as it were with a goat, rent spears with a needle; and gave all good things for Sudās to enjoy.\*

18. All thy foes have bowed before thee. Thou didst find out the overturning even of vaunting Bheda—cast down thy sharp bolt upon him, O Indra, who sins against mortals that praise (thee).

19. The (river) Yamunā helped Indra, and the Tṛtsu-people (helped him). Then he utterly despoiled Bheda. The Aja-people, the Çigru-people, and the Yakṣu-people have offered him tribute—the heads of their horses!

20. O Indra, the kindness and the wealth coming from thee neither through days of old nor at present can be estimated—even Çambara, that godkin in his own esteem, thou didst cast down from greatness.

So ends the finest lyric of ancient India.† Throughout kings and peoples are kept separate. If, as is possible, the name Turvaça is a nickname from the swift escape (cf. *turā*) of the Yadu king, it explains why he is always so called, Turvaça the Yadu, while the other kings are given either their name, Kavaṣa, Bheda, etc., or title, Druhyú etc., alone. We only confuse matters when we confound plural and singular where the original makes a distinction.‡ As to Zimmer's statement that the Yadus suffered the same fate as their companions, and his insistence on the five peoples so conspicuous in this poem, to read the poem aright disposes of the claim. There is no grouping of the 'five peoples,' nor is it possible to get Turvaçāḥ and Yadavaḥ out of 'Turvaça the Yakṣu,' the first of which cannot mean the Turvaça-people; while, if it did, the latter is not the Yadu. Nor if we change the reading have we then a Yadu people differentiated from a Turvaça people.§

\* We ought probably (but not necessarily) to read *ékaç* for *ékam*. The allusions are obvious and really witty. Instead of *siñhá* the unusual word *siñhyām* (masc. acc.) is used as a pun on *çimyūm*. The lion, Çimyū, Indra destroys with little help, the Tṛtsu (from *trā* 'pierce'), first represented by the horn of a goat (*pētra*), which though small pierces the huge lion; then more plainly by the needle, which also pierces the larger spears; and this, in turn, *srakti*, is radically a reminder of the *srāj* or band of confederated kings; the only doubt being whether *srakti* means exactly 'spears.' This explanation is the only one that gives any point to the comparison, and itself shows that *tṛtsu* is not understood as 'white' but as 'piercing, destroying:' witness the meaningless translations of Grassmann and Ludwig.

† From such beginnings came the Epic, not directly indeed, as a concatenation of ballads, but with like historical lyrics as a base of supplies.

‡ I have just received Brunnhofer's too ingenious speculations in regard to the Turks and Hyrkanians in the Rig-Veda ("vom Aral bis zur Gangā"). He appears to have omitted the reference to the Shah of Persia (*parçu*) in viii. 6. 46. But it is hard to take seriously the vagaries of this work and its predecessors. Almost anything can be proved by quoting proper names with chance likenesses in any other language, and most of the matter is over-estimated *dānastuti* material.

§ It is strange that Zimmer (loc. cit.) does not state that his argument for vii. 18 rests on a change of the received text. As for the analysis

The history in the poem is, as I conceive it, this: Viçvāmitra was supplanted by Vasiṣṭha as priest of Sudās. He originated the confederation of the ten kings as a means of vengeance, careless whether some were Indra-worshippers or not. These kings, with their own and many other tribes of which they represented the kingship (as Vikarna had left twenty-one peoples or tribes under the sway of his two sons), unitedly attacked Sudās (who believed in Indra: that is, in Vasiṣṭha) and were defeated. The song of victory proclaims all Sudās' foes as those of Indra, because it included some unbelievers. Turvaça was a believer, but in Vasiṣṭha's view one with the wicked. He was however saved, and through this special grace of Indra became prominent as his favorite and worshiper (as shown in the eighth book), while the Druhyu king was drowned, and probably the Anu king, whose successor (of course with the same title) appears in viii. 4. 1 as a worshiper with Turvaça of Indra. There is nothing in vii. 18 to indicate that Turvaça was really a disbeliever in Indra, or the Anu king either, the direct imputation of godlessness apparently referring to Çimyu and Çambara, with perhaps Bheda added. The others were only associates of the ungodly.

In our passage (viii. 4. 8), the great deed of rescuing Turvaça is referred to, not as usual with the formula 'Indra helped Turvaça the Yadu (king) over the river,' but with the words: 'We will not grow weak in thy friendship; great is the wonderful thing done of thee the bull (Indra); let us look at Turvaça the Yadu; on the left flank the bull covers (him); the generous one is not angry with him—(O Indra,) milk and honey are mixed for thee; come hither and drink (at Turvaça's sacrifice).'

This seems to me the best than can be made of a doubtful text.\* Indra is generous in helping Turvaça again to weal. Compare i. 174. 9, *pārāyā turvāçam yādum svasti*. In vii. 27. 4 *dānā* is epithet of Indra. We can scarcely dissociate the verb of our text from that in iii. 32. 11 (*yād anyāyā sphigyaḥ kām āvasthāh*), 'when thou, Indra, didst cover earth on the left side (i. e. when the monsoon storm-clouds came from the south), heaven held not thy greatness.† From what was said at the outset, *asya* should naturally refer not to Indra but to Turvaça.‡

which gives as residuum on the Tṛtsu side the tribes Pakthas etc.—apart from the fact that the text does not indicate this in any way, if there were so many tribes aiding the Tṛtsus we should never have had the expressions 'the little help,' 'the Yamunā and Tṛtsu-people helped Indra,' 'the goat and lion,' 'the needle.'

\* *Saryām ānu sphigyaḥ vāvase vr̥ṣā nā dānō asya roṣati*.

† Not *ras* 'eat,' as Geldner proposes in K.Z. xxvii. 216.

‡ The translations known to me connect this part of the verse closely with the following, thus giving no explanation of the preceding, and in so doing offer the following pleasing variety of interpretations. PW.: "He hastens to the left side (where the sacrificer imagines himself to be); he is not angry with (or does not despise) our feast" (v. s. *ruṣ* and *vas*). Grassmann: "He is clothed (with a sword) on his left hip; he does not scorn the feast" (see G.'s explanation). Ludwig: "The bull rests on his left hip; his splitter does not rage." Geldner (seriously?): "The giant eats up the left side" (of the sacrificial animal)!

But the 'covering' on the left flank is perhaps to be taken here rather metaphorically, as if the god were Turvaṣa's ally, and occupied that post of protection and honor. Thus, on the third day of the great battle described in the Mahābhārata, the left side is occupied by the best knight of the Pāndus, Arjuna; and on the sixteenth day, when Arjuna makes all the arrangements, he stations his bravest brother Bhīma on the left, and stands himself with the king in the middle (see description in vol. xiii. of this Journal, pp. 208, 216). Indra is now Turvaṣa's *goptar*, to use the Epic expression.\*

VII. viii. 5. 19, *yó ha vām mādhuṇo dr̥tir āhito rathacārsane: tātaḥ pibatam aṣvinā. — tēna no vājīnīvasū pāṇve tokāya śām gāve: vāhatam pīvarīr īśah.* Ludwig objects to *rathacārsana* as 'box of the car,' because it is absurd to invite the Aṣvins to drink from their own bag; and he regards the *dr̥tiḥ* as a bag of sweets placed 'on the way of the car,' a sort of improvised restaurant, construing *tēna* as 'for the sake of this.'

The objection will not hold good. The bag of sweets is expressly stated to be attached to the Aṣvins' car. Compare iv. 45. 1, *dr̥tis turīyo mādhuṇo vīrapāte . . .* (3) *dr̥tim vahethe mādhumantam aṣvinā.* The construction of *tēna* is one with that in vii. 69. 5, *yó ha syá vām rathirā . . rāthah . . tēna nah śām yór . . ny aṣvinā vāhatam.* It may sound odd to invite the Aṣvins thus, but no modern etiquette can separate the two *dr̥tis* mentioned above.

VIII. viii. 5. 33, *éha vām prusitāpsavo váyo vahantu parñinah* etc. What does *prusitāpsu* mean? PW. defines *á-psu* as 'without food' (*psu* = *psā*), and then, rather dogmatically, gives to *psu* the meaning of 'appearance' alone. I hold, on the contrary, that *psu* means only food, both in composition and in *psár*, which is the independent form. In certain compounds, the best example for the definition of PW. being *arunāpsu* applied to the dawn, *psu* appears to have the meaning assigned to it by the Lexicon. Yet even in this best example the comparison of *ghr-tápratīkām usāsam ná devīm*, vii. 85. 1, shows that, however much better the Lexicon's translation may suit our esthetic taste, the epithet of 'food-faced' is one not unknown to the Vedic poets; nor do the other compounds *āhrutapsu*, *ṛtapsū* (the Aṣvins) require the meaning 'form, appearance' for *psu*. On the contrary, these compounds are applied to the gods that bring dew and rain, which are often enough interpreted and referred to as food. Moreover, *psā*, from which it is difficult to separate *psu*, means only 'food,' and *psáras* only 'feast.' That other epithet of the

\* I am rather doubtful about the propriety of admitting Epic battle-terms into the Rig-Veda, but see no other way of explaining the 'left hip' ('wing' or 'side' in Epic language), especially as this is a very natural expression in warfare of any date. Apropos of the 'needle' mentioned above, this is the formal name of a 'battle-array' in the Mahābhārata, but is too technical a term to be used here for elucidation (loc. cit., pp. 205, 206, 211).

Açvins' car, *viçvâpsnya*, can scarcely be otherwise understood; the car is preëminently one of food (vii. 71. 4). Of the compounds of *psu* mistranslated by PW. and Grassmann, *vr'sapsu*, applied to the Maruts and their chariot, means 'having strong (rain) food : ' compare *vr'sabhânu*. *Prusitâpsu*, applied to the Açvins' steeds which bring nourishment, reminds us of x. 26. 3, (*Pâśâ*) *abhî psûrah prusâyati*. The word *arunâpsu* gives a combination of 'bearing food' and 'the food is red.' Now *arunâ* applied to the dew is not strange, since the food is regarded as *ghrtâ* or as heavenly soma, and the latter has often the epithet *arunâ*—which again, applied not only to soma, but in generalized expression (*vâsu*, Grassmann), has, as is the case with so many light-color words, rather the meaning of 'brilliant' than that of a definite shade. We must choose between a meaning applicable everywhere and one that may apply in some cases and cannot in others (*â-psu* and the cognates *psûr*, *psû*, *psûras*). I maintain therefore that *psu* means 'food' alone.\*

IX. viii. 5. 36, *yuvâm mrgâm jâgrvânsam svâdatho vâ vrşan-vasû : tâ nah prñktam iṣṭ rayim*. Ludwig's attempt to elucidate this passage by the substitution of *svâpathah* for *svâdathah* fails to satisfy, for two reasons. First, antecedently, because to indulge in conjectural readings without having exhausted all possible means of obtaining a good sense from the *textus receptus* is the worst possible kind of exegesis for a text so carefully handed down; and secondly, because, according to the Vedic way of looking at things, the dawn, here symbolized by the Açvins, instead of putting the beasts to sleep, wakes them up, as it does the rest of the world. Compare iv. 51. 5, *prabodhâyantir usasah sasântam dvipâc cātuspâc carithāya jivām* 'ye dawns, awaking the sleeping, biped and quadruped, to go alive.' To seek an antithesis between sleeping and waking, such as is given in x. 164. 3, is not here admissible. Grassmann, on the other hand, translates (as does the minor PW.) "you like (enjoy) the lively beast," and explains beast as soma.

Despite these authorities, I think that *svad* in no case in the Rig-Veda means 'like,' or 'taste,' but always (literally or metaphorically) 'sweeten, purify.' The sense of the solitary verb must be taken from that of the verb as half explained by the adjuncts that modify it. These adjuncts all point to 'sweeten' as the meaning of the simple root. The cases are not many, and are easily reviewed. In x. 110. 10 the sacrificial post and Agni are together invoked with the words: *vānaspātih . . agnih svādantu havyām mādhanū ghr̥tēna*; also, ib. 2, *svadayā (yānām mādhvā)*. Here 'sweeten' is obviously the proper translation, as is shown by *mādhunā*. But, if so, then in x. 70. 10, where the same author of sweetness is invoked, the same sense must apply :

\* See now the paper read at the same meeting by Dr. Jackson on *psu*. Add to the above *viçvâpsur yajñah*, clearly explained as 'food-full' by the following *prāyasvantah* in x. 77. 4.

*vānaspate . . svādāti devāḥ kṛnāvad dhavāṁsi.* And this must also hold good for i. 188. 10, where the post and Agni are again invoked, the latter with the words *agnir havyāni sisvadat.* But we have gained another point by this collocation : Agni sweetens the oblation. Then in iii. 14. 7, *sārvam tād agne amṛta svadehā,* why need we assume a new meaning for *svad*? Plainly Agni is invoked to 'sweeten,' as before. And in iii. 54. 22, *svādasva havyā sām īso didīhi . . agne,* to translate 'enjoy' is to go outside in order to get what lies within ; we must render 'make sweet for thy self the oblation.' Agni is the agent that sweetens the mixture.\* Hence in ii. 1. 14, *agne . . tvāyā mātāsah svadanta āsūtīm,* the meaning must again be 'through thy agency men sweeten for themselves the soma ;' not 'taste.' And when the middle is used without object the reflexive sense gives the best meaning. Thus, ix. 74. 9, *svādasvēndrāya pavamāna pitāye,* 'O soma, be sweet to drink,' literally 'sweeten thyself.' It will be observed that the application is almost always to soma as the object and to fire as the subject, extending also to the verbal noun, as when in v. 7. 6 Agni is called the *svādanah pitūnām.* In the one case remaining, where the gods in general take Agni's place (vii. 2. 2, *svādanti devā ubhāyāni havyā,* on account of *ubhāyāni*), there is no reason for supposing a change of sense. Quite metaphorical, on the other hand, is the use of the verb in ix. (104. 1 and) 105. 1, *śiśuṁ nā yajñāḥ pāri bhūṣata* and *svadāyantu gūrtibhiḥ.* Here the sense of 'sweeten' is explained by the equivalent in 104. 1, and is the same as in viii. 49. 5 compared with ib. 50. 5 (Vāl. 1 and 2). In these passages soma is sweetened by song or [song] by milk.†

But these practically exhaust all cases where 'enjoy' can be maintained at all as the meaning of *svad*. For in i. 119. 2 *svādāni gharmām* (for the Aṅvins) is admitted to mean 'I sweeten the hot drink ;' and in ix. 62. 5 *ṣubhrām āndhaḥ . . svādanti gā vaḥ pāyobhiḥ* is worth mentioning only because the milk-sweetened soma here mentioned is further described in vs. 6 by the use of *ācūṣubhan*, which explains, if explanation be needed, the 'sweeten' above as equivalent to 'make pure, agreeable.' With this slight extension of meaning (quite different from 'enjoy') we have a sense that fits the use of the root not only in its present form but in the related *svāḥ sud, sūd.* "The yellow (soma) becomes sweet" is Ludwig's correct translation of *svādate* in ix.

\* Compare iii. 4. 2, (*agne*) *imām yajñām mādhumantam kṛdhī* It is not therefore even necessary to modify 'sweeten' to 'purify' so far as Agni's work is concerned. The use here is metaphorical. Agni sweetens, i. e. makes pleasant (by cooking), and so is even said to provide the food. Compare i. 46. 4, 'the lover of the waters (Agni) fills the Aṅvins with oblations' when their buffaloes have brought the car at dawn. Compare *πῆπρον* 'mellow, pleasant.'

† Vāl. 2. 5, *yām te svādāvant svādanti gūrtāyaḥ pāurē chandayase havām* ; ib. 1. 5, *svadhāvānt svadāyanti dhenavaḥ.* In the latter *stōmam* is the received object ; *sōmam*, Grassmann. PW. assumes a *svad* = 'entice' for ix. 105. 1 (viii. 5. 36 is now rendered 'enjoy').

68. 2 ; and in the tag to the preceding hymn the food which is 'purified and sweetened by Mātariṣvan' (*pūtām svaditām*) is (ib. 67. 32) explained as 'milk, butter, honey, and water.' It is this simple extension of 'sweet' to 'pure' that to my mind explains all the ramifications of the root in its various forms, and does away with the necessity of assuming a *svad*, while connecting *sūl* and *svad*. The only case that remains for consideration under *svad* itself is ii. 4. 7, *asvadayān nā bhūma*, where Agni neither 'tastes' the earth (Grassmann), nor 'spices' it (PW. and Ludwig), but sweetens, i. e. purifies it, a very proper expression. As for what remains, *agnisvāttā*, like *svādātē* above, means not 'enjoyed by Agni' but 'purified by Agni'; *sūd* has never the meaning of 'enjoy';\* and lastly *sud* in viii. 17. 6, *svādūs te astu saṁsūde . . . sōmah*, means 'sweet for sweetening thy body.'

viii. 5. 36, in accordance with the facts stated above, means (*svādathah*) 'ye sweeten' or 'ye purify' or 'ye make right' the beast (*mṛgām*).

The subject is the Aṣvins. These gods, besides being associated with Dadhikrā, iii. 20. 1 etc., are particularly described as possessors of a wonder-beast, *mṛgā*, strongly resembling the classic Nandini (compare iii. 58. 1 and the *sabardūghā* cow). The question, therefore, arises whether we are at liberty to separate this *mṛgā* from the one alluded to in our passage. In the verses immediately preceding especial weight is laid upon the steeds of the Aṣvins, which are described as 'hawks' (vss. 7, 33), and bear the epithet *pruṣītāpsarah* (33, see the last paragraph); but are again 'swift-footed horses' (35); the car itself being one that 'goes with nourishment' (compare i. 180. 1, *vām pavāyah prusāyan mādhrāh*).

In the quotation given above apropos of *rathacārṣaṇa*, the bag of sweets is reckoned as 'a fourth' on the Aṣvins' car. A fourth what? The text reads, iv. 45. 1-4, *prkṣāso asmīn (rāthe) mīthunā údhi trāyo dr̥tis turtiyo mādhuho vi rapçate : úd vām prkṣāso mādhumanta irate rāthā ācvāsaḥ . . priyām mādhuṇe yuñjāthām rātham . . : haṁsāso yē vām mādhumanto asrūḍho hīranyaparnā uhāva uṣarbūdhaḥ : udapṛūto mandino mandinispṛçah*. Here we have another of the mild puns with which the Rig-Veda teems. It is impossible to separate these *prkṣāsaḥ* from the *saptā prkṣāsāḥ* of iii. 4. 7. The gods themselves are *prkṣāḥ* (x. 65. 4 : compare Pischel, *Ved. St.* i. 96). The meaning hovers between 'lively' and 'life, means of life' (*vividus, victus*). The passage may be rendered thus: 'upon that car are three pairs full-of-life; the fourth, a bag, is dripping sweets. Up start [at dawn's appearance] your cars and horses full-of-life, having sweets. Yoke for sweetness the dear car; your birds, which have sweetness, which

\* All the secondary meanings attributed to *sūd* go back to the simple idea of 'sweeten,' whence 'purify, make agreeable, make right,' etc. The Epic use = 'kill' must, I think, be explained in the light of *agnisvāttā* (something like 'send to glory' = 'kill' in English), which is first applied to the purified seers.

injure not, have golden wings, are carriers (?), wake at dawn, bathe in (dew) water, with rejoicing touching the joyous (drink).’ The Aṅvins’ car is a wonder-car (*purumāyāh*, i. 119. 1): compare v. 78. 3; vii. 69. 1), and is drawn, as above, by steeds which are horses or birds (flamingoes, hawks), while the whole is represented as a ship (i. 46. 3; 116. 3; 183. 1—a later view?). The three-fold character of every thing in and about the car (i. 34; 118. 2) may be explained by the three-fold morning light which it represents.\* The car rises with or just before the dawn (iii. 39. 3; 58. 1). The water and nourishment is the dew, which like Indra’s rain is a heavenly equivalent of the drink below. The bag is a cloud, or whatever is supposed to hold the dew. So far no special *mṛgāh*. But the sustenance-holder is not only a bag as above, but also figured as a *rāsabhah* (ἔρση). The Aṅvins themselves are like buffaloes and flamingoes (v. 78. 1 ff: compare viii. 35. 7 ff.);† and their beasts, besides being represented as horses, hawks, and flamingoes, are also portrayed as buffaloes (‘hump-beasts,’ i. 134. 3 etc.). The dew-animal (*rāsabhah*, of course with the fruitful play of sense translatable by ἔρση, ἄρσην) is, however, always singular, and distinct from the plural *kakuhāh*. Moreover, the *rāsabhah* is the one prominent animal (i. 34. 9), like the *dr’tih*; and in fact the *dr’tih* is the tamer image, if it be an image, of what is strongly personified in *rāsabhah*. As all the animals of this variegated pair interchange, we find without much astonishment that the special wonder-beast is not always the same creature; but the important point is that the Aṅvins have one special animal at each occurrence, whether he be for the time being ass, horse, or buffalo. Thus, in i. 116. 7 the Aṅvins fill the jars on earth with ‘liquor’ (*sūrā*, dew, as rain is *sómah*) by emptying it ‘out of the horse’s hoof’ (repeated 117. 6, with ‘sweets’ substituted for ‘liquor’). But, on the other hand, just as *prkśāh* are on the car, and yet this word is attribute of the steeds (above, iv. 45. 1), so the bag of sweets is also represented by the ‘hump-beast’ making sustenance for mortals. Thus, in v. 75. 4, after saying that the *vāṇīcī* is fastened (*āhitā*: compare the bag above, viii. 5. 19) to the car, the poet adds *utā vān kakuhó mṛgāh pr’ksāh krnoti vāpusāh* ‘your marvellous hump-beast makes nourishment.’ There is then a double play in *prkśāh* . . . *dr’tis turīyah* above, viz. on quick and quickening and on horse and food (there is possibly a pun intended in *turīyah*, *turī*, *turīpu*). Therefore the pairs are with careful looseness said to be *ādhi ráthe*, as if of food, while evidently identical with the steeds

\* \* The three-fold light is white, red, and yellow. The red is the dawn which mounts the Aṅvins’ car, then ‘gleaming,’ without special color, *pūruṣeन्द्रā* (viii. 5. 32, the Aṅvins when first appearing; their car, vii. 72. 1). When dawn takes her place in the car it becomes red (i. 118. 5), but afterwards preëminently yellow (golden, iv. 45. 4; viii. 5. 35). The red which follows the white disappears in yellow at sunrise.

† They are themselves like a bag in viii. 87. 1 (*krivir ná séka āgatam*), as is Indra (*vṛṣabhā*) in i. 30. 1. I fancy both *dr’tih* and *krivir* should be translated ‘cloud (bag).’

of the next verse (which rise, *udirate*, as birds). There can be no doubt whatever that the steeds of the Aṇvins are at times conceived as food itself. Compare viii. 85. 7, *yuñjāthām rāsabham*, with viii. 22. 9, *yuñjāthām pīvarir īsah*; and this again with viii. 5. 20, *vāhatam pīvarir īsah*; and recall 6. 19 (above), where the Aṇvins drink from their own bag.

Such is in my view the *mṛgāh* of our passage, and *mṛgān jā-grvānsān svādathah* is equivalent to 'you make the (dew-)animal sweet (for us) as he grows lively' (wakes at dawn: compare *usarbūdh* above, iv. 45. 4), with which agrees well the following: *tā nah priktam isā rayin*, i. e. 'as such (as gods who come in a golden car and sweeten food for us) mix with (this) sustenance wealth for us' (perhaps a conscious reference in *pre* to *prks*). The gods come for a feast, but the quotations above show sufficiently that they bring sweets (*mādhu* etc.) to the worshiper. These sweets are the counterpart of the earthly food (*sōmah* is *jāgrvīh* in ix. 107. 6 etc.), and doubtless, as the beast pours out *sūrā* (see above) to earth, so the earthly drink is intimately connected with the heavenly; and the ultimate thought in the poet's mind may be 'you sweeten the drink' both of dew and soma,\* the Aṇvins taking the place usually ascribed to Agni.†

The delineation of the *mṛgāh* as food and buffalo is no more confused than the whole imagery connected with the Aṇvins. Yet this in turn is legitimately heterogeneous. The car that is a ship, the steed that is horse, buffalo, hawk, ass, and bag, are perfectly clear when we remember that the different images are only portions of a kaleidoscope of fancies, several metaphors describing the indescribable rise of dawn. *Rātham ēko ācvo vahati sapātānāmā*, i. 164. 2.†

\* In iii. 58. 7, *tirōhnyam jūṣāṇā sōmam pibatam . . sudānū* (the dewy Aṇvins are to drink 'the soma of yesterday'). Compare this with the drinking from their own supply (as above); and note further i. 47. 4, (*ācvinā*) *viçvavedasā mādhvā yajñam mimikṣatam* 'O Aṇvins, mix the sacrifice with sweetness'; and i. 181. 6, *prā vām çarādvañ vṛyabhō nā niṣṣatī pūrvīr īsaç carati mādhuva iṣṇān* etc. 'one like a bull (Ludwig, your bull like a cloud) sprinkles sweetness'; and iv. 43. 5, *mādhvā mādhrī mādhu vām prūṣāyan yāt sīm vām pr'kṣo bhurājanta pakvāh* (the Aṇvins' sweet food compared to the earthly cooked food).

† That *mṛgā* = *agnī* is, I think, impossible here. The descriptions of light-divinities naturally often coincide. Thus Agni is a winged horse (iv. 15. 6; v. 1. 4. 7), a lion (v. 15. 3), a steer (v. 1. 8; 28. 4); *usarbūdh* (iv. 7. 8); his tongue drops honey (i. 60. 8); his steeds are buttery (iv. 2. 3; cf. iii. 6. 6); and he is of course 'lively' (*rayvīh*, iv. 7. 5 etc.). In i. 46. 8-9 (to the Aṇvins) the 'drops of heaven' (*divā indavaḥ*) are as precious as, and take the place of earthly water (*vidu sindhūnām padē*), and the song begins when the drops (of the morning dew) fall.

‡ The image in i. 182. 7, *parṇā mṛgāsya patāror ivārābha ud acvinā ūhathuh*, is, I think, incorrectly translated by Ludwig 'like boughs for a winged beast to seize.' *Parṇā* in x. 68. 10 is 'leaf,' not 'bough,' and here 'wing.' Translate [what 'tree,' i. e. no tree there was in the sea for drowning Y. to climb upon]: '(ye were) like the wings of a bird (for him) to seize on; up ye bore him, safe and sound: he was like a bird in rising up, and the Aṇvins were wings to him; or, what wings are 'for



X. viii. 6. 7-8. I have incidentally alluded in the paragraphs above to the subject of Vedic puns. Such examples as the constant play on *vr̥dh* in its literal and metaphorical sense ('magnify');\* on *vr̥san* (ii. 16. 5 and often) and related forms; *sahśram* with *sāhaskṛtaḥ* (viii. 3. 4); *sva*, 'sound' and 'light' (ib. 13); *hīri* and *haryatā* (viii. 12. 25 : compare iii. 44. 1 ff.); *asūrē sūrīyah* (viii. 10. 4, 'illustrious where there is no lustre'); *ndma manāmahe* (viii. 11. 5); *turvāce turvāne* (viii. 45. 27)—are near and common instances. That on *jātāvedas* (vi. 15. 13) is well known. Above we had cases in *pr̥kṣ* *pr̥kṣā*, and in the whole hymn of the Ten-kings' battle.

Of these puns some are little more than a natural antithesis of the radical and metaphorical meanings; some may be unconsciously perpetrated; but others are as seriously intended as those of Æschylus and the writers of Scripture.

In the present passage, without a due appreciation of the extent of punning indulged in by the Vedic bards, no reasonable interpretation is possible. The text reads, viii. 6. 7-8, *imā abhī prā nonumo vipān āgreṣu dhītīyah : agnēḥ goḥir nā didyātāḥ. guhā satīr ūpa tmānā prā yāc chōcanta dhītīyah : kṛnvā ṛtāsya dhītrayā.*

The whole intent of this hymn is to establish a likeness between the gleaming darts of Indra and the coruscating thought (wisdom or wit) of the poet. The poet in the brilliancy of his words is like Indra in the brilliancy of his weapons. This is intimated at once in the third verse, where *jāmī bruvata āyudham* means 'they declare his weapon their own.'† In the verses under consideration here Ludwig makes the verb a parenthesis; Grassmann takes *satīh* with *kṛnvāh*, makes the poet compare lightning to a gleam of fire, and takes *dhītīyah* as 'flames.' The poet is like Indra, like a sun (compare 10-11, 20). The comparison rests in the first place on *dhī*, which, as usual, is not 'prayer' (Grassmann's ordinary translation), nor yet 'wish,' but 'thought, wit.' *Dhītīh* and

a flying creature' (notice the objective position of the genitive). *Mṛgdh patāruḥ* (*meregha*) is any winged creature. There is no need of Grassmann's specially large bird. With the above compare in general iv. 45. 5, *svadhvarāso mādhumanto agnīya usrā jarante prāti vāstor aṣvīnā*; and iv. 58. 6 (of the sacrificial streams), *etē arṣanty ūrmāyo ghṛtāsya mṛgā iva kṣipānōr īsamānāḥ*; the latter shows the streams lively as beasts fleeing from the arrow.

\* Compare *ar*, *ār* 'exalt, praise' in viii. 16. 6.

† Totally misunderstood by the translators. Grassmann renders: (Since the Kāvya with their praises made Indra the success of sacrifice) 'his bolt is called their brother' (i. e. Indra defends them). Ludwig: 'Their words become a confederated weapon.' The prose of this poetical expression is simply that the priests' speech is as brilliant (a weapon) as Indra's bolt. Compare viii. 12. 31, *susṭutim . . jāmim, padēva* etc. But compare especially x. 8. 7, *jāmī bruvānā āyudhāni veti* 'declaring his own the weapons.' The Greek ἀεὶ φά τῶνδε κρητῆρας, Ant. 192, is somewhat similar in extending the idea of relationship to mean similarity, but the Vedic *jāmī* keeps the radical idea of origin. We might almost translate 'native (to themselves) they declare Indra's weapon.'

*dhātūh* are played upon. *Agra* is 'sharpness, acuteness, cleverness'; *didyāt* is 'brilliancy' (of light or of wit); *vīp* is a 'stick' and a 'song' ('stave': compare *āyoagrā vīp*, x. 99. 10); *dhārā* is the 'stream' (of soma) and the 'sharp blade' of a sword or fire. The puns, however, are not confined to this place, for in verse 10 *medhā* 'wisdom' and *medhā* 'weapon' (?) are played upon (compare 45); in 21 *sutdh* is used in two senses; in 28-29 *gir* and *giri*, *vīp* and *vīpānā*, *saṁgathā* (*saṁgamā*, *gāthā*), and *upakvarē* (the technical sense played upon) are further illustrations, and even with *hārī haryatā* in 36, and *çaryanīvati* (soma-place or a place) in 39, we have not exhausted the list. The later writers took the old inherited hymn and brightened it up a little more (vs. 43, 'this very old wit swelling with milk and honey the Kaṇvas have increased with praises'), by adding some established formulæ of puns, ere the *dānastuti* with which it in its new form concludes is introduced. It is absurd to suppose that all this paronomasia is accidental. It is not even incidental. The poet exults in his cleverness: 'By birthright of old (or 'with old thoughts') I make shine the song in Kaṇva-fashion' (ib. vs. 11).

To indicate the connection and illustrate the comparison here urged I translate with these verses (7-8) the third, sixth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh: 'Since the Kaṇvas by their praises made Indra the success of sacrifice, they call his weapon their own . . . he hewed off the head of the whirling demon with his strong hundred-knotted bolt. In the acuteness of our staves we sing out aloud these (sparkling) thoughts, which like the fire's gleam shine forth even (where) they have been concealed. Whenever our sparkling-thoughts gleam forth, may we the Kaṇvas by means of (this) sharpness of sacrifice\* go forth to wealth in cattle and horse, (go) forth to strength first of all—for this cleverness (weapon?) of sacrifice even I have from my father inherited; (bright) as a sun was I born. With old thought (or *jānmanā* 'by birthright') I make the songs shine in Kaṇva-fashion, in the same way as Indra puts fire upon himself.†

XI. viii. 7. 15-16, *etāvataç ca cid eṣānī sumnām bhikseta mārtyaḥ: ādābhyasya mānmabhīh. yē drapsā iva rōdasi dhūmantya ānu vr̥stībhiḥ: ūtsān duhānto āksitam*. Ludwig takes *ādābhyasya* to refer to the course of the Maruts. But compare the collocation of i. 55. 7: *nā tvā kētā ā dabhnuvanti bhūrṇayaḥ . . . āpraksitam vāsu bibharṣi* etc. So here the object of desire seems

\* *Rtāsya dhārā* (compare viii. 86. 5, *rtāsya çr'ūgam*); *dhārā* is 1. 'stream': compare S. on vs. 2, *rtāsya vāhasā = stotreṇa*, and 2. 'the sharp blade or flame' (of fire, viii. 73. 9). *Medhā* 'wisdom,' *medhā* 'weapon' (?).

† *Yēnēndraḥ çuṣman id dadhē*: compare *çuṣman* 'fire,' and *çuṣmīn* 'fiery.' The meaning may be 'whereby'—i. e. it is the song that gives Indra his fiery strength. The first sentence of our passage ends with *ūpa tmānā* 'and even, although.' The next clauses *prā-prā* are connected—'when forth shine the songs, forth may we go to wealth'—*prānaç*, 'go to, get to, attain.'

to be non-deceptive indestructible wealth. The genitive may be compared with that in vii. 90. 7, *árvanto ná grávaso bhīksamānā indravāyū' sustulūbhīh . . kuvema*; in vii. 83. 6, *havantē . . in-drañ vāsvah*; and in viii. 49. 9, *etīvatas ta imaha indra sum-nāsyā gómatah* ('we desire thy so great and rich good-will'). The *ápraksitān vāsu* of i. 55. 7 is the effect of the god's power. In ix. 78. 3 (*yācante sumnām pāvamānam áksitam*) it is the good-will of the god that is unlesened. In our passage, the wealth represented in 16 as *áksitam* is in 15 called *ádābhyam*. The verb governs both *sumnām* and *ádābhyasya*; the former implying the gods themselves, and the phrase being equivalent to *bhikseta sunnayati* (*marūtaḥ*) *ádābhyasya vāsvah*. *yad adābhyam asti tad asty áksitam*, *huveta (maruto) áksitasyotsasya, ity arthah!* I do not understand the translation of Grassmann, who seems to construe *bhiksetu* doubly. Ludwig renders: 'May the mortal in his songs beg for the good luck (*glück*) of this their so great irresistible march.' But can *sumnām* mean 'good-luck'? Or, if L.'s *glück* is subjective, 'happiness,' is it possible to avoid construing *esām*, standing in the regular genitive position of a personal pronoun indicating possession, with *sumnām*? Yet *sumnām* with a genitive invariably denotes the mental attitude of the person represented by that case. Compare i. 107. 1, *devānām sumnām*; ii. 11. 16, *te sumnām*; iii. 42. 6, *te sumnām imahe*; iv. 30. 19, *ná tát te sumnām*: see the list in Grassmann. But viii. 18. 1-2 alone would appear to be decisive on this point: *idān ha nūnām esām sumnām bhikseta mártyaḥ: ádityānām . . anarvāṇo hy esām pānthā ádityānām*, where, as in our passage, the second verse explains the first, and 'safe paths' is the indication of the gods' good-will.

It is not quite certain what *drapsā iva* of our passage means. To say the rain-clouds are 'drop-ful' (*drapsmāḥ* in i. 64. 2) is legitimate; but to describe them as 'like drops' seems senseless. Ludwig ("die wie funken schnauben") regards the drops as sparks of fire. But this is an odd comparison. Besides, fire and sparks are properly the object, not the subject, of the verb *dham*. Compare *dhamitām agnīm* in ii. 24. 7.

I guess the phrase means in prose 'just as the soma-drops splash (or sprinkle, ferment), so the clouds splash about (besprinkle) the two worlds with rain.' Compare viii. 96. 13, *ávat tam (drapsām sómasya) indrah gácyā dhāmantam*; and ix. 73. 1, *drapsāsya dhāmataḥ* (of soma). The tertium is merely the yeasty look of a splashing shower. I translate viii. 7. 15-16: 'Let a mortal for (the sake of) some so great and certain (good) beseech with prayer the kindness of (such gods as) these, who about both worlds like (fermenting) drops (of soma) splash with rain, in that they pour out a stream unceasing.'

The same expression, 'unceasing, unlesened stream,' occurs again i. 64. 6; iii. 26. 9, and elsewhere; the adjective is applied to wealth in *áksitāvasuḥ* (of Indra), viii. 49. 6.

XII. viii. 13. Improvisation. I have referred above to the

making of Vedic hymns. Far from being 'seen,' i. e. inspired (although this claim is made in the Rig-Veda), the hymns are often spoken of as manufactured. A third class remains, the hymns that are improvised—that is, like most improvised poetry, half original and half reminiscence of others. Undoubtedly these three classes (between the second and third of which no sharp line can be drawn) exist in our collection, and for that reason it seems to me that the truth here also lies between the two extremes of criticism; and that, although subjective interpretation can be our only guide, those critics err no less who would deny all save a ritualistic machine-poetry to the Rig-Veda than do they that would interpret its most mechanical hymns as the ingenuous outpouring of a naïve spirit. There are songs made to order; songs made for money; songs invented for the sacrifice, and as artificial as its ritual. But, on the other hand, there is much genuine joy, sorrow, and anger; much beauty of expression, much real poetry. And if the skilful interpretation of the last few years has brought the Rig-Veda nearer to earth than formerly, it has not degraded it by making it more human. In fact, the poetic value of the work is increased. The meaning of many hymns once wholly 'in the clouds' becomes real, the songs themselves gain in character. But of course there is much to eliminate that is neither prose nor poetry, but metrical commonplace, or the hocus-pocus of theological mystery.

The present hymn seems to me to be one of those which have been put together in a mechanical way, old material in new form, a sort of improvisation.

1. *dākṣa* is strength, explained by *mahān hi śāh*: compare SV. *dākṣa* for *śāsma* in viii. 15. 7.

6. Indicative of the composition of the whole hymn. Compare ix. 102. 5, *jusānta yāt* (also 29 below), and ii. 5. 4, *vayā ivā 'nu rohate* (also 17 below). Compare also with 13, below, viii. 1. 29; with 14, viii. 4. 12; with 18, viii. 92. 21; with 29, viii. 12. 32; with 30, viii. 3. 5; 7. 6 etc. Notice *yāthā vidē* twice, 14 and 49. The hymn is patched, the fragments chiefly of Kanva stock. Indicative of the half extemporaneous character seem to me to be verses 7, 19, 20.

7. *pratuavāj janayā girāh*. Grassmann, 'rege an;' Ludwig, 'gib anlass zu.' But compare i. 109. 2, *stōman janayāni nāvyaṃ*; vii. 26. 1, *ukthān janaye nāvyaḥ*, where at least the claim is made that the song is newly begotten.

19. *dadhē (ukthāni)*; 20, *māno yātrā vī tād dadhūr vicetasah*. Grassmann translates *dadhē* as 'consecrates;' Ludwig, as 'completes;' and the latter says that *mānah* cannot be *stōtram*, who yet in 15. 12 renders *manmaṣiḥ* 'in different songs.' If *mānman* passes from thought to song, why not *mānah*? It is like *dhūtīh* and *dhītām* (see above); *mānah* is the subjective side of *mānman*.\* The expression *pāvakāh* in 19 must refer to the poet (so

\* Compare ii. 3. 3, *īḍito mānasā = girā* (see *īḍ* in ii. 6. 6 etc.).

Ludwig), not to Indra (Grassmann): 'when the praiser, true to the rule, makes thee hymns aright, he is called pure, purifier, supernatural.' The 'supernatural' improvisatore is compared to Agni, whose epithets he here assumes (*śúcīh, pāvakīh, passim; ādbhutah*, ii. 7. 6). In the next verse he is compared to Indra.

20. 'Truly, when the wise create such a hymn, it is reckoned the attribute of a Rudra (= Indra, 28), that impetuous song in ancient manner;' or we might with exactness translate 'the song which goes along on the old basis.' It is certainly improper to dissociate in sense *yahvām māno vidadhuḥ* of this verse and (*mānma*) *dadhātha yahvām* of iv. 5. 6 (compare with these i. 59. 4, *gīro yahvīh*). The verb *cetati* is to be taken as in viii. 12. 1 = 'is esteemed, regarded.'

The sixth verse also expresses the extempore character of the hymn: 'when the active praiser flings aloft to thee his songs' (*āti praṣardhāyad gīrah*); and such seems to be the intent of the eighth verse: \* 'Like waters tumbling play the favors of him by means of this my wit (song)—of him who is called ruler of the sky.' Ludwig follows Grassmann in taking *ayā dhiyā* as 'in this song' (he is called, etc.), most assuredly wrong. It is dangerous to pay too much attention to the caesura. The dancing or playing of Indra's favors (rather than the too special meaning 'generosity,' advocated by Oertel for *sunṛtā*, A. O. S. Proc. 1891, p. xc) is the result of praise. On comparing viii. 14. 10, *apām ūrmir mādan iḥa stōma indrā jirāyate*, and ib. 16. 2, *yāsmīn ukthāni rānyante vīcāni ca pravaśyāt: apām āvo nā samudrē*, there would seem to be the suggestion of a confused image here, as if the songs danced along in portraying the favors, and so the favors described 'dance down' (on the feet of the verse). The songs are explicitly described thus 'like a waterfall' (x. 68. 1, *giri-bhrājo nōrmāyo mādamto br'haspātim abhy ārkā anāvan*); yet here only the favors described by the song are expressly compared, and said to 'play like tumbling waters:' compare *pravat-vātībhir ātibhīh* in vs. 17. Hence 'by means of this song [I induce the god to be favorable, so that] his favors dance down to us like a waterfall' must be the final meaning.†

The general character of this hymn, the specific imitations, the expressed intent to create a hymn for the occasion, seem to me to indicate an impromptu origin. The remaking of old songs is not uncommonly alluded to, as perhaps in iii. 31. 19, *tām aṅgirasvān nāmasā saparyān nāryam kṛṇomi śanyase purājām*; and in the parallels to *janayāmi* above. Another fragmentary hymn (made of *disjecta membra* from the hymns immediately preceding) is vii. 85. 5.‡

\* *Kṛḍanty asya sunṛtā āpo nā pravātā yatth: ayā dhiyā yā ucyāte pātir divāh.*

† Indra, by the way, is himself a dancer, viii. 92. 3 (*nṛtūh*), as is Uṣas, x. 29. 2, *usāsah . . nṛtāu*, a pun on *nṛtamaḥ* in vs. 1; perhaps an implied pun in *kṛḍanti sū-nṛtā* (*nṛt*) likewise.

‡ The expression *yāthā vidē* (14 and 29) is usually taken to be from *vid* 'find.' It seems to me that it must bear the sense of *ut videtur* and *ā*

## LEXICOGRAPHIC NOTES.

viii. 4. 1, *śimā*. 'Although called elsewhere, yet thou art most called here.' *Śimā* is adverb, related to *samāyā* (with the same stem as *similis*), as is ὅμως to ὁμῶς, i. e. 'all the same, nevertheless, yet.' The form *śima* is also adverb, like ἄμα in form.

viii. 4. 3, *āpītvē*, *prapītvē*. *Ā-pītvā* (like προσήκων) 'relation to a person, friendship;' and (literally) 'getting in, going in (so *abhipītvā*), ending.' *Prapītvā*, 'getting to, going for;' *apapītvā*, 'getting off.' The root may be *pī* 'go.'

viii. 6. 19, *enām*. The text reads: *imāś ta indra pṛ'ṇayo ghr̥tāni duhata ācīram: enām r̥tāsyā pipyūsīh*. Grassmann changes the text; Ludwig regards *enām* as an instrumental. In viii. 7. 13 the Maruts bring sweet drink from heaven. In i. 64. 5 the Maruts *duhānty ā'dhar dīryāni dhātāyo bhū'mim pinvanti pāyasā pārijrayah*. The 'bellowing children of Pṛṇi,' who 'start up with the winds and milk out rich food' (*pipyūsīm īsam*) in viii. 7. 3, are also the Maruts. Although in the last hymn (comparing ib. vss. 10 and 16) the *pṛ'ṇayah* may not always be the same, yet in view of ib. 7 there can be no objection to taking them here as Maruts. But, whether as of heaven or of earth, Indra's cattle may be fat with *amṛ'ta* = soma, heavenly milk. Read *enā 'mr'tasya* 'in that they overflow with the immortal drink.' For the position of *enā* compare x. 14. 2. As in vs. 43 of our hymn (*dhīyam mādhor ghr̥tāsyā pipyūsīm*), we may here translate in conjunction with the following (which shows the *pṛ'ṇayah* to be clouds; Indra is the *gārbha* which the Maruts surround as the holy order does the sun): 'These thy kine, O Indra, which like the supporting order round the sun encircling thee as mothers make thee an embryo, milk out butter and milk since they swell with immortal ghee.' It is, however, as Grassmann suggests, possible that *enā* may stand for *enāh* (*amṛ'tasya*). A further possibility is to read *enā* as adverb = 'here;' compare v. 19. 3, *enā mādhvā nā vājayūh*. 'Swelling with ghee' seems more appropriate than 'swelling with holiness' or sacrifice; and the genitive would seem to depend on *pipyūsīh*.

viii. 7. 12, *prācetas*; viii. 13. 20, *vicetas*. Men may be *vicetasah* (vii. 7. 4), though the epithet is more naturally one used of divinities, 'very wise.' But *prācetas* is a Promethean epithet, used only of divine beings or things. The sole exceptions are first in the late hymn that concludes the sixth book, directed to the weapons (the epithet here is applied to horses, vi. 75. 13), and in viii. 27. 21, *rāmān dhatthā mānave . . jūhvānāya prācetaso*, where the priest is thus honored. In x. 83. 5 Manyu is a personified wrath, and treated like a god. Illustrations of the divine use in i. 64. 8; viii. 8. 7 (*vatsupracetasū*). Ludwig's sneer at Grassmann on viii. 7. 12

*δοκεῖ*, 'as is recognized, seems best,' 'as is the rule.' The middle is not altogether lacking, and of course in a phrase might be preserved. It is difficult to see how the usual meaning can have developed itself from a radical idea of 'find.'

is, therefore, rather uncalled for. 'Wise in respect of the intoxicating draught' is epithet of the gods.

viii. 15. 10, *svapatyāni*. PW. maintains two *svapatyā*: 1. *a. a* good work; *b. adj.*, doing a good work; 2. *a. adj.*, possessing good descendants; *b. good descendants*: *ā* fem. (RV. i. 54. 11). Grassmann omits 1. *b.*, but otherwise agrees with PW. that *svapatyā* must be derived both from *īpatya* 'descendant' and from (*apatya*, equivalent to *āpas*) *ap* 'work,' of which the proper adjective and noun are *apasyā*, *apasyā*, *svapasyā*. Ludwig, on the other hand, erratically maintains as a general thing that our word is either adjective or abstract to *svāpatih*, translating by 'free,' 'independence, self-lordship,' and the like. For 'good works' and 'self-lordship' the Vedic terms are *sukṛtāni* and *svardhyanam*. Whether we have a synonym of either in *svapatyā* remains to be seen. As between PW. and Ludwig, the rareness of *svāpatih* and the regular resolution of *su-apatyā* would incline the judgment to accept rather the derivation of the former than that of the latter. One very grave objection, however, makes against the etymology (*su*)*īpatya* = (*su*)*āpas*—namely, that there is no such word as *īpatya* = *āpas*. Since, on the other hand, *īpatya* = 'children' is a common Vedic word, it cannot be assumed as antecedently probable that *svapatyā*, meaning, as is admitted, 'with good children' or 'good children' in many passages, should not have the same meaning in all, unless this signification be found impossible on other grounds. Such passages as would seem to support the meaning 'works' must therefore be severally examined with special reference to the inadmissibility of this signification. They are few and easily reviewed. The derivation of the simple *īpatya* meaning 'children' is patent. Like the later *adhitya* and *upatya*, it is an adjective formation which may be employed as a substantive, and is derived (without the necessity of a verb expressed) from *īpa*, comparable therefore with *editus*, *ἀπόγονοι*, *ἐκγονα*, 'offspring.' This simple noun is used in both early and late literature, always in this sense; and, furthermore, of the sixteen cases of *su-apatyā*, ten certainly contain this idea; three may do so (doubtful or negative in value for interpretation); and only three are of such nature as to seem to make it necessary to resort to *apatya* 'work,' a word unknown. I say certainly of the ten, therein following both PW. and Grassmann, and rejecting summarily Ludwig's 'free,' as the meaning of an adjective in almost every instance describing the word 'wealth'; since, apart from the fact that *sva* is not resolved, and *su-apatyā* always is resolved, 'free wealth' is unparalleled, while 'wealth of children' is a common Vedic phrase. Ludwig himself is inconsistent; for he renders *svapatyām āyuh* in i. 116. 19 as 'life with children.'

The following ten passages, then, contain *su-apatyā* in the sense of *īpatya* 'children':

To Indra, i. 54. 11, *rāyē ca nah svapatyā isē dhāh*.

To the Aṅvins, i. 116. 19, *rayīm suksatrām svapatyām āyuh  
svāryam nāsatyā vāhantā*.

- To Agni, ii. 2. 12, *rāyāh . . . prajāvataḥ svapatyāsya śagdhī nah.*  
 To Agni, ii. 4. 8, *kṣumāntaṁ vājan svapatyāṁ rayīm dah.*  
 To Agni, ii. 9. 5, *krdhī pātim svapatyāsya rāyāh.*  
 To Agni, iii. 3. 7, *agne jārasva svapatyā āyuni ūrjā pinvasva*  
*sīm iso dītiḥ nah.*  
 To Agni, iii. 16. 1, *(agnih) rāyā ize svapatyāsya gómata ize*  
*vrtrahāthānām.*  
 To Agni, iv. 2. 11, *rāyē ca nah svapatyāya deva dītim ca*  
*rāsvādītim urusya.\**  
 To Agni, vii. 1. 12, *yām aśvī nītyam upayāti yajñām*  
*prajāvantaṁ svapatyāṁ ksāyam nah:*  
*svājanmanā śesasā vāvrdhānām.*  
 To Agni, ib. 5, *dā no agne dhīyā rayīm suvtrām*  
*svapatyāṁ sahasya praçastām.*  
 To the Waters, x. 30. 12, *āpah . . . rāyāç ca sthā svapatyāsya*  
*pātnih.*

The three negative cases are :

- To Indra, i. 83. 6, *barkīr vā yāt svapatyāya vṛjyāte,*  
 (Indra rejoices) 'where the sacrificial straw is  
 strewn for *su-apatyā* : PW., 'for good works ;'  
 Grassmann, 'to get children ;' Ludwig, 'for an  
 independent life.'  
 To Agni, iii. 19. 3, *sā téjyasā mānasā tvōta utā śikṣa*  
*svapatyāsya śikṣóh :* PW., 'doing good works ;'  
 Grassmann, 'wealth of children ;' Ludwig,  
 'help-bestowing freedom' (compare *svapat-*  
*yāsya śagdhī nah* above).  
 To Indra, viii. 15. 10, *tvām vṛsā jānānām mánhishtha indra*  
*jajñise : satrá víçvā svapatyāni dadhise :*  
 PW., Grassmann, and Ludwig (see the  
 Commentary) as above.

Since the question whether in iii. 19. 3 the word be adjective or noun is not material to this examination, I pass now to the three cases where PW. and Grassmann unite in translating 'works.' In the cases thus far considered there is no intrinsic value of such sort to be seen—which, however, it is permissible to assume in the last three if the following three cases prove the necessity of recognizing it :

- To Agni, i. 72. 9, *ā yé víçvā svapatyāni tasthūh*  
*kṛvānāso amṛtatvāya gātum.*

This verse somewhat resembles in form x. 13. 1, *çrvāntu víçve amṛtasya putrá ā yé dhātmanī divyāni tasthūh* 'let the sons of immortality hear, who have attained to the divine laws.' But as in the two following examples *su-apatyāni* is governed by the verb *kṛ*, it might be a question whether a more artificial construction were not possible here also, especially as *gātú* is found con-

\* Pun on *diti* and *āditi*.



strued with a dative, and *âtasthus* with 'path' (ii. 24. 7, *â tasthuh kavāyo mahīs pathāh*); whether we should not translate 'accomplishing all good works[?], they attained to the path to immortality.' This is decisively ruled out, however, by iii. 31. 9, where the second half of the verse appears again independently: *nī gavyatā mānasā sedur arkāh kṛvānāso amṛtatvāya gātām*. The meaning is then 'creating for themselves a path to immortality, they attained to all *svapatyāni*.'\*

It might be thought that the word *viṣva* speaks for the interpretation 'works.' One verse shows that *viṣva* may be taken just as well with 'children'—or 'offspring,' as the plural may perhaps better be rendered; for, as in Greek, a collective sense is often given by a plural adjective (noun). In this verse we find too a verb very prettily corresponding to *â sthā*, viz. *āchā gam* 'go to, attain to.' In an address to the Ādityas it is said of their worshiper, i. 41. 6, *sā mārtyah . . viṣvaṁ tokām . . āchā gachati* 'he attains to full posterity,' 'to a great number of children' (Grassmann). Since it is entirely in accordance with Vedic ideas as well as with those of later times that the possessing of children is a means of immortality, there seems to be no reason why this passage should sever the meaning of the noun in question from that admitted above; and hence the *onus probandi* lies with the one who should claim that *su-apatyāni* cannot here denote 'offspring'—'who have attained (or do attain) to many children, (thereby) making for themselves a path to immortality' seems to be an uncontrovertible interpretation of i. 72. 9.

The second case is found in iv. 34. 9, *yē vibhvo nārah svapatyāni cākruh*. Ludwig here translates interrogatively "children," opposing Grassmann's "schöne Werke." That Ludwig is correct is shown by an examination of the situation. The special function of the Rbhus, to whom the hymn is addressed, is for mortal interest the manufacture of children. Compare i. 111. 2, *â nah . . takṣata . . suprajātīm isam: yāthā ksāyāma sārva-vīrajā viṣā tām nāh śīrdhāya dhāsathā sv indriyām* 'make for us the food (strength) that is accompanied with offspring.' Here *suprajāt* answers to *su-apatyā*, and 'offspring-full strength' is exactly the same as when Savitar is prayed to in iv. 53. 7, *dādihātu nah suvitā suprajām isam . . prajāvantām rayim asmē sām inratu* ("gute kinder," Ludwig). That the Rbhus create children is shown by the common legends related of them. For, as in Greece and among the Hebrews, the fact that a person supposed to be past the time for having children is unexpectedly provided with them is regarded as the special grace of a deity. This the Hindu represented by saying that the deity made them young again, and such must be the interpretation of the rejuvenation

\* Compare the use of *â-sthā* with *drōṇam*, *yōnim*, *rōdasī*, *vidāthāni*, *vātān*, *amṛtāni*, *bhūvanāni*, etc.: any object of attainment may in short stand in the accusative after *â-sthā*, though it is perhaps most commonly used with *rātham*, 'ascend the car.'

ascribed to the Rbhus. Compare iv. 33. 3, *pánar yé* (Vāja, Vibhvan, Rbhu) *cakrúh pítarā yúvānā* 'ye rejuvenated the parents.\*

The virility given by the Rbhus, which is the same as the children-making of our text, is emphatically claimed as their boon in iv. 36. 8-9, *dyumāntān vījān vr'saṣusmam uttamām ā no rayīm ṛbhavas takṣatā vāyuh: ihā prajān ihā rayīm rārānā ihā grāvo virāvat takṣatā nah.†*

This appeal to the Rbhus to give offspring is like that in i. 111. 2, where *suprajāt = su-apatyām*. Now, when in iv. 34. 9-10 the good works of the Rbhus are given in detail, if we take *svapatyāni* to mean 'children,' we get the proper complement of the list. Otherwise all reference to this important function is omitted, and in the midst of detailed works we get a general 'good works'—'the heroes who make children' seems, therefore, to be here the proper meaning (the Vedic perfect, as often, a strong present).

The last example is in vii. 91. 3, *té vāyāve sámanaso ví tasthur vícven narah svapatyāni cakruh*; complemented by 4, *yávat tūras tanvō yāvad ōjo yāvan náruṣ cākṣasā dīdhyānāh*. We have here the worshipers of another child-bringing god, Vāyu. This half-verse describes what happens to his faithful followers: 'Like-minded with Vāyu, they extend themselves, and make many children as long as they live' (literally 'as long as their bodily vigor lasts and they see with their eyes').‡ So it is stated in vii. 90. 2: '(O Vāyu,) thou makest this (thy worshiper) distinguished among mortals, and one strong son after another is born to him' (*jātō-jāto jāyate vājy āsyu*). The translators entirely miss the point of the second verse in our passage, which simply completes the sense of the first. Ludwig thinks that *ví tasthur* means that the priests stand around in different places during a sacrifice (!); but he conservatively adds that the sense is very doubtful. It means just what it does in i. 72. 9, where the sense of *ā yé vícva svapatyāni tasthuh* (etc., see above) is completed by *mahnā mahādbhih prthivī ví tasthe mātā putráir ādītīr dhāyase vēh* 'mother earth, the endless one, extends herself

\* Compare also i. 20. 3; 161. 3; iv. 35. 5; 36. 3 etc.; also iii. 60. 4, where, as in the quotation above, the details of the work of these deities is given. Most of the Rbhu hymns are in the fourth and first book. The one in the seventh (vii. 48) shows them more as comrades of Indra, i. e. as *çāvaso nāpātaḥ* (i. 161. 14) 'children of strength,' than as *mānor nāpātaḥ* (iii. 60. 3) 'children of Manu' (wisdom). Their excellent works (*sukṛtāni*, iii. 60. 4) are fashioning one vessel into four, making the Aṇvins' car, rejuvenating parents (I do not think it is stated that it was their own parents), manufacturing arms, skinning a cow (iii. 60. 2), etc. and supplying mortals with children, as said above.

† Compare i. 117. 24, *aṇvinā rārānā putrām . . adhattam*; vii. 36. 9, *utā prajāyāi grātē vāyo dhuḥ*; x. 183. 1, *prajān . . rārānāh (agnīh)*.

‡ Contrast iv. 33. 9, *abhi krātva mānasā dīdhyānāh*; 50. 1, *pratnāsa ṛṣayo dīdhyānāh*, with the *cākṣasā dīdhyānāh = ζῆλοντες*, 'living,' of our passage.

in greatness through her mighty sons for the nurture of the bird.' In 8, Saramā finds out where the bird Agni is (hitherto concealed), by whom the people of earth is nourished (Agni is the god called on as the creator of beings [vii. 5. 7], and as favorable to *āpatya* 'children'). Then earth with her mighty children extends herself with sons (for they 'attain to full posterity') mightily, and (by sacrifice etc.) 'nourishes the bird' (Agni: cf. iv. 5. 8, Grassmann). In the same sense also is *sāmanaso* (*vāyāve*) to be taken, as explanatory of 'extend themselves,' for Vāyu extends himself everywhere.

As this exhausts the list of cases where *su-apatyāni* can with any show of reason be supposed to come from *apatya* = *āpas* 'work,' it seems to me reasonable to discard this meaning of *apatya*, and recognize only one *apatya* = 'offspring,' and one *su-apatyā* = '(with) good offspring.' Sense and syntax justify the antecedent probability that this is the case. Only one doubt can remain—that in respect of the verb. Since in the cases of unsuspected meaning *dhā* is the usual verb, it may be questioned whether *kr* in these two last instances can take its place. The roots are practically synonymous, however, and the objection amounts only to saying that because *su-apatyāni* is governed by *dhā* in some cases it must be governed thus in all—which is an unreasonable claim. Besides, although *apatya* offers no elucidation on this point, being construed in this connection only with *duh* once and metaphorically (ix. 10. 8, *kavér āpatyam ā duhe*),\* yet the analogy of other similar words shows that there is no impropriety in taking *svapatyāni cakrūh* as 'made good offspring.' The act of procreating is *putrakṛthā*, v. 61. 3; the verb is used with *rētas* 'seed' (vii. 33. 7, *trāyas kṛvanti bhūvanesu rētaḥ*, viz. sun, water, wind: compare the three united gods in v. 41. 4); with *jātāni* 'creatures' (vii. 82. 5, *yād imāni cakrāthur viśvā jātāni*); with *tānā* 'posterity' (ix. 62. 2, *tānā kṛvānto ārvate*); and with *putrān* 'sons' (i. 162. 22, *no vājī . . putrān . . kṛnotu*). †

The application of the above to viii. 15. 10 (third of the negative instances above) is as follows: Indra is a god especially called upon to give children (compare the first quotation in the

\* Else *vāhamānā āpatyam*, i. 174. 6; *apatyam ichāmānaḥ*, i. 179. 6; *yēbhir āpatyam mānuṣaḥ parīyase*, viii. 49. 8.

† In x. 85. 45, *imām tvīm indra mūlvah suputrām subhagām kṛnu . . putrān ādhehi*; viii. 4. 6, *putrām prāvargām kṛnute*; vii. 101. 1, *sā rat-sāḥ kṛvān gārbham ōsadhīmām* (cf. viii. 6. 20), the construction is predicative. In ix. 109. 9, *induh punānāḥ prajāḥ urāyāḥ karad viśvāni drāviṇāni naḥ*, I am inclined to think that *prajāḥ* is governed by *urāyāḥ* in the sense given by Bollensen, Z.D.M.G. xli. 504, 'shine, give:' compare *dīdīhi* (ii. 2. 6 etc.), used in the same way. In regard to the collocation of *prajā* and *is* (in ix. 8. 9, *prajā* is children, not as Grassmann takes it) compare the differentiation in i. 179. 6, *prajāḥ āpatyam bālam ichāmānaḥ* etc. The word *dhā*, as in the first list of quotations, is sometimes exchanged for *dā*, as in x. 85. 41, *putrāṇḥ cādād agniḥ*; v. 25. 5, *agniḥ putrāḥ dadāti dācūṣe*.

last note);\* he is the virile power among the people, *vr'sā jānū-nām* of our verse. As such he is here invoked with the words *satrā vīṣvā svapatyāni dadhiṣe*. The ordinary verb is here used, but in the middle voice. This is, however, no real objection. In vii. 80. 2, (*usās*) *nāvyaṃ āyur dādhanā*, and in i. 26. 8, *dadhirē (vāryaṃ devāso naḥ)*,† we find undoubted cases of the middle used actively, not to speak of other probable instances.

This paper was presented at the meeting, April 22d. Two weeks afterwards, and when the greater part of the paper was in the printer's hands, I received the second volume of the *Vedische Studien*, in which some of the minor points here considered are treated (*sāyām* as 'evening,' *sīmā*, *prapitvā*). I regret that I was unable to incorporate the results of this previous criticism into the present essay.

\* Compare also viii. 6. 28, *ā na indra mahīm iṣam pūraṃ nā darṣi gōmatim: utā prajāṃ suvīryam*; x. 157. 2, *yajñāṃ ca nas tanvāṃ ca prajāṃ cādityāṃ indraḥ saha cikīpāti* ('Indra shall fashion us children').

† The latter of the two cases is enough to prove this point. The former is "undoubted" so far as the translators' version would indicate; but possibly the middle sense is here reflexive, 'the dawn renewing her own life.' In two cases I am sure that the translators fail to give the right sense in denying active force to *dadhiṣe*. The first is x. 54. 5, *vīṣvā dadhiṣe . . vāsūni . . tvām indrāsi dātā* (Grassmann, "du hast"), like ix. 64. 1, *dhārmāni dadhiṣe* (Gr. "empfangst gebühr") 'givest laws.' The use is the same as in v. 88. 2, *yād . . iṣam . . dadhiṣe* (Grassmann and Ludwig, "takest"). The god is here praised, not for what he gets but for what he gives, as is evident from 1: 'great is thy giving, give power to us;' (then 2) 'when thou givest strength, it becomes celebrated.' Quite doubtful is iii. 18. 5, though Grassmann here rendered actively.

ARTICLE X.

A SYRIAC CHARM.

BY REV. WILLIS HATFIELD HAZARD,  
OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Presented to the Society April 21st. 1892.

The following Syriac charm was obtained by the Semitic Museum of Harvard University from the Rev. Dr. Shedd, missionary in Urmî, Persia. It is written on strips of parchment pasted together at the ends, making a scroll six feet long by two inches broad. It contains about 900 words, written on 244 lines. The text is embellished by headlines etc. in vermillion, and three pictures illustrating the conflicts of saints with demons.

I have to thank Prof. I. H. Hall, of the Metropolitan Museum, N. Y., and Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, of Columbia College, N. Y., for valuable suggestions in the translation.

TEXT.

ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܫܠܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ  
ܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ . . .  
ܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ  
ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܫܠܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ  
ܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ  
ܡܡܠܟܐ

[Here follows St. John i. 1-5. Thirteen lines in the charm.]

ܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ  
ܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ  
ܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ  
ܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ  
ܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ



(سَوْنَدَا؟ عَزَبْ خَصْبَعَه [د]  
لَعْنَتُهَا مَسْمُومًا  
وَكَلَّهَا؟ مَسْمُومٌ لَعْنَتُهَا)

\* Various spellings and pronunciations are given this word: قُمْنٌ, قُمْنٌ, (Phetion, Catholicus Orientis) قُمْنٌ, φαεθίων, φεθίων, Πυθίων, etc. In line 98 occurs قُمْنٌ—or perhaps قُمْنٌ: the text is not clear—is this the same word?







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the tenth Phagug, the eleventh Lilītha or Malwītha, the twelfth Tāb'a, the suffocatrix of children and women.

Then the saint, Mar Abd-Ishu', said to her : I adjure thee in the name of the God of gods and Lord of lords, who is concealed from watchers (tutelary angels) and man, that thou come not near Gauza the daughter of Shima—by the prayer of blessed Mary, and by the prayer of Mar John the Baptist, and by the prayer of all the angels and martyrs and saints of our Lord : verily and truly, Amen.

Concerning the return of the people from Babylon, and an admonition unto all men.\*

\* The text is much obscured at this place, but I can make out the form مجلس with sufficient clearness.

121 ܠܐܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܕܝܗܐ (ܫܡܥܐ)  
 ܡܢ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ  
 etc. ܕܡܠܟܝܢ (ܫܡܥܐ) 122

[Here follows the rest of the Psalm, from this line to the end, being fourteen lines in the charm.]

123 ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ  
 ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ  
 ܡܠܟܝܢ

(ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ)  
 ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ  
 124 ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ —  
 ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ  
 ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ  
 ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ  
 ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ

[Here follows the 121st Psalm entire. After verse 1 is written the following in red ink (except ܡܠܟܝܢ), probably as an interpretation or gloss: 'that is, I expect (look for) a guardian angel from every hill at every hour against weakness.'<sup>\*</sup> The section closes with the following prayer:] May these incantations be a protection for all young children: verily and truly, Amen.

The ban of Mar Giwargis, the illustrious martyr, which is useful against terror and fear.

The prayer and petition and request and supplication of Mar Giwargis, the illustrious martyr, which he prayed and asked from

\* With regard to the reading ܫܡܥܐ, the text is quite clear, and I take it from ܫܡܐ, Aram. ܫܡܐ, Pa. ܫܡܐ, *expectavit, praestolatus est*. Vd. Pss. xxv. 5; xxxiii. 18 and 20; xlii. 5 (Payne-Smith, 2628). Cf. Pesh. and LXX of Ps. lxix. 20; ܫܡܐ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ, and προσεδόκασεν (ἡ ψυχὴ μου). *Expectavit cum fiducia*. It seems easiest to take ܡܠܟܝܢ as ܡܠܟܝܢ, *egregorius, angelus tutelarior*, as in line 106. Or, omitting ܫܡܥܐ: 'awaken hope from every hill,' etc.; or, 'hope is awakened;' part. pass. Pal. [Gottheil.] For a similar use of the word, vd. Cant. v. 3. The letters ܡܠܟܝܢ seem to have the meaning *videlicet, scilicet*.

144 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 145 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן

[Here occurs the second picture. It represents a saint on a yellow horse casting a fiery dart at a demon in the shape of a huge serpent or dragon.]

146 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 147 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן  
 מנן? מנן? מנן

God and said : O Lord of lords, grant me this request : that any man who makes mention of thy holy Name and of thy beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and the name of this thy servant Giwargis—may there not be in his house [any] who are blind and dumb, and may there not be born in it any maimed or a paralytic. But cause to pass from him and from his house all sicknesses and all diseases, and those visions which are of night and by day. And everyone who writes thy holy Name and suspends it upon himself, and my name—thy servant Giwargis—may he not have the evil and envious (fascinating) eye, nor fear, nor tremor, nor load (*incubus*)—neither by night nor by day—nor





ܐܠܐ ܕܥܡܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܝܢ  
 ܡܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܝܢ  
 ܡܢ ܡܡܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܡܡܐ [ܡܡܡܐ]  
 ܠܐܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܢ [ܐ]  
 210 ܡܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ  
 ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ —  
 ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ  
 ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ  
 ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ  
 215 ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ  
 ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ  
 ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ  
 ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ —  
 220 ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ  
 ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ  
 ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ  
 ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ  
 225 ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ  
 ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ

shouldst enter into the body and into the members of Gauza the daughter of Shima, but that thou shouldst come out from the bones and from the sinews and from the flesh and from the skin and from the one possessed to the earth, and from the earth to the iron, and from the iron to the stone, and from the stone to the high mountains.

This writing is sealed (finished) in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and by the prayer of my lady Mary the blessed, and of Mar John the Baptist, and by the prayers of prophets and apostles and martyrs and confessors, and by the prayer of Mar Thaumasius the martyr, and by the prayer of Abba Mark, the monk, and of Mar Giwargis the martyr, and of Mar Ɣuprianā (Cyprian). Amen.

May he who vivifies all by his word, and establishes all by his will, chase away all sicknesses and all diseases in the multitude

ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ —  
 ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
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[Here is the third picture, showing a saint on a red horse charging at a demon in a fantastic human body. The face is characterized by one feature : a large eye in the centre.]

ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
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 ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

[The rest is lost. All words enclosed in parenthesis throughout the above are written in vermillion in the MS.]

of his tender-mercies. Heal, O Lord, thy hand-maid in thy mercy, and raise from her sickness in the multitude of thy tender-mercies, Gauza the daughter of Shima ; that we may praise thee for (concerning) thy redemption which thou hast performed for her ; the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen.

For diwas, ['devils, wretches,' etc.; this is in red ink.]

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, in thy name, אֱלֹהֵי אֲשֶׁר אֱלֹהֵי, El Shaddai, Adonai, Lord Sabāōth, Prince\* of the worlds ; the prayer and petition and

\* Hero, chief, giant. Cf. the Greek *Tīyas, Tīyantes*, 'the fabled sons of earth and Tartarus,' Heb. הַנְּפִרִים, Gen. vi. 4 ; and Arab. الْجَبَّار, which is applied to the constellation of Orion ; cf. Job, ix. 9. [Michaelis, p. 182.]



ܕܠܡܫܒܪ ܕܡܫܒܪܐ ܕܡܫܒܪܐ ܕܡܫܒܪܐ  
 ܕܡܫܒܪܐ ܕܡܫܒܪܐ ܕܡܫܒܪܐ ܕܡܫܒܪܐ  
 ܕܡܫܒܪܐ ܕܡܫܒܪܐ ܕܡܫܒܪܐ ܕܡܫܒܪܐ . . . .

supplication of Mar Shabur and Urshabur, son of Shaburā, leaders\* and true preachers at this time, and they all \* \* \* [The rest is lost.]

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\* Loan-word, Greek ἀθλητής, Lat. *athleta*, 'commander, master, Christian hero, saint,' etc. It is written both ܡܫܒܪܐ and ܡܫܒܪܐ.

ARTICLE XI.

THE JUDÆO-ARAMÆAN DIALECT OF  
SALAMĀS.

By RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL,

PROFESSOR IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE, NEW YORK.

Presented to the Society April 22nd, 1892.

During the last few years a good deal of attention has been paid to the scientific study of the modern Aramaic dialects. The work which was so well begun by Stoddard in the *Journal* of our Society has been carried on by Rödiger, Merx, Nöldeke, Prym, Socin, Duval, Guidi, and others. Thanks to them and to the American missionaries stationed at Urmia, plentiful material is now on hand for an intelligent study of these dialects.

Not the least interesting is the fact that many Jews in that part of northern Mesopotamia make use of a language very near to that of their Christian neighbors.\* Albert Löwy was the first to call our attention to this dialect.† Duval has given us much longer and much more trustworthy texts; and Nöldeke has, with his accustomed scholarship, pointed out wherein it differs from its nearest neighbors.‡ The Jewish jargon of Zacho is represented by texts in Prym and Socin's *Neu-Aramäische Dialekte von Urmia bis Mosoul*, Tübingen, 1882.

\* In his first paper (mentioned below) Löwy calls the dialect "Lishana shel Imrani." In his second (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* vol. vi. p. 600), he gives it the name "Lishanat Djabali." Rabbi Baba, a learned priest from Urmia, tells me it is called "Léson Gā'lôt." He also tells me that a certain Jacob of Urmia has translated and published at Stamboul the Psalms and the Pentateuch in Judæo-Aramæan. I have never seen a copy of the work. The same authority says that the Jews of western Persia (he mentions also the cities *Suldus*, *Saug'būlah*, *Mian-dab*) and those living across the Turkish border (*Rawandooz*, *Sāingdlā* etc.) can easily understand each other.

† *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* iv. 98: (cf. also vi. 600 ff.): cf. Stoddard, *Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language*, p. 8. Justin Perkins speaking of Rawandooz (Rawāndiz) says "The Jews speak the Syriac language. We wished to obtain a specimen of their dialect, but their superstitious old Rabbi would not consent even to write or dictate a chapter from the New Testament" (*J.A.O.S.* ii. 91).

‡ *Z.D.M.G.* xxxvii. 602, and see Löwy in Grætz, *Monatsschrift*, 1884, pp. 466 ff.

Ōdishō bar Ersenis, the teacher of Merx, Socin, Hoffmann, and Nöldeke, was in New York some years ago, and I had a chance of accustoming my ear to the sound of Modern Syriac. The Rev. Messrs. Neesan and Yohannan (at that time students in the General Theological Seminary of New York) were also of assistance to me in reading the paper *Zahrirē d'bahra*.<sup>\*</sup> But last year I was agreeably surprised by the visit of one Pinchas Hanouka, a Jew of Salamās.<sup>†</sup> He turned out to be the son of Hanouka Hezekiel, who had given Duval his texts.<sup>‡</sup> I found my man to be very intelligent, a good Hebraist, and something of a Talmudist. I had intended making a careful study of his dialect; but I had not gone further than securing a translation of the first chapter of Genesis and one popular song, when Hanouka took the American "walking-match" fever, and then disappeared. I have been unable to get hold of him since.

I have thought it well to publish here the Biblical text (I.), although it has already been published by Löwy. Nöldeke has characterized Löwy's text as "ungeschickt;"<sup>§</sup> and my repetition of it may, therefore, not be without some worth.

I have been very careful to note the length of the vowels and the accent. || I am aware that even in this short piece there are some inconsistencies. But these are unavoidable in a spoken language. I was careful to have every word pronounced three or four times.

The verses (II.) which follow the Biblical extract contain a curious mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic. Hanouka tells me they can be heard in the streets of his native place. The Hebrew translation (III.) is his own; and I have not thought it worth while to add an English translation.

I have added in the appendices (IV., V.) the same text in two Christian-Aramaic dialects of to-day. Unfortunately I have had to rely for these upon manuscript sources. They are, however, of interest when compared with the Jewish text; and the curious transcription in Syriac characters is also worthy of study.

#### I. Genesis, chapter i., in the dialect of Salamās.

1. B'q'māel br'rē'le ēlha ālet šimmē v'ālet ār'a.
2. w'ār'a vē'la ḥarābi w'ḥarābistān w'ḥēška ēllet ḡalmet t'hō'm v'pō'ḥed ēlha rapr'pāva ēllet ḡalmet mō'ī.
3. merrē ēlha hāvē bēhra vē'le bēhra.
4. vehzē'lē ēlha ālet bēhra ḡt šp'ra vemeprešlē ēlha begāved bēhra veb'gāved ḥēška.

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<sup>\*</sup> The paper started by Justin Perkins.

<sup>†</sup> سَلَامَاس, Istahri, p. 194; Ibn Hauqal, pp. 238, 253; Muqaddasī, pp. 377, 382; Yāqūt, iii. 120.

<sup>‡</sup> *Les Dialectes Neo-Araméens de Salamas* (Paris, 1883), p. v.

<sup>§</sup> *Z.D.M.G.* xxxvii. 601-2, 675. But the second text is better.

|| Since this is now considered of so much importance as a factor in linguistic development: see e. g. King and Cookson, *Principles of Sound and Inflection*, pp. 252 ff.

5. *Qrē'lē ēlha elbēhra yō'mā valhēškā qrē'lē lēlē vē'le āser vē'le baqātieu yō'mā hā.*  
 6. *mērrē ēlhā hāve tabāqā b'gāved mō'ī. v'hāvē mápriš b'gāved mō'ī elmō'ī.*  
 7. *vedlē ēlhā ālet tabāqā w'meprešlē b'gāved mō'ī āyit m'hē'lā eltabāqā wab'gāved mō'ī āyit melēlyā eltabāqā vē'lē ātkhā.*  
 8. *vagrē'lē ēlhā eltabāqā šimmē vē'lē āser vē'lē baqātieu yō'ma trē'.*  
 9. *mērrē ēlhā qārbsi mō'ī m'hē'let šimmē ēllet tū'kā hā mehvī'tā hādra višānūlā vē'lē ādkhā.*  
 10. *vagrē'lē ēlhā elvišānūlā ār'o vēalsarūkānīyet mō'ī qrēlē yāmmāve h'zēlē ēlhā gīd špīrā.*  
 11. *mērrē ēlhā māquēphā ār'ō quēphat gillā mazēryā zerētā švat šēqlā eudānēd šēqlā elnavēv āyid zārev bē'v allēt ar'ō' vēlē ādkhā.*  
 12. *vāpāltā ar'ō' gilled dāštō māzrē zrē'tā elnavēv v'stva eudānet šēqlā āyid zerē'tēv bē'v elnavēv v'h'zē'lē ēlhā gīd špīrā.*  
 13. *vēlē āser vēlē baqātieu yō'med talhā.*  
 14. *mērrē ēlhā hāvē bē'hrē b'tabāqāt šimmē elmāprū'sē begāved yōmā vebegāved lēlē v'hāvē'nī elnišānge velelāvē vealyōmāvē vašinē.*

## NOTES.

- v. 1. *q'māēl* = *قماعل*, Z.D.M.G. xxxvii. 603; *ālet*, at times *āled* (Duval, *Les Dialectes* etc. 91. 8, *alat*), = ? + *ܐܠܬ*.  
 2. *hārābi* = *خرابی* (pers.), Nöldeke, *Neu-Syr. Gramm.*, p. 135; *ēllēt* = ? + *ܠܠܬ* (Duval, *ibid.*, 98. 15, *allat*); *šālmēt* = ? + *ܫܠܡܬ*; *pōhed* = ? + *ܥܫܐ*, Payne Smith, col. 3053.  
 4. *gīt* perhaps = ? + *ܓܝܬ*, Nöldeke, *Neu-Syr. Gramm.*, p. 185.  
 5. *āser* = *عصر*, Lane, p. 2062; *b'qātieu*, Duval, *ibid.*, 99. 4, writes with *g* = *غ*.  
 6. *tabāqa* = Arab. *طباق*: cf. *Qur'ān* 67. 3; 71. 14.  
 7. *ayit* = ? + *ܐܝܬ*; *m'hēlā* = *ܡܚܠܐ*, with change of *t* to *l*: cf. Nöldeke. Z.D.M.G. xxxvii. 602; *ātkhā* = *ܐܬܟܐ*, Nöldeke, *Neu-Syr. Gramm.*, p. 76.  
 9. *qārbsi* √ *ܩܪܒܝ*, with insertion of *r*; *mehvīta* √ *ܡܚܝܬܐ*; *hādra* = Arab. *حضر*; *višānūlā* = *ܝܫܥܢܘܠܐ*, Z.D.M.G. xxxvii. 602.  
 10. *sarukānīyet* √ *ܣܪܝܩܢܝܝܬ*?; *yammāvē* = *ܝܡܡܐ*: for similar forms cf. Z.D.M.G. xxxvii. 604.  
 11. *māqup̄hā* √ *ܡܩܘܦܗܐ*, with transposition of the consonants; for other examples see Nöldeke, *Neu-Syr. Gramm.*, p. 66; *Mandäische Gramm.*, p. 73; *qu'p̄hat gillā* = *ܩܘܦܗܬ ܓܝܠܐ*: cf. Payne Smith, col. 715; *endānēd* = ? + *ܝܢܕܢܐ*: cf. Payne Smith, col. 2779; *ēlnāvēv* = *ܐܢܝܢܐ* + *ܢܘܥ*; on the suffix cf. Z.D.M.G. xxxvii. 604; *bēv* = pers. *بہ* (Saleman, *Persische Gramm.*, § 69) with Syr. suffix, Z.D.M.G. xxxvii. 605.  
 12. *vāpāltā* √ *ܘܩܦܠܬܐ*; *dāstō* = Pers. *دشت* 'forest,' Richardson, p. 673; Kurdish *dešt*, Z.D.M.G. xxxviii. 68.  
 13. *talhā* = *ܬܠܗܐ*.

15. vehävē'nī elbē'hrē betabāqat šimmē elmabhārē eled ar'ā vēlē adkhā.  
 16. vēdlē ēlhā āled terē bē'hrē rūvvē āled bēhrā rūvvā elhākē med yō'mā  
 vēdled bēhrā zē'rā elhāgē met lē'lē vēdled kūhvē.  
 17. hevēllē ālū ēlhā b'tābāqat šimmē elmabhārē ēled ar'ā.  
 18. velhākē'mē b'yōmā v'brlē valmaprāšē b'gāved bēhrā vebegāved  
 hēškā h'zē'lē ēlhā gīd špīrā.  
 19. vē'lē āser vē'lē baqātiēu yō'mā 'ārbā.  
 20. mērrē ēlhā rāhšī mō'ī rēhšed gānad haivan vapēr'hā pāreh ēled  
 ar'ā elled cālmet tabāqat šimmē.  
 21. br'ē'lē ēlhā āled ajādhē rūvvē v'āled kū'llē gāned haivan ōdrāhšā  
 ayī'd rahšī mō'ī elnav'ū vēdled kūllē parhād šībār elnav'ū h'zē'lē ēlhā  
 gīd špīrā.  
 22. berāhlē ālū ēlhā elimārā f'rīmun zū'dūn melīmun āled mō'ī beyā-  
 māvē veper'hā zēd bāhrā.  
 23. vēlē āser vē'lē baqātiēu yō'mā hāmšā.  
 24. mērrē ēlhā pālā ar'ā gāned haivān elnavān qenyānā varehšā vehai-  
 vāned ar'ā elnavān vē'lē adkhā.  
 25. vēdlē ēlhā āled haivāned ar'ā elnavān vēdled qenyānā elnavān,  
 vēdled kū'llē rēhšed ar'ā elnavān h'zē'lē ēlhā gīd špīrā.  
 26. mērrē ēlhā ōdēh ādam b'cecnīyān māgō'n šōbtān vekāšī bemāštet  
 yāmā vebeparhēd šimmē vebegīnyānet vebekū'llē ar'ā vebekū'llē rēhšā  
 ōdrāhšē ēled ar'ā.  
 27. berēlē ēlhā āled ādām b'cecnīyēv, b'cecnīyēd ēlhā br'ē'lē ālef dū'hrā  
 venāq'vā br'ēlē ālū.  
 28. br'ēhlē ālū ēlhā mērrē ēllū ēlhā frīmun zūdūn v'm'ltmun āled ar'ā  
 v'grbūsū'nā v'kāšūn bemāštet yāmā veparhēd šimmē v'br'kū'llē haivan  
 ōdrāhšē ēled ar'ā.  
 29. mērrē ēlhā hāvvnā hevelī elōhūn āled kū'llē gillā zaryāned zerē'tā  
 ayīd ēled l'cālmet kūlle ar'ā v'āled kū'llē šivā ayīd bē'f šeqlēd šivā  
 zaryāned zerē'tā elōhūn hāvē elihālā.  
 30. velkū'llē haivāned ar'ā velkū'llē parhēd šimmē velkū'llē rēhšā ēled  
 ar'ā ayīd bē'v gāned haivan āled kūllē yergēd gillā elihālā vē'lē adkhā.  
 31. h'zēlē ēlhā āled kūllē ayīd vēdlē vehāv'nā špīrā meād. vē'lē āser  
 vē'lē baqātiēu yōmed ištā.

14. begāved = ? + صه; nišāngē = pers. نیشانک (Le-  
 garde, *Gesammel. Abhand.*, p. 66. 12); Nöldeke, *Neu-Syr. Gramm.*, p.  
 384; ēlāvē = آلأوه, Z.D.M.G. xxxvii. 603.

16. elhāko'med حکم; kūchvē = قصاص.

17. hēvēllē = حصص; ālū = احص.

20. gāna = Pers. جان.

21. ōdrahšā = اسما; ? + סא: cf. Z.D.M.G. xxxvi. 676.

22. elimārā = לאמר; f'rīmun: on the ending see Nöldeke, *Neu-  
 Syr. Gramm.*, p. 226.

28. ōdech = لخص, Nöldeke, *Neu-Syr. Gramm.*, pp. 201, 216;  
 cecniyan, according to Rabbi Baba cecni is Jagati Turkish for image;  
 magōn, according to Nöldeke (Z.D.M.G. xxxvii. 606), = Pers. چه کون;  
 šōbet = شبهه.

28. v'grbūsūna = וכבשוה.

29. ēlichālā = לאכלה.

II. Verses from Salamās.

*Īman ādē šimmēv çēmāh*  
*Qarpēšlan mīpāḥ vemīrmā*  
*V'dig'menāvān šimmū yimmaḥ*  
*Šedū'rē ēllān gō'ēl*  
*Bābā raḥmānā šedū'rē ēllān gō'ēl.*

*Yisrāē'l eūnī berōndved bārīt*  
*Reḥām elḥalāsīyēt hašērtīt*  
*Vedig'menāvān šimmū qātē't*  
*Šedū'rē ēllān gō'ēl*  
*Bābā raḥmānā šedū'rē ēllān gō'ēl.*

*Hešēḥ-lū ē'nān mīyāḥēl*  
*Šedū'rū ēllān berōnāvēd lē'āḥ verāḥē'l*  
*B'hāyyō benīlē bēt hammīqdāš vaōḥēl*  
*M'dīlē ēllān gō'ēl*  
*Bābā raḥmānā šedū'rē ēllān gō'ēl.*

III. Hebrew version of the above verses.

מתי יבוא שמו צמח יצילנו מפח ומרמה.  
 ואויבנו שמם ימח, יבוא לנו הגואל.  
 אב הרחמן תשלח לנו הגואל.  
 ישראל הם בני ברית. רחם לפלטת השארית.  
 ואויבנו שמם יכרית. תשלח לנו הגואל.  
 אב הרחמן תשלח לנו הגואל.  
 כלו עינינו מן־חל. שלח לנו בני לאה ורחל.  
 במהרה תבנה בית המקדש ואוהל. יבוא לנו הגואל.  
 אב הרחמן תשלח לנו הגואל.

IV.

The following text of Gen. i. is in the Fellihē dialect of modern Syriac, and is taken from MS. Sachau 143, written in Mosul in the

In verse i., *īman*, cf. Nöldeke, *Neu-Syr. Gramm.*, p. 161; *ādē* = ܐܕܐ, Z.D.M.G. xxxvii. 603; *qarpēšlan* ܩܪܦܝܫܠܢ; *dig'menāvan* = Pers. دشمنان.

In verse ii., *eunī* = ܐܘܢܝ; *ḥalāsīyēt* ܠܠܝܫܝܬ.



7 مؤنلا كذا؛ ومبدأ مؤنلا ص ص (sic) ص مؤنلا؛ ومبدأ

8 مصلیٰ گناہ محمد عفتا۔ Homo واما Homo یزنا مفدا وذا:

9 مملو : كذا مني محمد علي وده مضطربا كذا ومثلا جفرا . ومما

حرفاً ثانياً. ۱۰۰۰ : ۱۰۰۰

10 موملہ کھانہ ختم ہوا اداۓ خیر و فخر موملہ نقلا موملہ کھانہ

**جواب :**

11. معذرا كما مفضلة اذا نوهمةا رجا من خونا امكنا ومسيهلا

حاشیہ: ہذا خانہ ختم و مضبوط شدت | انشا پرست:

12 مَعْمَكُمَا اَوَّلًا نُوَفِّي بِهَا عَنْ خِيَارِهَا خِيَارًا وَنُفِيَّا

[illegible]

## NOTES.

According to the superscription, the MS. was written in Mosul, in 1881, for "the excellent teacher Doctor Sachau." مذهب = مذہب ; ك = كذا ; علم = علم ; محكم = محکم ; بسا = بسا ; وچو Arab. ولد.

v. 2.  $\overset{''}{100} = 10\pi \ 10\pi.$

3. |os; (cf. v. 9 |os; ) = |os + mar, the Pers. particle?  
(Saleman, *Persische Grammm.*, p. 27.)

4. **فَرَا** = Pers. **فَرْدِه** 'great, large.'

7.  $\nabla_{\mathbf{v}} \mathbf{v} = \mathbf{v}$ .

ح + ? + Δ or Δ + ? + ح = حمر; جمع ١/ حمره. ٥.  
 حمره = حمر: cf. Nöldeke, *Neu-Syr. Gramm.*, p. 289;  
 حمر = حمر.





- 22 מַחְסֵיפִילָא כְּסָא מַחְסֵיפִילָא פִּרְסֵיפִי \* חֲסָא מַחְסֵיפִילָא מַחְסֵיפִילָא  
 חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא .
- 23 יִסְסֵיפִילָא חֲסָא יִסְסֵיפִילָא חֲסָא יִסְסֵיפִילָא .
- 24 מַחְסֵיפִילָא כְּסָא חֲסָא מַחְסֵיפִילָא אִזָּא חֲסָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא מַחְסֵיפִילָא  
 25 יִסְסֵיפִילָא כְּסָא חֲסָא אִזָּא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא  
 אִזָּא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסָא חֲסֵיפִילָא .
- 26 מַחְסֵיפִילָא כְּסָא חֲסָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא  
 חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא  
 חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא
- 27 מַחְסֵיפִילָא כְּסָא חֲסָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא
- חֲסֵיפִילָא :

17. חֲסֵיפִילָא / חֲסֵיפִילָא .

20. חֲסָא ; חֲסָא + ? = חֲסָא ; Pers. جان 'soul, spirit, life' ; חֲסָא = חֲסָא .

21. חֲסֵיפִילָא חֲסֵיפִילָא = חֲסֵיפִילָא : cf. Nöldeke, *Neu-Syr. Gramm.*, p. 119; Stoddard, *Mod. Syr. Gramm.*, p. 118. For חֲסֵיפִילָא cf. the Old Syriac חֲסֵיפִילָא, Payne Smith, col. 783; Bar Bahlul, cols. 499, 510. = חֲסֵיפִילָא, Levy, *Wörterb. über die Targumim*, i. 150, = חֲסֵיפִילָא, Levy, *ibid.*, i. 127; Nöldeke, *Gott. Gel. Anz.*, 1884, p. 1019.

22. חֲסֵיפִילָא = חֲסָא + חֲסָא .

26. חֲסֵיפִילָא = חֲסָא + חֲסָא .

27. חֲסֵיפִילָא = חֲסָא = חֲסָא : Nöldeke, *Neu-Syr. Gramm.*, p. 296; Guidi, *Z.D.M.G.* xxxvii. 301; חֲסָא = Pers. ارز 'leader' (Richardson, p. 56)?





- 11 ܡܚܬܠܐ ܚܡܐ ܕܡܥܡܐ ܐܝܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܥܡܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ  
 ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ  
 12 ܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ  
 ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ  
 13 ܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ  
 14 ܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ  
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 15 ܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ  
 16 ܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ  
 ܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ ܕܡܚܬܠܐ  
 (sic)

## NOTES.

- v. 7. ܡܚܬܠܐ = ܡܚܬܠܐ ; ܡܚܬܠܐ = ܡܚܬܠܐ .  
 9. ܡܚܬܠܐ cf. v. 10 ܡܚܬܠܐ . ܡܚܬܠܐ i. e. ܡܚܬܠܐ + ܡܚܬܠܐ , but  
 the ending ܡܚܬܠܐ = Arab. ܡܚܬܠܐ , Dozy, Supplement, ii. 678.  
 11. ܡܚܬܠܐ = Arab.-Pers. ܡܚܬܠܐ ; ܡܚܬܠܐ = ܡܚܬܠܐ + ܡܚܬܠܐ with the  
 Turkish abl. ending ܡܚܬܠܐ ? (Müller, *Türkische Gramm.*, p. 35) ; ܡܚܬܠܐ  
 ܡܚܬܠܐ ; ܡܚܬܠܐ = ܡܚܬܠܐ , with which compare the Phœnician pronom-  
 inal suffix of the third pers. masc. pl. ܡܚܬܠܐ = Heb. ܡܚܬܠܐ (Barth. Z.D.M.G.  
 xli. 642) and such forms in the Arabic of Mosul as *finuh* for *فیه* ,  
 and in that of Baghdad as *'alainûh* for *عليه* , *abûnûh* for *أبوه* ,  
 (Clermont-Ganneau, *Journ. As.*, xii. 564) ; and perhaps also the *Nisbe*  
 forms in Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac mentioned by Barth, *Die Nomi-  
 nalbildung*, p. 363.  
 12. ܡܚܬܠܐ ܡܚܬܠܐ .  
 16. ܡܚܬܠܐ = ܡܚܬܠܐ .

\* So in MS.; perhaps ܡܚܬܠܐ .





## ARTICLE XII.

# TWO ASSYRIAN LETTERS.

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Presented to the Society April 22d, 1892.

OF the great mass of Assyro-Babylonian texts which have come down to us, none perhaps, with the exception of the contract-tablets and the rather obscure omen-tablets, have been found in greater numbers or in a better state of preservation than the letters and despatches. These documents deal with almost every phase of life in Assyria and Babylonia, and are often of considerable historical importance. Among them are private letters from individuals of every description, letters of kings to members of their families and to various high officers of the empire, reports of governors of provinces and of military and civil officers, diplomatic reports, police reports, proclamations, petitions, reports of priests on omens: in short, nearly every species of epistolary composition is represented in these interesting texts.

The value of these letters is obvious, but peculiar difficulties attend their interpretation. In the case of many of them we are at a loss to understand the affairs to which they refer, since they were composed under circumstances of which we have no knowledge. Events well known both to the writer and to his correspondent are frequently alluded to in such a way as to give only a slight hint, or none at all, as to their real significance. And this is to be expected, for even a private letter of the present day might well be totally unintelligible to any one unacquainted with the writer and the person to whom it is addressed. Moreover, the language in which they are composed presents another difficulty. It is not the classical language of the historical inscriptions and the poems, but the colloquial language of Assyria and Babylonia, differing from the classical language in about the same way as Cicero's letters from his orations. Words and expressions abound which are not to be found elsewhere, and each individual writer has naturally his peculiarities of style.

Partly on account of these difficulties, but chiefly on account of the greater interest possessed by the historical, poetical, and



grammatical texts, the letters for a long time received very little attention. A few of them were, it is true, translated from time to time, especially such as possessed historical interest; but no systematic study of them was attempted until 1887, when Samuel Alden Smith published a number of Assyrian letters with text, transliteration, translation, and commentary, in a series of papers in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, in 1887-1888, and in parts II. and III. of his *Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipal's*, Leipzig, 1888-1889. Smith's translations and grammatical analyses are in a high degree unsatisfactory, but he has at least the merit of being the pioneer in this branch of Assyriology; and under the circumstances some allowances should be made. Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch of Leipzig, who would appear, from the numerous citations of these texts in his *Assyrian Grammar* and his *Assyrian Dictionary*, to have already given much attention to the subject, next published in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* a series of three papers on Assyrian letters, in which, unlike Smith, he gives the text in transliteration only. His commentary moreover is fuller, and he endeavors to ascertain something about the personality of the writers wherever possible. Many of the texts treated by Prof. Delitzsch in these papers had already been translated by Smith, but in all such cases the necessity for a retranslation is obvious. Prof. Delitzsch, approaching the subject in a truly scientific spirit, and possessing the advantages of a large experience and extensive lexicographical and grammatical collections, has made a great advance over Smith, and has laid down the lines upon which the study of the Assyrian epistolary literature must be carried on in the future. It is to be hoped that in course of time the great mass of these valuable texts, at present unpublished, and many of them not even catalogued, will be made accessible to students. A diligent study of them cannot fail to throw much light both upon the history and upon the social life of Assyria and Babylonia. But such a study will only be possible when we have a complete concordance of all the names of persons and places mentioned in the letters.

The two letters which follow have not hitherto been translated, although a few of the words and phrases contained in them have been quoted by Delitzsch in his *Assyrian Grammar* and in his *Assyrian Dictionary*.

#### I. *The first Letter.*

K828, *Pinches's Texts*, p. 8. Described in Bezold's *Kurzfasser Ueberblick über die Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*, pp. 164, 276; and in his *Catalogue of the cuneiform tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum*, i. 176.

This is a personal letter from King Ashurbanipal to a certain high officer named Bel-ibni, who appears to have failed in some way to carry out his orders. For this he is severely reprimanded, but finally pardoned, and ordered back to duty with special instructions. Prof. Delitzsch gives some biographical notes with reference to this Bel-ibni in B.A.I.234, where he remarks that this letter is an evidence of the cordial good feeling subsisting between the king and his officer.

## OBVERSE.

*Amāt šarri  
ana Bel-ibni  
šulum āši libbaka lū-tābka  
ina eli miṣir ullā  
\* ša bi(?)-gam a-nam-mu ša tuša'idanni  
ul libbā agā'i  
tēmu aškunka  
umma ašša libbā  
ša aqbakka teteṣūma  
10 taddanna minā  
lā parṣēka enna  
minamma ša lā pī'a ana libbi  
tārid atta ša  
manzaz-pāni'a utta  
15 u puluztā tīdū  
libbā agā'  
telepuš u ša lā idū  
akkā'i eppuš.  
enna kī amāt anni  
20 ṣibāta qašatka*

## REVERSE.

*mala ša šī dikēma  
itti ša libbaka  
atā turru ša tablī'a  
errešūka  
25 ša Sin-dini-epuš  
ippušu amurma  
mimma ša ana tarṣišu  
ana epēši tābu  
epušma u ina ūmišu  
30 tammar rēmātka*

## NOTES TO THE FIRST LETTER.

LINE 5. The second character would seem to have been erased according to Pinches's edition of the text, and the line as it stands is untranslatable with exception of the last words *ša tuša'idanni*. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*, p. 812, quotes without translating the word *tuša'id*, which he derives from a stem 𐎶𐎵. I infer its meaning from two passages in which the same word occurs: viz., K.18 (iv. R<sup>2</sup>. 45, No. 2) 54 *ana eli*

*kurummatini ana Um.ruluma' kī tuše'ida kurummatani iddannakunušu, nīšī bītini ina bubāta taddūka,* 'when you applied to U. about our provisions, he gave them to you. You have slain the people of our house with famine.' Again, *ib.* l. 59, *šināšu šelalušu kī uše'idaš ina qāta-šunu ul iṣersu,* 'although they applied for him two or three times, he would not give him into their hands.'

LINE 11. Character XAR (XUR). I have read *parṣē*, according to Brūnnow's *List*, 8538. It might also be read *térēti*, which would have about the same meaning.

LINE 20. *Qašatka*, literally 'thy bow.' For this word in the sense of 'troops, forces,' cf. Pinches's *Texts* 5. 3; 6. 4b; R. 7. 79; *Asurb. Sm.* 1839.

I would propose the following translation.

The word of the King to Bel-ibni: may my greeting do thy heart good. As touching that district [text corrupt] concerning which thou hast applied to me(?), I did not give thee orders to this effect. My words were "so that thou mayest act and give even as I have ordered thee." What now were thine orders? Lo! why didst thou go down thither without my authority, thou who art my chief officer and oughtest to know the reverence due me? Thus shalt thou do; but how can I act without knowing?

See now! Since thou hast sued for grace, collect thy forces as many as they be, with as many (more) as thou desirest. Need I now ask of thee a return for my kindness? I know what Sindini-epush is doing; so, whatever it may be well to do in opposition to him, that do, and then thou shalt find full pardon.

## II. *The second Letter.*

K84, (iv.'45, No. 1.) Described by Bezold in his *Kurzgefasster Ueberblick über die Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*, p. 241, and in his *Catalogue of the cun. tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*, i. 23.

This text contains a proclamation of Assurbanipal to the Babylonians, warning them against the machinations of his half-brother Samassumukin, who was endeavoring to make them discontented and so stir them up to the revolt which culminated in the year 648 B. C. in the death of the rebel brother. Prof. Delitzsch and Mr. Pinches appear to view the document in this light: cf. D<sup>w</sup> p. 76, and the title in the table of contents to iv.R' 1891. Although neither Assurbanipal nor his brother is mentioned in it by name, the whole tenor of the proclamation and the allusions it contains would seem to leave little doubt upon the subject.

### OVERSE.

*Abūt sarri ana Bābīlā'  
šulmu āši libbakunu  
lū-tābkunuši dībē ša šāri  
ša lā azu aḡā idbubakkunuši  
gabbu iddībāni altemešunu*

*šāru la taqīpašu ina libbi Ašur*  
*Marduk ilāni'o attamā ki*  
*dibbe bi'sāte mala*  
*ina muxxi'a idbubu ina libbi'a*  
<sup>10</sup> *quṣṣupaku u ina pi'a*  
*aqā alla nikku šū*  
*ittekil umma šumu ša Bābīlā'*  
*rā'imānišu itti'a lubā'iš*  
*u anāku ul ašimmeši*  
<sup>11</sup> *azūtiku ša itti mārē*  
*Aššur u kidinnātakunu ša aqṣuru*  
*addi eli ša enna šū*  
*itti libbi'a attunu*  
*appittimma šārātēšu*  
<sup>12</sup> *lā tašimmā šunkunu*  
*ša ina pān'a u ina pān mātāti gabbu*  
*banā lā tubā'dša*  
*u ramānkunu ina pān ili*  
*lā tuxattā*

## REVERSE.

<sup>13</sup> *u šātu amāt ša itti libbikunu*  
*quṣṣupakunu anāku idi*  
*umma ennā aššā*  
*nittekirus ana biltini*  
*itara ul biltu ši*  
<sup>14</sup> *'ānu šū ki šumu*  
*qurbānā u ašša itti*  
*bel dabābi'a tatašizza*  
*šū ki šakān bilti*  
*ina muxxi ramenkunu u xattū*  
<sup>15</sup> *ina libbi adē ina pān ili enna*  
*adū altaprakkunūši*  
*ki ina dibbe aganāte ittišu*  
*ramānkunu la tutānipa*  
*xanṭiš gabri šipirti'a*  
<sup>16</sup> *lāmur qiṣru ša ana Bel*  
*aqṣur sikipti Marduk*  
*aqā ina qāti'a la ixebbil*  
*arax Āru ūmu xxiii limmu Ašur-dāra-liṣṣur*  
*Samaš-balāṣu-iqbī*  
*ittābil.*

## NOTES TO THE SECOND LETTER.

LINE 3. The word *šāru*, translated 'falsehood,' means properly 'wind;' *dibbe ša šāri* are therefore literally 'words of wind.'

LINE 4. *lā aṣu aqā*, literally 'this no brother;' cf. the Hebrew expression לֹא אָח and the like. Prof. Delitzsch, W.B. p. 76, art. *aqā*, renders 'dieser Nicht-Bruder,' and adds the remark "so nennt Asurbanipal seinen treulosen Bruder Samassumukin."

LINE 10. *Quççupaku*, 'I think,' st. קִצָּךְ. The meaning would seem to be clear both from this line and from line 26 below.

LINE 16. *Kidinátakunu ša aqçuru*. Cf. B.A.II.29; Leh. *Samassumukin*, Pt. II., p. 60.

LINE 17. *addi*. For another example of this unusual spelling, cf. D<sup>m</sup> 182, l. 1.

LINE 19. *Appittima*. Cf. D<sup>a</sup> p. 213, B.A.I. 235. *šārâtešu*, fem. pl. of *šāru*: for the length of the vowel *ē*, cf. Haupt, E-vowel, p. 5.

LINE 20. *Sunkunu* = *šumkunu*: cf. B.A.I. 14, n. 7. The *n* is here a guttural nasal, as in Greek ἀνάγκη.

LINE 25. The third character *za* is evidently an error for *a*, so that we should read *šātu amāt*.

LINE 29. *Itara* st. וִתָּר, a form after analogy of verbs וִתָּן. In the contract-tablets both this verb and וִשָּׁךְ regularly form their presents in this way; cf. Tallquist, *Sprache der Contr. Nabon.*, pp. 18, 68, 69.

LINE 31. The *qurbanū* seems to have been an impost intended for some special religious purpose. It is not impossible that the words in lines 40, 41, *qiçru ša ana Bel aqçur*, may have reference to the *qurbanū*. At any rate, the point which the King desires to make is that certain imposts of which the Babylonians complain are not a *biltu* or state-tax, but a *qurbanū* or religious tax, doubtless for the support of their own temples. The word occurs in the contract-tablets: cf. Tallquist, 124.

LINE 41. *Sikipti Marduk agā*, literally 'this overthrown (overthrowing) of Marduk.' Nabū-bel-šumāti is called *sikipti-Bel* in K.13. (iv. R<sup>1</sup>.45, No. 2) 39. Delitzsch, W.B., p. 76, remarks in connection with his rendering of *lā axā agā* mentioned above, "Ist etwa auch Z.42 *sikipti Marduk agā* als ein auf Samassumukin bezügliches Schmähwort zu fassen?"

For this text, I would offer the following rendering.

Will of the King to the Babylonians: may my greeting do your hearts good. The lying words which this unnatural brother has spoken to you, all that he has spoken, I have heard. It is falsehood; trust him not therein. I swear by Assur and Marduk, my gods, that all the evil things he has imputed to me as feeling them in my heart or speaking them with my mouth are a string of falsehoods which he has invented, thinking "I will make the reputation of the Babylonians who love him as disgraceful as my own;" but I will not listen to it. Your brotherhood with the Assyrians, and the relation of true subjects which I have established, are dear to my heart even to the present moment. Do ye henceforth listen not to his lies. Befoul not your fair fame which is now unspotted before me and before all the world, nor make yourselves sinners before the God. But I know that thing which ye think in your hearts. Ye say "Lo! because we are obnoxious to him, he adds to our taxes." 'Tis no tax. The *qurbanū* is nothing but a name, and because ye have taken sides with my adversary, ye choose to consider this as imposition of taxes and sinning against the oaths sworn before God. Lo! I now send word to you not to defile yourselves with these plots with him. Let me quickly get an answer to my letter. The treasure which I have amassed for Bel this god-forsaken wretch shall not get out of my hands and waste.

Month of Iyyar, 23d day, Eponymy of Ašur-dūra-liççur. Brought by Shamash-balašsuiqbī.

## ARTICLE XIII.

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# THE SUMERO-AKKADIAN QUESTION.

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At a comparatively early period in the history of Assyriology it became evident to investigators that the cuneiform tablets of Assyria and Babylonia presented not only a Semitic language, but also, alongside of it, an idiom differing widely from the Semitic type both in grammar and in vocabulary. A peculiar feature of this latter idiom was the fact that it was written for the most part in ideograms, with which were combined certain phonetic elements, serving to indicate the proper pronunciation of words and to constitute grammatical forms. In structure it bore some resemblance to the so-called Turanian group, and at all events was distinctly agglutinative. The numerous texts composed in it were, with exception of the inscriptions of some early Babylonian kings, almost exclusively of a religious character, consisting of hymns, penitential psalms, charms, exorcisms, and magical formulæ of various sorts, usually accompanied by an interlinear or parallel Semitic version. It was further found that the old Assyrian and Babylonian scholars had devoted much attention to the study of this language, and had composed a considerable number of lexicographical and grammatical works for its elucidation.

This non-Semitic idiom received from the earlier Assyriologists various names—Sumerian, Akkadian, Proto-Babylonian, Proto-Chaldean—and was regarded by them as the speech of a people who preceded the Semites in Babylonia, invented the cuneiform system of writing, and laid the foundations of Babylonian civilization. From this ancient people, it was believed, the Semitic immigrants or invaders derived their civilization, and in large measure also their religious conceptions; so that when, in course of time, the Semitic element of the population

and the Semitic language became predominant, the old tongue was preserved as a ritual language, holding the same place that Latin holds to-day in the Roman Catholic church. This would explain the fact that the great majority of the non-Semitic texts are of a religious nature, as also the zeal of the Assyro-Babylonian priestly scholars in its study and preservation. Such, down to the year 1874, was the general opinion on the subject; the only material points respecting which scholars were at all at variance was the minor one of nomenclature.

In 1874, however, the distinguished French epigraphist Joseph Halévy propounded a novel theory, which he has since defended with great ability. According to him, the so-called Akkadian or Sumerian people are a pure myth; no such people ever existed. The Semites were the real inventors of cuneiform writing, which, originally ideographic, was in course of time developed into a phonetic system, just as is the case with Egyptian. The priests, however, in order to lend an air of greater mystery to their sacred writings and render them incomprehensible to the profane vulgar, devised a most ingenious and complicated system of cryptography. Taking the old Semitic ideograms as its basis, they assigned to them conventional phonetic values and meanings, and, adding to them certain arbitrarily chosen signs to represent pronouns, particles, and grammatical forms, they invented, not a new language, but a mysterious allographic method of writing the Semitic Assyro-Babylonian. The priestly method Halévy styles Hieratic, the ordinary method Demotic. These views were earnestly combatted by the upholders of the older theory, and, though the question has been vigorously debated down to the present time, the battle is still in progress.

In 1880 a new feature was introduced into the controversy by the discovery that the non-Semitic language appeared in two different forms, each possessing certain peculiarities; that one of these forms was the language of the hymns and penitential psalms, and the other that of the incantations; and that this difference had been recognized by the old Assyrian priestly scholars, who had drawn up special vocabularies for the explanation of the two forms, to one of which, the idiom of the penitential psalms, they applied the technical designation of *eme sal*, generally translated 'female (or woman's) language.' At first the difference was regarded as dialectic, some Assyriologists holding that the *eme sal* was the dialect of Sumer or Southern Babylonia, and that the incantations were composed in that of Akkad or in Northern-Babylonian, while others held that the incantations were South-Babylonian or Sumerian, and the penitential psalms North-Babylonian or

Akkadian. Later, however, the theory was introduced that the difference was not local but temporal; that the idiom of the incantations was the older, and should be styled Old Sumerian or simply Sumerian; and that the penitential psalms presented a later form of the language of the incantations, to be designated as Neo-Sumerian.\*

To sum up the whole question in a few words, the Sumerists hold that Sumerian was a real language, spoken by the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia, and appearing in two forms differing from each other either locally or temporally; while the position of J. Halévy and other anti-Sumerists, whose ranks have been strengthened by such distinguished scholars as the late Stanislas Guyard of Paris and Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch of Leipzig, is that it was no language at all, but merely a figment of the priestly class, a pure cryptography.

It is obviously beyond the scope of a brief paper like this to attempt to decide a question which has been debated by able scholars for many years. It may, however, be allowable to present some of the principal arguments on each side, and to offer some considerations as to the manner in which the question must finally be decided.

The chief arguments brought forward by the anti-Sumerists against the existence of a Sumerian language and in favor of the Semitic origin of cuneiform writing are as follows:—

1. If, they say, such a people really existed, and played such an important part in the civilization of the Semites, why are they never mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions? Why have they left no memorials of themselves in the shape of temples, sculptures, or inscriptions?

2. We find that a considerable number of the phonetic values of cuneiform characters are indubitably of Semitic origin, being derived from the initial syllables of the Semitic words they ideographically represent. To illustrate this by a few examples:—The characters which, as phonograms, have the values of *iç*, *bit* *ša*, *dan*, *çab*, are identical with the characters which, as ideograms, represent respectively the Semitic words *içu* 'wood,' *bitu* 'house,' *šakānu* 'make,' *dannu* 'mighty,' and *çabu* 'soldier.' Nor does this occur in only a few cases, or even in comparatively few cases; it is true in a considerable number of instances. If then we could trace back to its source every phonetic value, it is more reasonable, they say, to infer that all would be found to proceed from a Semitic origin than to assume a derivation from another idiom.

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\* Cf. remarks of Prof. Haupt in *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. xiii., p. xlvii.



3. The so-called Sumerian contains such a large proportion of genuine, although more or less thinly disguised, Semitic words as to exclude the idea of simple borrowing. The theory of the existence of Sumerian therefore falls to the ground, since the remaining words which cannot now be referred to Semitic roots, either in Assyrian or in the cognate languages, may really be good Semitic words from obsolete roots, or may be purely conventional words invented by the priests.

4. In the matter of grammar, Sumerian, it is claimed, presents many points of contact with Assyrian. It possesses a *šu* stem and a *ta-an* stem, corresponding with the Assyrian *šafel* and stems with infixed *t*; its adverbial ending is *eš*, corresponding to the Assyrian adverbial ending *iš*; Sumerian '*ge*', like Assyrian *lū*, is not only a precative but an emphatic particle, and moreover '*ge-a* . . . '*ge'a*', like *lū* . . . *lū*, means 'whether . . . or'; Sumerian, like Assyrian, has suffix pronouns. The inference is plain that such forms can only be due to a conscious imitation of Semitic grammar. Such briefly are the principal arguments on which the anti-Sumerists rest their case.

The Sumerists answer as follows:

1. Even if it were true that the Sumerians are never mentioned and that they have left no traces, nothing would be proved thereby. Babylonia has been as yet only partially explored, and ample memorials of this people may come to light at any day. But it is not true. The Sumerians are mentioned in the cuneiform texts, and there are numerous traces of them in Babylonia. If Hammurabi had bilingual inscriptions composed in Semitic and Sumerian, it was certainly not with the view of concealing their meaning. The statues found at Tel-Loh by M. de Sarzec are decidedly not of a Semitic type, and can only be regarded as memorials of the ancient Sumerians.

That many characters possess Semitic phonetic values is precisely what we might expect. No one can suppose that the Semites simply appropriated the Sumerian system of writing without any modification. They must necessarily have adapted it to the needs of their language and its phonetic system. That in the process of adaptation new phonetic values were introduced, and these too derived from the Semitic values of the ideograms, was most natural. Moreover, almost invariably the Sumerian phonetic value was retained alongside of the Semitic. Taking the examples cited above, we have:

*iç*, Ass. *içu*; but Sum. *giš* = 'wood.'  
*bit*, Ass. *bītu*; but Sum. *ē* = 'house.'  
*ša*, Ass. *šakānu*; but Sum. *gar* = 'make.'  
*dan*, Ass. *dannu*; but Sum. *kala* = 'mighty.'  
*çab*, Ass. *çābu*; but Sum. *erim* = 'soldier.'

That many Semitic words are to be found in Sumerian is an undoubted fact ; but their number is greatly less than is claimed by the anti-Sumerists. It is acknowledged by all that nearly all the Sumerian texts we possess may have been composed, long after the language had ceased to be spoken, by priestly scholars who acquired it as a learned accomplishment, and that, just as in the case of mediæval Latin, many foreign words would naturally creep in. But the anti-Sumerists have been led to extremes by the craze for Semitic etymologies, and have made many palpable errors.

2. As regards the grammar, the resemblance is merely superficial. The *šu* and *ta-an* stems by no means coincide with the Assyrian *šafel* and stems with infixed *t*. Many languages possess suffix-prepositions. The other resemblances are either accidental or due to the Semitic environments of the scribes. To offset these superficial resemblances, there remains the fact that the whole structure of Akkadian grammar is radically different from that of Assyrian.

This, then, is the position of the Sumerists, and they do little more than attempt to refute the arguments of their opponents. In fact, the whole treatment of the question by both sides is far from satisfactory. The anti-Sumerists seek to draw deductions from a number of isolated examples, and from the inherent probabilities of the case. The Sumerists, as a rule, assuming the correctness of their views, throw the burden of proof upon their adversaries, and content themselves with refuting the arguments they advance. Something more than this is necessary. Dr. Lehmann, it is true, in his *Samušsumukin* (which has recently appeared), seems to recognize this, and devotes considerable space to establishing the fact that Sumerian possesses a definite phonetic and syntactic system, radically different from the Assyrian. Even this is not sufficient, as such conditions are by no means incompatible with the theory of artificiality.

The arguments outlined above are useful as corroborative testimony, but they do not go down to the root of the matter.

The question can only be decided on the basis of the idiom itself. If Sumerian was ever a living language, it must present the phenomena of a living language. If it does this, no amount of loan-words, however large, can invalidate its claim to a real existence. Modern Persian has borrowed so freely from Arabic as to give rise to the saying that any good Arabic word is a good Persian word ; yet it will never be considered a Semitic language. The question then resolves itself into this: does Sumerian present those organic phenomena which are characteristic of living speech ?

1. As to its phonology—Do we find instances of assimilation, dissimilation, vowel-harmony, or other changes dependent on the adjacent sounds?

2. As to its vocabulary—Do the Sumerian words present characteristic concepts? Or, as it must be studied through the medium of Assyrian, the question can be put in another form: are the same Sumerian words invariably rendered by the same Assyrian words in the way of a mere slavish reproduction? Or are they rendered by different words, according to the shade of meaning to be expressed, so that they clearly represent individually concepts peculiar to their idiom? In other words, are there such differences of rendering as always occur in translating—say from German into English?

3. As to the forms—Do the same Sumerian always correspond to the same Assyrian grammatical forms? Or do we find such differences as may justly be considered due to a difference in the organization of the two languages? For example, do we find cases in which the same Sumerian verb-forms are variously rendered in Assyrian, and vice versa?

4. As to the syntax—Is the Sumerian sentence merely modeled on the Assyrian? or does it possess characteristics which can find their analogy in any living speech?

5. How far does Semitism on the part of the scribe enter into cases of resemblance? and, on the other hand, to what extent does the Sumerian influence Assyrian translation?

It is on these lines, and these alone, that the question can be definitely settled. The whole bilingual literature must be carefully gone over, and all instances bearing on the above points collected. The mass of material thus gathered must be thoroughly sifted, and all doubtful cases eliminated. When this work is done, and the results have been tabulated and studied, we shall be in a position to draw our conclusions with the least possibility of error, and to settle definitely the much vexed Sumero-Akkadian question.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
AT ITS  
MEETING IN BOSTON, MASS.,

May 7th, 1890.

THE Annual meeting of the Society was held at Boston, in the room of the American Academy, on Wednesday, May 7th, 1890. In the absence of the President, Professor W. D. Whitney, the Society was called to order by the Vice-President, Dr. A. P. Peabody, at a little after 10 A. M. A recess was taken from 12.30 until 2 P. M., and the business was resumed and completed in the afternoon, the newly elected President, Dr. W. Hayes Ward, in the chair.

The accounts of the Treasurer, Mr. Van Name, were audited and found correct and duly certified. The usual summary follows :

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, May 22d, 1889.....	\$808.89
Assessments (117) paid in for year 1889-90 .....	\$585.00
Assessments (41) for other years.....	205.00
Sales of journal .....	136.89
Interest on bank-deposit .....	3.96
	980.85
Total receipts for the year.....	\$1,239.24

EXPENDITURES.

Paper .....	\$126.00
Printing of Proceedings.....	89.26
Electroplates, vol. xiv., in part.....	754.55
Duties on same .....	172.31
Freight and charges on same.....	28.65
Expenses of correspondence (postages, etc.) .....	17.80
	\$1,188.57
Total disbursements for the year .....	\$1,188.57
Balance on hand, May 7th, 1890.....	50.67
	\$1,239.24

The Bradley type-fund now amounts to \$1,220.54.

Besides what is stated above, the Treasurer reported a gift from Mr. A. I. Cotheal, of New York, one of the oldest members of the Society, and long a Director, of one thousand dollars, intended by the donor as a nucleus of a Publication Fund, and prescribed by him to be invested, that its interest may be used to help in defraying the costs of the Journal and Proceedings.

Mr. Cotheal's gift was acknowledged by the following minute, offered by Mr. L. Dickerman :

We desire to express our unanimous sense of obligation to Mr. Alexander I. Cotheal, of New York City, for his unsolicited, generous, and timely gift of one thousand dollars to the funds of the American Oriental Society.

The report of the Librarian, Mr. Van Name, showed that forty volumes and one hundred and eighty-seven parts of volumes and pamphlets had been added to the library during the year. The number of titles of printed books is now four thousand four hundred and seventy-two. The number of manuscripts remains as last year, one hundred and sixty-two.

The Committee of Publication laid before the Society a complete copy of the Journal, volume xiv., just out of the press and in the hands of the binder.

For the Board of Directors the Chair made the following announcements : The next meeting would be held at Princeton, N. J., Wednesday, October 22d, 1890 ; Messrs. Frothingham and Marquand had been appointed to serve as a Committee of Arrangements. The Committee of Publication for 1890-91 consists of the President and the Corresponding and Recording Secretaries and Professors W. D. Whitney and I. H. Hall.

The following persons were elected to membership :

As Corporate Members :

Rev. Daniel M. Bates, Clifton Heights, Pa. ;  
 Prof. Charles W. Benton, State Univ., Minneapolis, Minn. ;  
 Mr. Adolf Augustus Berle, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass. ;  
 Prof. John Everett Brady, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. ;  
 Mr. Marvin Dugro Buttles, New York, N. Y. (118 E. 28) ;  
 Prof. A. S. Carrier, McCormick Theol. Sem., Chicago, Ill. ;  
 Mr. Edward Herrick Chandler, Boston, Mass. (Congr'l House) ;  
 Miss Emily L. Clark, Roslindale, Mass. ;  
 Prof. Edward L. Curtis, McCormick Theol. Sem., Chicago, Ill. ;  
 Mr. George Edward Ely, Philadelphia, Pa. (248 W. Logan Sq.) ;  
 Mr. George Stephen Goodspeed, Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn. ;  
 Rabbi Dr. Louis Grossman, Detroit, Mich. ;  
 Dr. Abel H. Huizinga, New Paltz, N. Y. ;  
 Mr. Charles F. Kent, New Haven, Conn. ;  
 Prof. David C. Marquis, McCormick Theol. Sem., Chicago, Ill. ;  
 Mrs. Matilda R. McConnell, Washington, D. C. (222 2d) ;  
 Mr. John Orne, Cambridge, Mass. (104 Ellery St.) ;

Mr. Theodore Langdon Van Norden, Columbia Coll., New York, N. Y.  
(16 West 48th);

Miss Helen L. Webster, Ph.D., Wellesley Coll., Wellesley, Mass.;

Mr. George Edward Wright, Chicago, Ill. (115 Dearborn).

As Honorary Members :

Heinrich Brugsch-Pasha, Berlin ;

Dr. Antonio Maria Ceriani, Milan, Italy ;

Right Hon. Sir Austen Henry Layard, G. C. B., etc., Venice ;

Prof. Eberhard Schrader, Berlin.

The election of officers for the ensuing year being now in order, the Corresponding Secretary read a communication from Professor W. D. Whitney, positively declining to be a candidate for re-election as President, because, his health having forbidden him during four years past to attend the Society's meetings, and the hope of decided improvement appearing at present even less grounded and fainter than hitherto, he was unwilling to continue longer to occupy an office of which he must leave unfulfilled some of the most important duties.

On proposal of a Nominating Committee, the following board of officers for 1890-91 was then elected :

*President*—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York.

*Vice-Presidents*—Rev. A. P. Peabody, of Cambridge, Mass.; E. E. Salisbury, of New Haven; Pres. D. C. Gilman, of Baltimore.

*Recording Secretary*—Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Cambridge.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Prof. C. R. Lanman, of Cambridge.

*Secretary of the Classical Section*—Prof. W. W. Goodwin, of Cambridge.

*Treasurer and Librarian*—Mr. A. Van Name, of New Haven.

*Directors*—Mr. A. I. Cotheal and Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, of New York; Prof. A. L. Frothingham, of Princeton; Prof. M. Bloomfield, of Baltimore; Prof. J. P. Taylor, of Andover; Prof. J. Henry Thayer, of Cambridge; Prof. Edward W. Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr, Pa.

On motion, the Chair appointed Professors Toy and Lanman to prepare for the books of the Society an appropriate minute in relation to Professor Whitney's withdrawal, and the following, proposed by them, was accepted and ordered to be entered :

The American Oriental Society—regretfully accepting his declination—desires to record its deep sense of indebtedness to its retiring President. Professor William Dwight Whitney, of New Haven. For twenty-seven years he has served as Corresponding Secretary of the Society; for eighteen, as its Librarian; and for six, as its President. We gratefully acknowledge the obligation under which he has laid us by his diligent attendance at the meetings, by his unstinted giving of time and of labor in editing the publications and maintaining their high scientific character, by the quality and amount of his own contributions to the *Journal*—more than half of volumes vi.-xii. coming from his pen—and above all by the inspiration of his example.

On taking the chair at the opening of the afternoon session, Dr. Ward thanked the Society for honoring him with the presidency, and spoke of the great services of his predecessor, Professor Whitney, to the Society and to scholarship.

The Chair called upon Dr. Adler to state the reasons for moving to obtain a national charter for the Society. Dr. Adler adverted to the fact that under the Massachusetts charter the annual business meetings must be held in Boston; and that, if the southern and western members desired to attend them, in order to have their part in the direction of its administration, they were obliged to do more than their fair share of travel. Under a national charter, the business meetings could be held at various convenient places in turn. He also thought that arrangements might perhaps be made by which—as is the case with the American Historical Association—the publications might be cast into the form of Government Reports and so printed without expense to the Society, leaving the funds free for other purposes.

It was voted that the Recording Secretary state on the cards of announcement of the next meeting that the question of the advisability of obtaining a national charter will be discussed at the Princeton meeting.

Dr. Adler reported that the authorities of the Telfair Academy of Savannah, Georgia, had voted to send its collection of manuscripts, mentioned in the last number of the Proceedings (vol. xiv., p. cxlvii), to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, in order that they may there be accessible to scholars, for the period of one year.

On motion, the Corresponding Secretary was requested to collect and arrange the material for a brief history of the Society, in view of the approaching fiftieth anniversary of its organization.

After the usual vote of thanks to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for the use of its assembly-room, the Society stood adjourned, to meet at Princeton, N. J., October 22, 1890.

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The following communications were presented :

1. On Skt. *hradē'caksus*, RV. x. 95. 6; by Dr. A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College, New York City.

The interesting Purūravas and Urvaṅī hymn, RV. x. 95, pictures the delusive, fleeting, and evanescent character of the Apsarases more clearly, perhaps, than any of the comparatively few hymns of the Rig Veda in which the Apsarases play a part. The love-lorn Purūravas, wandering distracted, meets upon the margin of a lake his beloved Urvaṅī, who has abandoned him. He begs her to return, but Urvaṅī—like the *Rheintöchter* beguiling Alberich in the Rheingold—mockingly eludes him, and disports with her Nereid-like companions, as she tantalizingly rejects his entreaties. As Urvaṅī and her comrades dart away Purūravas exclaims (RV. x. 95. 6) :—

*yā sujūrñīḥ grē'ñīḥ sumndāpir*  
*hradē'cakṣur nā granthīnī caranyuḥ*  
*tā aṅjāyō 'ruṇḍyō nā sasruḥ.*

This verse, as Geldner remarks in his admirable treatment of the hymn—Pischel-Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, p. 273—is obscure, on account of the presence of several *āp. λεγ.* Particularly doubtful is the *āp. λεγ. hradē'cakṣus*. For this word a conjecture might possibly be offered. Could *hradē'cakṣus*, lit. 'eye-in-the-lake,' perhaps be the will o' the wisp, the ignis fatuus? The exclamation might then be taken thus:

'(The nymphs) Sujurni, Çreni, Sumnaapi,  
 Will o' the wisp-like, flickering and fleeting,  
 Like the red gleams of dawn they all are vanished.'

In this way, *pāda a* would be regarded as containing names of the Apsarases; *pāda b*, as giving characteristic attributes, and *na* as the usual *na* of comparison; *pāda c* would picture their movements. It seems preferable thus to give *pāda b* the character of an adjectival element. In *c*, moreover, *aṅjāyō* has been connected with AS. *ūhtan*.

The conjecture that *hradē'cakṣus* may mean 'will o' the wisp' is of course a mere guess, for over the *āp. λεγ.* we have no control. The suggestion can, therefore, have little real weight; but perhaps some other instance of the word may yet be found that will give us its true significance. The meaning, however, here suggested seems well to suit the context, and describes the changeable, deceptive character of the Apsarases. The scene, moreover—see especially the later tradition—is upon the bank of some pool or pond. *Urvaçī* herself is a 'maid of the mist' (*dpyā*, v. 10). The whole picture would suggest that the old derivation of *apsaras*, from *dp* 'water' + *ṣar* 'glide, flow' (cf. also *sasruḥ* in v. 6, here treated), is perhaps nearest the original idea of the word.

2. The Skandayāga, text and translation; by Charles J. Goodwin, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The twentieth of the unedited *Pariçiṣṭas* of the Atharva-Veda, of which the text and translation are herewith presented, seems to reveal a hitherto little recognized function of the Indian War-God Skanda. Although the purpose of the ceremonial is not as yet altogether clear, the text is in a very good condition, and certain considerations as to its meaning and use may be offered. The manuscripts collated were four: A and B, the yellow and blue manuscripts, from the India House, London, both modern, and B very corrupt; C and D, copies of two Berlin manuscripts.

The *Pariçiṣṭa* is entitled the Skandayāga, or Dhūrtakalpa. The term *skandayāga* is descriptive of the text, which contains the ritual of a sacrifice to the God of War. The title *dhūrtakalpa*, however, meaning literally 'Rogue-ordinance,' is not so clear. The term *Dhūrta* is applied to Skanda, who is probably represented by an image or *dhūrta*, which is formally "brought in" at the sacrifice. The general purport of the



ceremony is to seek the fulfilment of wishes, the attainment of wealth and prosperity; and freedom from the maleficent deeds of demons and of men is sought by an amulet.

A careful consideration of the text and the ceremony described have led to the conclusion that in Skanda, as he appears in this text, we have the same god of cunning and roguery, the same patron of thieves, whose office was sanctioned by Apollo in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes:

τοῦτο γὰρ οὖν καὶ ἔπειτα μετ' ἀθανάτοις γέρας ἔξεις,  
ἀρχὸς φηγέων κεκλήσεται ἡματα πάντα.—291-2.

Hermes and Skanda certainly cannot be connected by etymology, or by comparative mythology, and the parallel here traced is simply one of function. The conception of the Master-Thief, however, which reaches its highest elaboration in the Greek conception of Hermes, runs through all Aryan mythology. Sir G. W. Cox (*Aryan Mythology*, 2d ed., pp. 61 ff., 446 ff.) has collected the various legends in which he appears, and summarizes his principal characteristics.

Skanda is a divinity of late origin,<sup>1</sup> and is nowhere mentioned in the Vedas. His name appears in the Upaniṣads, however, and in the epic and drama it is prominent. The word is commonly referred to the root *skand* 'leap,' suggesting the Homeric *θοῦρος Ἄρης* (*θρόσκω, θορεῖν*). The unanimous authority of Indian literature declares that Skanda was fostered by the Pleiades (*Kṛttikās*), and hence received the name *Kārttikeya*. Professor Weber, however, (*Ind. St.* i. 269; xiii. 346 n.; ZDMG. xxvii. 194) maintains that the name is rather derived from that of the month *Kārttikā* (October-November), in which military expeditions were principally undertaken—as conversely the Roman March was named after the god, on account of its fitness for martial operations. Besides these more common names, Skanda has a vast number of epithets, drawn from his qualities or exploits, many of which appear in the present text.

Skanda corresponds in a general way to the Greek Ares and the Roman Mars; yet an examination of passages in which he is introduced seems to show a noteworthy difference between the Indian conception and that of the classic mythology—especially in the absence of that heaviness, that brute force, unrelieved by lighter and more vivacious qualities, which characterize the War-God of the Greeks and Romans. In Mars we expect only prodigious strength, a mighty and crushing blow, not any exhibition of quick dexterity or mercurial cunning. Skanda could indeed strike a mighty blow; yet the characteristic of strength is not paramount in him, as in the classic gods. He rides upon a peacock, not upon a war-horse. His beauty is often mentioned, and furnishes ground for many comparisons. In general, the impression which may be obtained from the frequent mention made of him in the literature, but which it is difficult to express in exact terms, or

<sup>1</sup> Weber suspects that both name and divinity are a reminiscence of Alexander the Great: *Ind. Streif.* iii. 478.

illustrate by example, prepares us for the rôle which he plays in the present text. As he is a later god, whose position and function are not fixed by the Vedas, this curious and subordinate capacity may easily have been attributed to him.

By the interpretation suggested, the use of the epithet Dhūrta—a word of unquestionable meaning—the direction of the petition to Skanda as Dhūrta, the “bringing-in” and presence at the ceremony of the Dhūrta itself, or image of the god in this function, are explained. The prayer for material prosperity and the assurance of preservation by an amulet from magic, from foes, and from the evil deeds of men and women, while they do not point directly to such a function, are quite consistent with it.

There are certain minor resemblances between Skanda and Hermes, which perhaps ought not to be too strongly insisted upon, but which are curiously suggestive. Hermes is the new-born babe, Skanda is the ever-youthful (*kumāra*); and in this very text he is addressed as the one born to-day (*sadyojāta*). Hermes is the luck-bringer (*εὐφρόνιος*); Skanda is the wish-granter (*varada*). Hermes is the splendid, glorious (*κίδιμος, ἀγλαός*); Skanda is the beautiful, glorious (*śubha*). Hermes is wily and thievish (*ποικιλομήτης, πολύμητις, δολομήτης, δολοφροδής, φηλήτης*); Skanda is the rogue (*dhūrta*). Hermes assumes and puts off a man's strength at will; Skanda has all forms (*sarvarūpa*).

The appellation Skandaputra (‘Son of Skanda’), actually found in the literature (Mṛcchakaṭikā 47. 6) as the name of a thief, seems an indication from another source of the recognition of this same function.

Finally, it is a curious coincidence that the name Skanda itself (as the ‘leaping, moving one’) is applied to quicksilver, to which the name of the Latin god Mercury was given by the alchemists, in token of its mobility.

The conception of Skanda as a god of knavery, though it rests mainly upon this single text, is certainly not alien to the character or moral notions of the Hindus; and we may hope for the discovery of further passages which shall throw light upon Skanda and Dhūrta.

Following is the text and a literal translation of the Dhūrtakalpa. To the text are appended all the various readings that appear to have any degree of importance.

#### TEXT.

*athā 'to dhūrtakalpaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ.*

*caturṣu-caturṣu māseṣu phālguṇāṣāḍhakārttike pūrvapakṣeṣu nityaṃ kurvīta. śvobhūte śaṣṭhyām upavāsaṃ kṛtvā prāgudicīm diśaṃ niṣkramya<sup>1</sup> śucāu deçe manohare 'nūṣare' maṇḍalaṃ trayodaśāratniṃ kṛtvā madhye<sup>2</sup> maṇḍalaśya sarvaśāntaspatyaṃ mālāṃ kṛtvā<sup>3</sup> ghaṇṭā-patākāśrajaḥ pratisaraṃ ca mālāpṛṣṭhe kṛtvā madhye darpaṇāṅś co 'pakalpayitvā tatra' yaṃ vahanṭi haṃyāḥ śvetā ity āvāhayet. [1.]<sup>4</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> C.D. *niṣkramya*. <sup>2</sup> B. omits *manohare 'nūṣare'*; C. omits *deçe* and *nūṣare*; D. omits *nūṣare*; A. reads *noṣare*. <sup>3</sup> A.D. *madhya*. <sup>4</sup> A. *kṛtvā mālāṃ*; D. omits

*mālān.* <sup>5</sup> B. *upakalpayitvā manohare tōṣa* (I). <sup>6</sup> The end of the first section is not indicated in the MSS., but should probably be here. The *dhūrta* thus brought in appears to be the image or idol of Skanda in this function.

*yam vahanti hayāḥ cvetā nityam yuktā<sup>1</sup> manojavāḥ<sup>2</sup>*  
*tam aham cvetasamnāham dhūrtam āvāhayāmy aham.*  
*yam vahanti gajāḥ siṅhā vyāghrāḥ cā 'pi viṣāṇinaḥ :*  
*tam aham siṅhasamnāham dhūrtam āvāhayāmy aham.<sup>3</sup>*  
*yam vahanti mayūrāḥ ca citrapakṣā vihaṅgamāḥ :*  
*tam aham citrasamnāham dhūrtam āvāhayāmy aham.*  
*yam vahanti sarvavarṇāḥ sadā yuktā manojavāḥ :*  
*tam aham sarvasamnāham dhūrtam āvāhayāmy aham.*  
*yasyā<sup>4</sup> moghā sadā caktir nityam ghaṇṭāpatākini :*  
*tam aham caktisamnāham dhūrtam āvāhayāmy aham.*  
*yaḥ ca mātṛgaṇḍair nityam sadā parivṛto yuvā :*  
*tam aham mātṛbhīḥ sārḍham<sup>5</sup> dhūrtam āvāhayāmy aham.*  
*yaḥ ca<sup>6</sup> kanyāsahasreṇa sadā parivṛto mahān.<sup>7</sup>*  
*tam aham siṅhasamnāham<sup>8</sup> dhūrtam āvāhayāmy aham.*

*āyātu devaḥ saganāḥ sasāinyāḥ savāhanaḥ sānucarāḥ pratitaḥ :*  
*ṣaḍānanosṭho<sup>9</sup> daṣṭalocanaḥ ca suvarṇavarṇo<sup>10</sup> laghupūrṇabhāsaḥ<sup>11</sup>.*  
*āyātu<sup>12</sup> devo mama kṛttikeyo brahmaṇyapitrāḥ saha mātṛbhīḥ ca :*  
*bhrātrāḥ viṣeṣeṇa tu<sup>13</sup> viṣvarūpa imam baliṁ sānucara juṣasva.*

*samviṣasve<sup>14</sup> 'ti samveṣayet. 2.*

<sup>1</sup> A. *nityam ukta*; B. *nityayukta*; C.D. *nityukta*. <sup>2</sup> For the figure cf. II. xv. 80-83; Od. vii. 36. <sup>3</sup> The MSS. abbreviate variously the refrain at the end of this and the following verses. <sup>4</sup> B. *ahamātṛbhīḥ ṣārdham*; A.C.D. *çaktisannāham*; *mātṛsamnāham* would not be a violent change. <sup>5</sup> A.C.D. *yasya*. <sup>6</sup> A. *parivṛtaḥ pumān*, which affords a better contrast with *yuvā* in the preceding ṣloka. <sup>7</sup> Why not *kanyāsamnāham*, in accordance with the other ṣlokas? <sup>8</sup> MSS. *-osṭha*. <sup>9</sup> C. omits *varṇo*. <sup>10</sup> So MSS.; should we read *madhupūrṇabhāsaḥ*? <sup>11</sup> A.C.D. *ayāhi*. <sup>12</sup> C. *tu ca*. <sup>13</sup> B. *sasyag iti svam viṣasve*.

*samviṣasva<sup>1</sup> varaghaṇṭāsarasatave<sup>2</sup> yatra dyohi<sup>3</sup> nirmilāḥ<sup>4</sup> samviṣto*  
*me dhehi dīrgham āyulḥ prajāṁ paçūñḥ cāi 'va vindyakasenaḥ. i m d<sup>5</sup>*  
*ā pa<sup>6</sup> iti gandhodakam pādyaṁ dadyāt. pratigrhṇātu bhagavān devo*  
*dhūrtam iti<sup>7</sup> ṣaṭ cāi 'va.<sup>8</sup> hiraṇyavarṇā<sup>9</sup> iti<sup>10</sup> me divyo gan-*  
*dharva<sup>11</sup> iti gandhān yas te gandha<sup>12</sup> iti ce 'm ā h<sup>13</sup> sumanasa iti*  
*sumanasah priyaṁ dhātur iti<sup>14</sup> vanaspatir aḥo medhya iti*  
*dhūpanḥ yakṣyeṇa te divā 'gniḥ<sup>15</sup> çukraḥ ce 'ti dipam. yo*  
*viçvataḥ supratika iti parṇāni. prakṣālya haviṣy upasādayed*  
*dadhyodanam kṣīrāudanam gudāudanam mudgapānamicradhānyamo-*  
*dakāni<sup>16</sup> sarvagandhān sarvarasān udakapūrṇam mūlapūrṇam puṣya-*  
*pūrṇam phalapūrṇam rasapūrṇam co 'pakalpayitve 'ndraḥ sīte<sup>17</sup>*  
*'ty ullikhyā 'gne preḥi<sup>18</sup> 'ty agniṁ prañīya<sup>19</sup> prajvālya prāñcam*  
*idhmam<sup>20</sup> upasamādhāya bhaga etam<sup>21</sup> idhma m<sup>22</sup> iti tisṛbhīḥ. etam*  
*idhmaṁ.<sup>23</sup> sugārhapatya ity upasamādhāya samiddho agniḥ<sup>24</sup>*  
*iti samiddham anumantrayet.<sup>25</sup> 3.*

<sup>1</sup> B. *sañviṣaṣ ca*; C. *sā viṣasva*; D. *viṣasva*. <sup>2</sup> So C.D.; A.B. *-saratave*: perhaps *-sāra-*? <sup>3</sup> So A.C.; B. *mubhujohi*; D. *dyahi*. Should we read *yo hi*? <sup>4</sup> So by conjecture; A.C.D. *nīrmikāḥ*; B. *nīrmīṭāḥ*; cf. *nīrmīṭāya* below. <sup>5</sup> C. omits *ima . . . dhūrtāni*. <sup>6</sup> A.V. iii. 12. 9; ix. 3. 23. <sup>7</sup> B. *dhūrta iti*. <sup>8</sup> B. *ṣaṣṭhyāi 'va*; C. *cāi 'va va*. <sup>9</sup> A.V. i. 33. 1. <sup>10</sup> B. *iti*. <sup>11</sup> A.V. ii. 2. 1. <sup>12</sup> A.V. xii. 1. 25. <sup>13</sup> D. omits *ce 'mah . . . medhya*. <sup>14</sup> B.C.D. *priye atur iti*; B. also inserts *dhānu bhuva iti*. <sup>15</sup> A. *diva agniḥ*; B.C.D. *viva 'gniḥ*. <sup>16</sup> B. *-pāyasa-* for *-pāna-*. <sup>17</sup> A.V. iii. 17. 4 (cf. R.V. iv. 57. 7). <sup>18</sup> A.V. iv. 14. 5. <sup>19</sup> C.D. *praṇiyatīya*. <sup>20</sup> B. *prācam idham*. <sup>21</sup> A.C.D. *evam*. <sup>22</sup> A.V. x. 6. 35. <sup>23</sup> B.C.D. *idhma*. <sup>24</sup> A.V. vii. 73. 1, 2; xiii. 1. 28. <sup>25</sup> A.B. *anumatrayate*.

*bhādrām ichanto<sup>1</sup> hiraṇyagarbho<sup>2</sup> mamā 'gne varcas<sup>3</sup> tvayā<sup>4</sup> manyo<sup>5</sup> yas te manyo<sup>6</sup> yad devā devaheḍanam<sup>7</sup> iti ṣaṣ kāmāsūktādayo<sup>8</sup> daṣa mahīpataye svāhā. dhūrtāya skandāya viṣākhāya pindāksenāya bhartriṣastrikāmāya<sup>9</sup> svacchandāya varaghaṇṭāya nirmīḍāya<sup>10</sup> lohīnagātrāya<sup>11</sup> cālakaṭaṇkaṭāya svāhe 'ti hutvā agnaye prajāpataye ye devā divy ekādaṣa sthe<sup>12</sup> 'ty anumataye 'gnaye viṣṭakṛta<sup>13</sup> iti ca<sup>14</sup>. 4.*

<sup>1</sup> A.V. xix. 41. 1. <sup>2</sup> A.V. iv. 2. 7 (cf. R.V. x. 121. 1). <sup>3</sup> A.V. v. 3. 1 (cf. R.V. x. 128. 1). <sup>4</sup> A.C.D. *vayā*. <sup>5</sup> A.V. iv. 31. 1 (cf. R.V. x. 84. 1). <sup>6</sup> A.V. iv. 32. 1 (cf. R.V. x. 83. 1). <sup>7</sup> A.V. vi. 114. 1. <sup>8</sup> C.D. *kāmāsūktādyodaṣa*; A.V. xix. 52. <sup>9</sup> So A.C.D.; B. *bhartriṣastrikāmāya*. <sup>10</sup> B. *nīrmīḍāya*; C. *na nīrmīḍāya*; D. *nīrmīḍāya*. <sup>11</sup> B. *-gātrāya*; C.D. *lohīta-*. <sup>12</sup> A.V. xix. 27. 11. <sup>13</sup> B. *'gnin viṣṭakṛtam*. <sup>14</sup> C.D. *vā*.

*civāgnikṛttikānāḥ<sup>1</sup> tu stoṣyāmi<sup>2</sup> varadāḥ ṣubhaḥ :  
sa me stuto<sup>3</sup> viṣvarūpaḥ sarvān arthān prayacchatu.  
dhanadhānyakulān bhogān sa me vacanavedanāḥ<sup>4</sup>  
dāsīdāsaḥ tathā sthānāḥ manīratnāḥ surāñjanāḥ.<sup>5</sup>  
ye bhaktyā bhagavan dhūrtaḥ brahmaṇyaḥ ca yaṣasvināḥ :  
sarve te dhanavantaḥ syuḥ prajāvanto yaṣasvināḥ.  
yathe 'ndras tu varān labdhvā<sup>7</sup> prītas tu<sup>8</sup> bhagavān purā :  
dehi me vipulān bhogān bhaktānāḥ ca viṣeṣata<sup>9</sup> iti.*

*kāmāsūkteno<sup>10</sup> 'pahāram upaharet.*

*upahāram imāḥ deva mayā bhaktyā niveditaḥ :  
pratigṛhya yathānyāyam akruddhaḥ sumanā bhava. 5.*

<sup>1</sup> B. *icit-*; D. *-kāthnāni*. <sup>2</sup> B.C.D. *proṣyāmi*. <sup>3</sup> A.B.D. *stute*. <sup>4</sup> B. *vacasir-*; C. *-nāni*. <sup>5</sup> B.D. *surāñjanāni*; C. *surāñjanāni*. <sup>6</sup> A. *labdhā*; B. *laghā*; C. *labdhā*; D. *labdhāva*. <sup>7</sup> C. *pratisu*; D. *prītas tu*. <sup>8</sup> D. *viṣeṣa-*. <sup>9</sup> B. *-nāi*; A.V. xix. 52.

*sadyojātāḥ prapadyāmi sadyojātāya vāi namaḥ :<sup>1</sup>  
bhava bhava nādi bhava bhajasva mām bhavo 'dbhave.<sup>2</sup>*

*'ti bhavāya namaḥ.<sup>3</sup>*

*devaḥ prapadye varadāḥ prapadye  
skandāḥ prapadye ca kumāram ugraḥ.<sup>4</sup>  
ṣaṇṇām<sup>5</sup> sutaḥ kṛttikānāḥ ṣaḍāsyam  
agneḥ putrāḥ sādhanāḥ gopathoktāḥ.<sup>6</sup>*

*raktāni yasya<sup>1</sup> puṣyāṇi raktam yasya vilepanam :*  
*kukkuṭā<sup>2</sup> yasya raktākṣūḥ sa me skandah prasidatu.*  
*āgneyam kṛttikāputram āindram<sup>3</sup> ke cid adhīyate :*  
*ke cid pācupatam<sup>4</sup> rūdraṁ yo 'si so 'si namo 'stu te.*

*iti svāmiṇe namaḥ ṣaṅkarāyā<sup>5</sup> gniputrāya. kṛttikāputrāya namaḥ.*  
*bhagavān kva cid apratirūpaḥ svāhā.<sup>11</sup> bhagavān kva cid apratirūpaḥ.*  
*maṇiratnavarapratirūpaḥ kāñcanaratnavarapratirūpaḥ. ity ete deva-*  
*gandhā etāni puṣyāṇy etam dhūpam<sup>12</sup> etām mālām triḥ pradakṣiṇam<sup>13</sup>*  
*kṛtvā. āditya kartitaṁ sūtraṁ iti pratisaram ābadhnīyāt.<sup>14</sup> 6.*

<sup>1</sup>A. *namo namaḥ*; B. omits *namaḥ*. <sup>2</sup>B. *'ddarave*; D. *'dhhavāya namaḥ*. <sup>3</sup>A.D. *nama iti*; B. omits *namaḥ*. <sup>4</sup>A.C.D. *agram*. <sup>5</sup>B. *ghaṇḍāni*; C. *ṣatmāni*; D. *ṣaṇḍm*.  
<sup>6</sup>So by correction; A.B. *-ktaḥ*; C.D. *-kteḥ*. <sup>7</sup>B. *yasya raktāni*. <sup>8</sup>C. *kṛkkudhā*; D. *kakkutā*. <sup>9</sup>B. *putramāndram*; C. *putram edram*; D. *putram ekam*. <sup>10</sup>A.B. *pācupatam*; C.D. *pācupatam*. <sup>11</sup>A.B. omit these five words. <sup>12</sup>So by correction; MSS. *eṣa dhūpa*. <sup>13</sup>A.B. *-ṇāni*. <sup>14</sup>See the following śloka cited by Bloomfield, *Seven Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, p. 14 (*American Journal of Philology*, vii. 479).

*ādityakartitaṁ sūtraṁ indreṇa trivṛtikṛtaḥ :*  
*açvibhyāṁ granthito<sup>1</sup> granthir<sup>2</sup> brahmaṇā pratisaram kṛtaḥ.*  
*dhanyam yaçasyam āyuṣyam açubhasya<sup>3</sup> ca ghātanaṁ :*  
*badhnāmi pratisaram imam sarvaçatruṇibarhaṇam.*  
*rakṣobhyaç ca piçācebhyo gandharvebhyas tathāi<sup>4</sup> 'va ca :*  
*manuṣyebhyo bhayaṁ nā 'sti yac<sup>5</sup> ca syād duṣkṛtaṁ kṛtaḥ.*  
*svakṛtāt parakṛtāc ca duṣkṛtāt pratimucyate :*  
*sarvasmāt pātākān<sup>6</sup> mukto bhaved vīras<sup>7</sup> tathāi<sup>8</sup> 'va ca.*  
*abhicārāt kṛtāt kṣudrāt<sup>9</sup> strikṛtād açubham ca yat :*  
*tāvat tasya bhayaṁ nā 'sti yāvat sūtraṁ sa dhārayet.*  
*yāvad āpaç ca gāvaç ca yāvat sthāsyanti<sup>10</sup> parvatāḥ :*  
*tāvat tasya bhayaṁ nā 'sti yaḥ sūtraṁ dhārayiṣyati.*

*ity anvāya bhaktvā devaṁ visarjayet.<sup>9</sup> pramodo nāma gandharvaḥ*  
*pradoṣo paridhāvati. muñca ṣāilamayāt pāpān muñca muñca pra-*  
*muñca ca. imā āpaḥ pavanena sūtā<sup>10</sup> hiraṇyavarṇā anavadyarūpāḥ.*  
*tāvad imam dhūrtam pravāhayāmi pravāhito me dehi varān yathoktān.*  
*uditeṣu nakṣatreṣu grhān praviṣṭo grhiṇīm paçyet<sup>11</sup> dhanavati<sup>12</sup> dhanam*  
*me dehi<sup>13</sup> 'ti. yad bhoktuṁ<sup>14</sup> kāmajātāḥ<sup>14</sup> jagatyām manasā samīhate tat*  
*tad dvijanmā<sup>15</sup> pinākasena yajamānāt kāmam upabhuktvā<sup>16</sup> 'mṛtatvaṁ*  
*tat tad<sup>17</sup> devā 'bhyupāiti tat tad<sup>18</sup> devā 'bhyupāiti. 7.*

*iti skandayāga<sup>19</sup> samāptaḥ.*

<sup>1</sup>A.B. *grathito*. <sup>2</sup>A.D. *grathini*; B. *grathitih*. <sup>3</sup>C.D. *çubhasya*. <sup>4</sup>B. *yaç*.  
<sup>5</sup>C. *-kon*. <sup>6</sup>B. *bhaved dhīras*. <sup>7</sup>A.C.D. *kṛtāt pātāk kṣudrah*; B. *kṛtāt pātāk kṣudratat*. <sup>8</sup>C. *gāvaç cūmsyanti*. <sup>9</sup>D. *visarjayet*. <sup>10</sup>B. *pūtā*. <sup>11</sup>B. *paçya*; C.D. *paçye*. <sup>12</sup>C.D. *-ti*. <sup>13</sup>B. *roktu*. <sup>14</sup>A.D. *-tum*. <sup>15</sup>So by emendation; A.C.D. *tad vijanmā*; B. *adrijanmā*. <sup>16</sup>A. *upabhukto bhukta*; B.C. *upabhukto bhuktvā*. <sup>17</sup>B. *tad vad*. <sup>18</sup>B. *tad va*. <sup>19</sup>C.D. *skandhayāga*; so in Weber, *Verz. d. Berl. Hdschr.*

## TRANSLATION.

Now from here we will explain the Dhūrta-kalpa (Rogue-ordinance).

1. Every four months, in Phālguna, Āṣāḍha, and Kārttika, in the first half of the month, let him always perform it. On the morrow, on the sixth day, having made a fast, having gone forth in the northeast direction, in a clean place, pleasant, free from salt, having made a circle of thirteen cubits, in the middle of the circle having put a garland of the leaves of all trees, having put bells, banners, wreaths, and an amulet in the rear of the garland, having prepared looking-glasses in the middle there, with the couplets beginning "Whom white horses carry" let him cause [the Dhūrta] to be brought in.

2. Whom white horses carry, ever-yoked, swift as thought, that Dhūrta, having white equipment, I cause to be brought in.

Whom elephants carry, lions and tigers also, and bulls, that Dhūrta, having lion-equipment, I cause to be brought in.

Whom peacocks carry, and partridges with variegated wings, that Dhūrta, having variegated equipment, I cause to be brought in.

Whom [animals] of all colors carry, always-yoked, swift as thought, that Dhūrta, having all equipment, I cause to be brought in.

Whose always is ever-unfailing power associated with bells and banners, that Dhūrta, having power-equipment, I cause to be brought in.

And the young man who is ever constantly surrounded by companies of mothers, that Dhūrta, along with the mothers, I cause to be brought in.

And the great one who is ever surrounded by a thousand maidens, that Dhūrta, having lion-equipment, I cause to be brought in.

Let the god come, with a company, with an army, with a chariot, with followers, renowned, having six mouths and lips, ten eyes, a golden complexion, a brightness filled with that which is light.

Let my god Kārttikeya come, along with pious fathers and with mothers. With thy brother especially, moreover, do thou, having all forms, with thy attendants, be pleased with this offering.

Engage (in the offering): with these words let him cause the god to engage.

3. Do thou engage in the praise of choice bells, [where one is] spotless (?). Having engaged, give me long life, posterity, and cattle indeed, Vināyakasena. With the verse beginning *imā āpaḥ* let him give scented water for the feet. "Let the blessed god take the Dhūrta," he says, with just six verses. With the verses beginning *hiraṇyavarṇāḥ* and *divyo gandharvāḥ* [let him present] perfumes; with those beginning *yas te gandha*, *imāḥ sumanasāḥ*, flowers; with those beginning *priyaṁ dhātur*, *vanaspatir aṣo medhya*, incense; with that beginning *yakṣyeṇa te divā'gnīḥ ṣukraḥ*, a lamp; with that beginning *yo viṣvataḥ supratika*, leaves. Having caused it to be washed, let him place upon the offering sour-milk-soup, milk-soup, rice-and-sugar, mudga-drink, mixed grain, and sweetmeats, all odors, all essences; having rendered it full of water, full of root, full of flower, full of fruit, full of essence; with the verse beginning *indrah sitām* having scratched [the ground]; with the verse

beginning *agne prehi* having brought forward and kindled the fire : having arranged the fuel turned east, saying " O Bhaga," and the three verses beginning *etam idhmam* ; with the verse beginning *sugārhapatya* having arranged it : with that beginning *samiddho agniḥ* let him consecrate the kindled [fire].

4. With the six verses beginning *bhadram ichantaḥ, hiraṇyagarbhaḥ, mamā 'gne varcas, tvayā manyo, yas te manyo, yad devā devaheḍanam*, ten beginning with the Kāmasūkta, saying, " Hail to Mahīpati ! to Dhūrta, to Skanda, to Viçākha, to Pinākasena, to Bhartriçastrikāma, to the self-willed one, to him of choice bells, to the spotless, to him that has a red limb, to Çalakatañkata, Hail !" with these words having made the offering, to Agni, to Prajāpati, and with the verse beginning *ye devā divy ekādaça stha*, to Anumati, to Agni Svīṣṭakṛt.

5. [The son] of Çiva, Agni, and the Kṛttikās I will praise, the wish-granter, the beautiful ; let him that has all forms, having been praised, grant me all things.

Wealth, grain, herds, enjoyments let him grant me, speech and knowledge, male and female slaves as well, status, a jewel, a betel-nut tree.

Those who with piety, blessed one, worship the holy and honorable Dhūrta, may they all have wealth, offspring, and honor.

As Indra, moreover, having gotten his wishes, satisfied moreover, blessed, of old, give me abundant rewards and of shares of food especially.

With the Kāmasūkta let him offer the offering. This offering, O god, is presented to me for my portion ; having taken it according to rule, be not angry, but well-pleased.

6. The one born to-day I fall down before ; to the one born to-day indeed a reverence. (I make no attempt to translate the latter half of the çloka.)

With these words, a reverence [is made] to Bhava. " I bow down to the god Varada, I bow down to Skanda, I bow down before Kumāra." " To the son of the six Kṛttikās, having six mouths, the son of Agni," [is to be offered] the worship told by the Gopatha.

Whose are colored blossoms, whose is colored ointment, whose are cocks with colored eyes, let that Skanda be pleased with me.

Some read [son] of Agni, son of the Kṛttikās, [son] of Indra ; some [son] of Paçupati, of Rudra ; who thou art, that art thou ; reverence be to thee.

With these words a reverence [is made] to lord Çaṅkara, to the son of Agni. A reverence to the son of the Kṛttikās. The blessed one is everywhere inimitable, hail ! The blessed one is everywhere inimitable. He has the likeness of the choice of jewels. He has the likeness of the choice of golden jewels. With these words [let him offer?] these deva-gandhās, these blossoms, this incense, this garland, having thrice made a turn to the right. With the couplets beginning " A string cut by the Ādityas " let him bind on an amulet.

7. A string cut by the Ādityas, made a threefold amulet by Indra ; a knot tied by the Açvins, made a pratisara by Brahman.

Auspicious, honoring, preserving, and slaying what is unfortunate, I bind this pratisara, destroying all foes.

From both Rakṣasas, Piçācas, and Gandharvas likewise, from men there is no fear, and of what might be an evil deed.

From his own deed, and from another's deed, is he freed : from every sin set free would a man be likewise.

And what is unfortunate from magic, from a mean deed, from a woman's deed, of this there is no fear so long as he wears the sūtra.

So long as [there shall be] water and cattle, so long as the mountains shall stand ; so long is there no fear for him who shall wear the sūtra.

With these words, having paid reverence, let him dismiss the god. The wicked Gandharva, Pramoda by name, runs around. Release from natural sin. release, release, and set free. These waters are begotten by purification, golden-colored, of irreproachable beauty. Now I cause this Dhūrta to be carried forth ; having been carried forth, give me my wishes as told. The lunar asterisms having risen, having entered the houses, let him look at the housewife, saying "O wealthy woman, give me a gift." Whenever he desires in mind to enjoy a thing born of Kāma in the world, then the twice-born one, O Pinākasena, having enjoyed love from the sacrifices, immortality then, O god, he approaches—then, O god, he approaches.

Thus the Skandayāga is ended.

3. *Tiamat* ; by George A. Barton, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

The word *Tiamat* is an Assyrian form of the Hebrew תְּהוֹם, and is the Assyrian name both of the personified abyss and of a female mythical sea-monster.

Our sources of information concerning her are three : Damascius, Berossos, and the cuneiform Creation Tablets.

The information from Damascius is found in Cap. 125 of his work entitled 'Απορίαι καὶ λύσεις περὶ τῶν πρώτων ἄρχων.

That from Berossos is found in a fragment quoted by Alexander Polyhistor, and published in Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 23.

The Creation Tablets are five in number, as follows : tablet I., British Museum. No. K 5419 (published in Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 3d ed., p. 98, and Lyon's *Assyrian Manual*, p. 62) ; tablet II., an unpublished fragment of nine lines (described by Delitzsch in his *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, p. 65) ; tablet III., fragments in the British Museum numbered K 3478, K 3477-9, and R<sup>m</sup> 615 (partly transliterated by Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, p. 100, and translated by Sayce, *Records of the Past*, new ed., i. 134) ; tablet IV., British Museum, K 3487 (published in Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestücke*, p. 97 sq.), and a fragment from Babylonia (published by Budge in *Trans. Soc. Biblical Archaeology*, x. 96 sq.) ; tablet V., five fragments in the British Museum (published in Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestücke*, pp. 94-96). Tablet V. does not particularly concern our subject.



From fragments of a commentary on a highly ideographic text of these tablets (published in Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, v. 21) it would seem that they must date back to about the year 2000 B. C., although our copies of them are from the 7th century B. C.

Combining these sources of information, we find that they contain two distinct conceptions.

In Damascius and the first Creation Tablet, the world's beginnings are pictured for us somewhat scientifically. The Babylonians went back to no nebular hypothesis, but found no difficulty in supposing that in its primitive condition the universe was a mass of waters. This mass of waters contained a male and a female principle, from whose union sprang the gods. This conception is very clearly defined, and in it Tiamat represents the universal sea. This sea becomes hostile to the gods, and, according to the 4th Creation Tablet, Marduk by his winds and lightnings divided it, and from its parts, apparently, formed heaven and earth. The other conception brought out in the fragment of Berosos, and with which the language of the 4th Creation Tablet is made to accord, is that Tiamat is a female dragon, queen of a hideous host who are hostile to the gods, and with whom Marduk fights, conquers them, cuts their leader in two, and of one part of her body makes heaven, and of the other the earth, and, as a later conception, puts Tiamat's skin in the sky as the constellation of the dragon.

In the 4th Creation Tablet these conceptions are blended, the latter being made to represent the former. In each of these conceptions there is represented a hostility between Tiamat and the gods: the gods are the representatives of good; Tiamat is the representative of evil. To express her evil nature she is pictured in the sculptures and seals sometimes as a horrible dragon with a griffin's head, with wings, four feet, claws, and a scaly tail, and sometimes as a serpent. It would seem that the conception preserved in Berosos, that the heavens and earth were formed by cutting a monstrous female in twain, is the earlier of the two, because it is the conception likely to be formed by a people yet in a savage state.

The conception that the universe was formed from a mass of hostile waters must have originated in a more reflective age, and may have been suggested by a severe storm or flood, or the two combined.

As the gods and sea were brought into conflict, and the sea with its devastating power was conquered for man's benefit, it was necessarily thought of as evil, and the dragon, its personified representative, became the popular embodiment of evil.

It would also seem from a fragment of Berosos, published in Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 22, that monsters from the sea were considered agents of evil. At least an office is assigned Oannes which Jews and Greeks alike considered evil: viz., the office of teaching man knowledge. From the apocryphal addition to the Book of Daniel, called *Bel and the Dragon*, we learn that an image of Tiamat was preserved at Babylon, and that she was worshiped there.

From a careful comparison of the Cosmogonies of the Creation Tablets and Genesis, we conclude that they are probably from the same source, though the inspiration gained by the author of Genesis from his faith in the one God greatly purified his ideas of creation.

In carefully comparing the Babylonian Tiamat with the serpent of Genesis iii., we conclude that the former may have been the original of the latter; but, if so, there are still several links missing.

In comparing the Old Testament references to Rahab and Leviathan, we are led to the conclusion that Tiamat is probably the being referred to under these names.

And finally, from a comparison of Tiamat with the "dragon" and "beast" of the New Testament Apocalypse, it would seem that the Assyrian dragon, modified by some centuries of traditional and literary use among the Hebrews, furnished the material for the Apocalyptic imagery.

#### 4. The Babylonian Gods in Babylonian Art; by Dr. W. Hayes Ward, of New York City.

The paper was illustrated by drawings of the figures represented on Babylonian seals, etc. Among the deities figured in Babylonian art are: 1. Gisdubar, with his friend Heabani, usually represented in front view, but sometimes, in the earlier unsettled art, in profile face. When alone, Gisdubar generally fights a lion; when with Heabani, he fights a buffalo, and Heabani the lion. With these appears the bull (not buffalo) with a human face, fought by both Gisdubar and Heabani. We must not assume that the front-view Gisdubar-like figure always represents that hero. It was an early general form for the human figure. The so-called kneeling Gisdubar of the famous seal of Sargon I. (*Catalogue de Clercq*, fig. 46) is pouring out water from a vase, and must be considered as allied to the god with streams. He also appears in De Clercq, fig. 118, kneeling, and with streams from his shoulders. On the same cylinder the usual standing Gisdubar appears, proving that the kneeling figure with streams, whether from the shoulders or from a vase, is not Gisdubar. He appears to be a god who controls the fertilizing waters. 2. The sun god, Shamash, who is represented as coming out of the gates of the East, with a porter at the gate, either stepping on a mountain, or lifting himself above the mountain by resting his hands on two mountains, as fully explained by me elsewhere (*Am. Journal of Archaeology*, June, 1887, pp. 50-56). This archaic and pictorial representation was conventionalized into the usual figure of the sun-god in a long robe, with one bare leg lifted on a low object, lifting in one hand a notched weapon. 3. The sun-god, represented in the earliest art as beating back an enemy, as in De Clercq, Nos. 176, 177, 178, 181, 181 bis; Menant, *Pierres Gravées*, I. 158, fig. 98; Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xl, fig. 4; Pl. xxxiv, fig. 13. Of these De Clercq, fig. 178, distinctly gives us the sun-god in his most archaic type, but without the gates, stepping on a mountain; before him a naked figure, on one knee, falls backward, and his head is thrown back so that his face is

uppermost, and his beard protrudes forward horizontally, so as to give him the appearance of having a bird's head, a mistake made by myself among others. In figs. 176 and 181 the sun-god, with the familiar rays from his shoulders, attacks a figure which falls backward against a hill. All these cylinders seem to represent the sun-god fighting the powers of darkness, and he is identified by his rays, the mountain, and the notched weapon. The conventional form of this pictorial design appears in the hematite cylinders of the next period, where we find a god in a short robe, with hand uplifted, threatening with his weapon a cowering or prostrate foe, who is not to be regarded as a human sacrifice. Sometimes the god carries in one hand the uplifted sickle-like sword, and in the other the zig-zag weapon which seems to designate the lightning. I judge this to have been originally the morning sun driving back the powers of darkness, but later the sun in his destructive midday summer power, the god therefore of pestilence and war, known as Nergal, when his victims came to be rather human than the conquered spirits of cloud and night. Yet the latter thought was not lost, for the god in the same dress, and with the zig-zag lightning, also appears standing on a winged monster, like Tiamat, who is led by a leash. Sometimes the monster becomes a cow, or bull, and in either case seems to represent the storm-clouds. 4. Bel Merodach was originally another form of the sun-god. He often appears on the later Assyrian, but hardly, with one possible exception, on the Babylonian cylinders, in conflict with Tiamat, who takes the form of a chimera, and in one case of a serpent. The god is accompanied by a smaller monster, precisely like Tiamat, who is one of his assistant storm-winds. One archaic Chaldean cylinder, as yet unpublished, described at our last meeting, shows us Merodach seated in a chariot, drawn by a chimera, between whose wings rises a naked goddess wielding the zig-zag thunderbolts. She would probably be Merodach's wife Zarpanit, and the god is represented perhaps as driving his winds, on the way to attack Tiamat. Merodach appears to be usually represented in later conventional art in a long robe, holding a curved sword, or scimeter, behind him. 5. The seated god with streams falling from his shoulders or navel, or from vases held by him or above his shoulders. In the earlier examples there is generally a group approaching him, consisting of a personage with the legs and tail of a bird, who is led and pushed by attendants into the presence of the god, apparently an unwilling culprit for punishment. In the later cylinders the bird-like figure is replaced by a human figure, which is led without force into the presence of the god. The attitude of the seated god as judge would once more make this god Shamash, as it is he who was "judge of gods and men;" but the streams would seem to suggest Hea, and the crescent which frequently occupies the space before the god would suggest the moon-god Hea. But an important archaic cylinder belonging to the Metropolitan Museum gives us the standing sun-god Shamash, with one foot lifted, surrounded by these streams, and with the characteristic procession of the culprit bird-figure and its attendants approaching for judgment. Further, the famous tablet of Abu-habba gives us positively the sun-

god, seated in his pavilion, and with the human figure led to him for judgment. Another *lapis lazuli* cylinder belonging to the Metropolitan Museum gives us the sun-god, with rays, seated on a mountain, with the usual procession approaching for judgment. All these, with other indications, positively identify this seated god as another form of the sun-god. With this seated god, as well as with the standing form of the sun-god with foot lifted, appears usually a goddess in flounced dress with her two hands lifted (a human worshiper lifts but one). The numerous inscriptions to "Shamash and Aa" are found almost wholly on these two types, and are nearly equally divided between them, and further identify these as Shamash or his wife Aa. About the time that the streams disappeared about the seated god, they appeared on the circular emblem of the sun, as found on the stone of Abu-habba, and very frequently on the cylinders. These waters appear not to represent the waters of the lower world, but the fertilizing waters of the heavens, the seat of the sun. 6. Another form, apparently, of the seated sun-god is that which associates him with the plow and the wheat. These I have described in the *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, Sept., 1886, pp. 261-6. One, quite archaic, in my possession, gives the seated sun-god with streams, while an attendant holds a plow before him, and another leads the usual worshiper, or human soul, into the divine presence. Under this form the sun-god, representing fertility, may be Serakh. 7. Next we have a bearded god, in a short robe, with one hand across his breast, in which he holds a short rod, or scepter, while the other hangs down easily behind him. With him appears frequently the same form of flounced female deity with both hands lifted whom we have recognized as Aa, when appearing with Shamash. But as the predominant inscription with this deity is either "Ramman and Sala," or "Martu, son of Anu," we may probably take this god for Ramman, also called Martu, while the conventional goddess is here not Aa but Sala. 8. On a few old cylinders appears a seated god whose body ends in the folds of a serpent. This is possibly Hea, although the Assyrian form of Hea seems to have been that of a bearded man, clothed in the skin of a fish. Some other gods, especially Anu, Sin, and Nebo, are not easily identified in Babylonian art. 9. Archaic figures of goddesses are quite rare. An important one is given in Menant, op. cit., p. 163, which shows us a seated goddess, in a long flounced robe, with peculiarly terminated rays, and with her feet resting on a lion: cf. also ib., p. 152. This goddess seems to have been generally represented conventionally in the next period, with face and body in front view, in a long robe, and with a quiver rising above each shoulder, and usually with one bare leg advanced, and the lifted foot resting on a lion or composite monster. In one hand she generally carries Merodach's sickle-sword, and in the other the rod of two serpents which I have called the Babylonian caduceus. This is evidently the same as the later armed Assyrian goddess, who must be Ishtar, goddess of battles. 10. Another conventional form is that of a naked goddess in front view, with arms across her breast, whom Lenormant has identified with Zarpanit. Both these forms are to be compared and connected with the goddess on the

chimera described above as accompanying Merodach as he rides in his chariot, and both are forms of Ishtar, or Venus, the only one of the planets which either in Chaldean or Greek mythology took feminine attributes. 11. The seated goddess holding a child, appearing on a very few interesting cylinders, may be a form of Ishtar, as goddess of reproduction, or it may represent Davkina and her son Dumuzu, another of the forms of the sun-god, otherwise known as Thammuz and Adonis.

5. Notice of F. E. Peiser's *Keilschriftliche Actenstücke*, Berlin, 1889; by Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Cambridge, Mass.

This work is a study of twenty-two of the so-called "contract tablets" belonging to the Berlin Museum. The tablets are given in transliteration and translation, and also in cuneiform. They come from the reigns of Marduk-shun-iddin, Sargon, Nabonidus, Cyrus, and Darius. The longest is the stone from Sargon's reign, with astrological carvings. The subject of all of them is the dealing in real estate, or the relations which spring from real estate. The work is intended as a contribution toward answering the difficult questions concerning the relation of citizens to one another and to the state, and concerning the relation of the slave to the citizen and to society.

Dr. Peiser's book is a welcome addition to the serious efforts to wrest from the commercial social cuneiform documents the secrets which, owing to brevity, the presence of technical terms, and our defective knowledge of Babylonian society, we are often unable to recover. Only one who has made the effort can realize how tantalizing it is to seem to understand every word on a tablet except perhaps one, and that one the key to the whole.

It was not the author's purpose to give in the commentary more than the most necessary notes. His valuable discussions of ideograms like *giš-šub-ba* (72-77) 'income,' and of technical terms like *rahû* (81-85) 'square, free from debt,' makes one wish that he might have found it possible to enlarge this feature of the work. As it is, Dr. Peiser's book is indispensable to every student of the contract tablets.

6. Notes on the second volume of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*; by Rev. W. Muss-Arnolt, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

A few months ago (Berlin, Reuther, 1890), there appeared the second volume of this most convenient collection of Assyrian and Babylonian texts, containing the historical inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian empire. It begins with the inscriptions of the Tiglathpileser of the Bible (T. P. II., or rather III., 745-727 B. C.), and of his successor Shalmaneser IV., transliterated and translated by E. Schrader; F. E. Peiser publishes a new translation of the Sargon texts; C. Bezold, H. Winckler, and L. Abel give new renderings of the inscriptions of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon; while P. Jensen contributes a comparatively good translation

of the annals of Assurbanipal. At the end of the work there are appended the Babylonian chronicle, translated by H. Winckler, and chronological indexes and maps, to make the book as useful as possible both to the Assyrian student and to the historian. The present paper is a review of the first 80 pages of the volume; a detailed criticism of the transliteration and translation of the texts of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon will shortly be published elsewhere (in Harper's *Hebraica*).

The editor, Professor Schrader, remarks on p. v of the preface to the first volume: "die Absicht einer Ausgleichung etwaiger Discrepanzen um jeden Preis bestand nicht bei den verschiedenen Mitarbeitern." But there are many discrepancies in the first and second volumes on which there ought to have been some agreement among the several contributors. If the book were intended for, and used only by, trained Assyriologists, such discrepancies would not amount to much; but as it is published for the use of historians and theologians, and others who are not able to control the transliteration and translations offered, it cannot but be confusing to read on p. 4 (vol. ii.) *amelu ŠU-UT-SAK-ia*, translated 'governors' (Schrader), and on p. 164 *ŠU-UT-ŠAK-ia*, translated 'my generals, commanders' (Jensen), treated as an ideogram, while Bezold (p. 88 etc.), Peiser (p. 54 ff.), and Abel consider the word an Assyrian noun. Bezold writing *šu-ut-šak-ia* 'my colonels,' Abel *šu-ud-šak-ia* 'my officers' (*ad* Esarh. i. 85, p. 126), and in the same inscription, col. iv. 32, transliterating *šu-par(!)-šaki-ia* 'my colonels,' and Peiser reading *šu-par-sak-ia* 'my officials.' Again, Bezold reads *kibrat* (*arba'im*), Winckler *kiprat*; Winckler etc. writes *um-šik-ku*, Jensen (on p. 292 etc.) *tup-šik-ku*, the one deriving the word from an Assyrian stem, the other from an Akkadian original; Schrader etc. reads *ši-lim* 'defeat,' while Jensen reads *ŠI-ŠI,-abiktu*; Jensen, p. 202 ff., reads *KAS(GAL)-GID kak-karu*, and protests in a foot-note against the reading *kas-pu kak-ka-ru*, adopted by all the other contributors.<sup>1</sup> These are but a few of the many instances in which an agreement ought have been arrived at before the publication of this volume; such divergencies only tend unduly to discredit Assyriology with men like P. de Lagarde, Nöldeke, and others.

A few remarks on Schrader's treatment of the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser will suffice: KB. ii. 14, 15, l. 21: 'this city I took with the help of *bi-ru-ti*,' *biruti* means 'trenches': cf. ii. Rawl. 33. 67 c, d; 36. 8, e, f; 44. 75; J. Oppert in *Gött. Gel. Anz.* ('76), p. 879; l. 28 of the same inscription (= ii. Rawl. 67). Schrader mentions as among the spoils "cups of gold," reading, with G. Smith, *šu-qut-ti ħuraçi* (Heb. עֲרֻחִי, ii. Rawl. 44. 8, and St. Guyard, notes § 72); but it is much better to read *šu-kut-ti ħuraçi*, 'a treasure of gold,' from *šakanu*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Haupt and Delitzsch's *Beiträge* i. 1, p. 172, l. 6 ff., and p. 175, s. v. *metelātu*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lotz, *Tiglath-pileser*, 159 ff.; Amiaud in *Zeitschr. f. Keilschriftforschung*, i. 251 ff.; Haupt, *Texts*, p. 203. 15, 16; iv. Rawl. 23. 26; S. 954. 20; Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 11; on p. 39 (*ibid.*) Z. prefers to read *šu-tar-tu*, from a root עֲשָׂר or עֲשָׂר with inserted ט: cf. also Jensen, KB. ii. 204-5.

*šukutti huraçi* is followed by (*abnu*) *TIK-MEŠ huraçi* and left untranslated by Schrader; the phrase is equivalent to *abnu kišadi huraçi*, 'a golden amulet' (prop. a stone worn near the neck);<sup>3</sup> cf. i. Rawl. vii. E. l. 5 ff. (an inscription of Sennacherib omitted by Bezold, possibly owing to the difficulties it presents), where we read (*aban*) *AN-ŠE-TIR<sup>4</sup> ša kima še-im qa-(aḥ-)ḥa-ri ša-šu* (*ša* with character *U*! and variant *ša-gar*) *nu-us-su-qu šaina tarši šar-ra-ni abe-ia ma-la* (*aban*) *TIK šu-qu-ru* (var. *aq-ru*) *ina šép šad Ni-pur šad-i* (var. *di-e*) *ra-ma-nu-uš ud-dan-ni*, 'the *ašnan*-stone, which, though like a small corn of grain in size, is yet a brilliant jewel, and which at the time (during the rule) of the kings my fathers was considered precious enough for an amulet, this stone was now suddenly found at the foot of Mount Nipur;' and i. Rawl. 44. 71-2, where Sennacherib says, (*aban*) *AN-ŠE-TIR ša kima zér kiš-še-e ša-šu nu-us-qu mala* (*aban*) *TIK aqru* (*aban*) *qa-bi-e ma-ga-ri u ri-iḥ-çu šu-tu-qi mur-çu a-na-na la še-hé* (written *NU-TE-e*: cf. Haupt, 26. 568) *ša ultu šép šad Ni-pur šad-i iḥ-bab-la*, 'the *ašnan*-stone, which, though as small as a cucumber seed, is a shining, bright jewel, and was considered precious enough for an amulet—it was a stone to bespeak favor and confidence (for its bearer), to remove sickness, and to keep off misfortune—this stone was brought now from the foot of Mount Ni-pur:' cf. also Jeremias, *Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 89, ad iv. Rawl. 31. 48. In these two passages the word *ša-šu*, 'jewel,' occurs; the contributors to KB. ii. consider the word as an ideogram, reading *GAR-ŠU* (in spite of i. Rawl. vii., E etc.) = Assyrian *bušu*, and basing their reading on the variant *bu-ša* in Asrn. i. 48;<sup>5</sup> but this very passage affords additional proof that *šašu* is a Semitic word, and equivalent to Hebr. שָׁשׁוּ;<sup>6</sup> *šasu* and *bušu* in Asrn. i. 48 need not be synonyms at all; the former is a special term, the latter the general word for 'possessions, property:' cf. also ZK. ii. 303-4, no. 6.

The inscriptions of Sargon are transliterated and translated by F. E. Peiser. The *paspasé*-birds, mentioned in the Nimrud inscription, l. 19 (KB. ii. 89), are 'pheasants' or 'peacocks,' according to Delitzsch, *Studien* 105, and Amiaud, ZA. iii. 47, Pognon, *Wadi-Brissa*, p. 59; the different translations and notes on *kilinnu* and *kidinnutu* on pp. 41, 125, 259, 263, etc., contradicting one another, are liable to cause confusion in the mind of the layman. Sargon Cyl., l. 10, Peiser (following Lyon) reads *hursani gaš-ru-u-te ša neribšunu aštu*, translated 'massive mountains

<sup>3</sup> *TIK* = *kišadu*, pl. *kišaditi*. 'neck' (Ethiop. *kesid*), S<sup>b</sup>. 367 and 369, Haupt, *Texts*, 16. 223, and 178. 58; ZK. ii. 67.

<sup>4</sup> *aban AN-ŠE-TIR* = *ašnan*-stone, Lotz, 179, Guyard, *Notes*, § 2 and 70; Esarh. v. 19. *Lit. Centralblatt* ('81), p. 735.

<sup>5</sup> In Asrn. i. 48, the so-called ideogram is written with the character *šu* = *kat*, while in the other cases it is written with the small character *šu*; the "ideogram" is thus written in three or four different ways—which shows that it is not an ideogram.

<sup>6</sup> See Del. AL<sup>3</sup>. xvi. ad Senn. ii. 56; ZA. iii. 253; Haupt and Delitzsch's *Beiträge*, i. 1, p. 12, rm. 2, p. 160, rm. 1, and p. 314.

with steep passes;' but we should read *huršani bi-ru-ute* etc., and translate 'deep, dark mountain-forests whose entrance was difficult;'" l. 18 (ibid.), KB. 42, Peiser has *mu-bal-li-ku gu-un-ni-šu* = 'who destroyed their' . . . . , but this would be *muballiqu*, cf. Lyon, *Sargon*, p. 61; Lyon reads *muballiku gunnešu*, 'who emptied (?) his' . . . . . But *gunnu*, according to Halévy (*Trans. Orient. Congr. at Leyden*, ii. 1, p. 549), means 'ransom,' and *muballiku*, or rather *mupalliku*, is ptc. Piel of *palaku*, 'overrule, decide,' also 'destroy.'<sup>8</sup> In l. 21, Peiser (following Lyon etc.) translates 'the mighty one in battle who caught the Ionian from the midst of the sea,' *sandaniš*, 'like a fish,' *sandaniš* has been left untranslated by all commentators: e.g. Del. *Pard.* 248, KAT.<sup>9</sup> 169, Lyon, *Sargon*, p. 33; read *sa-an-ša-niš*, this for *saṣṣaniš* (as *ḥanṣiṣ* for *ḥamṣiṣ*), from a verb *samaṣu*, whence Arab. سَمِصِل 'he hung up, suspended,' perhaps the same as *ša-ma-ṣu* Haupt, 29. 662; S. 280; Syr. שָׁמַס; *saṣṣaniš* is a form like *abubaniš* etc.: the phrase would thus mean 'suspended like a fish.' In l. 22, Peiser *šar-ru da-pi-nu*, 'the protecting king:' read *ša-pi-nu* (and cf. Arab. *ṣafana* 'extend, span'), whence also *miṣpanu*, 'bow.' Sargon, Khorsabad, l. 129 (KB. ii. 71), we read 'he pitched his royal tent' *ina berit narāti kima (iṣṣuru) tušmē*; Peiser translates 'in the midst of the waves like' a *tušmē*-bird, and adds in a foot-note "pelican (Del. ?)"; nor does Winckler in his *Sargon texts* (p. 128) translate it. *Ina berit narāti* means 'between the rivers,' so that he was protected on either side by the water; the *tušmā* or *tašmā* bird is mentioned in ii. Rawl. 37. 55a as a synonym of *atān nāri*, the 'she-ass of the river, the pelican;' it stands for *tunšimu* or *tanšimu*, and is the Hebr. תַּנְשִׁימָה.<sup>9</sup> Khors. 170, Winckler and Peiser read 'I sacrificed' *kuru-un-na šal-la-ru biblat šadē ellāti* (so Peiser, but Winckler correctly *ellāti*), they translate 'wine and honey.' *Kurunnu* is connected with *karanu* 'wine;' Talmudic כַּרְנִי is connected by Delitzsch in *Chald. Gen.* 296 with *karanu*, but the *ṣ* of the Talmudic word militates against this. Delitzsch, *Proleg.* 147, rm. 3, believes that *kápoivov* and *carenum* are not connected with *karanu*, but with כַּרְנִי; the biography of these words seems to be the following: Assyrian *karanu* was borrowed by the Greeks as *kápoivov* (whence Latin *carenum* or rather *carcenum*); *kápoivov* (also *kápevov* and *kápvivov*, *oi* = *v* = *vi* showing that it was borrowed at a comparatively late period, when *oluv* began to sound like *lvov*) was assimilated by the Greeks to *olvoç*, and remodeled so as to appear as a compound of *kap* and *olvoç* 'a capital, good, sweet wine.' Curtius,

<sup>8</sup> *huršani* from *harašu* 'grow!' cf. v. Rawl. 18. 1ff.; ZK. i. 347-8; ZA. i. 411; Lyon, *Sargon texts*, p. 80, ad l. 42.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. ii. Rawl. 30. 36; ZA. iii. 318. 36; *palku* = mighty, wide, v. Rawl. 15. 1 e,f: cf. Lyon, *Sargon Cyl.*, l. 59; ii. Rawl. 36, coloph. 19; ZA. iv. 237, col. i. 33; Winckler, *Sargon texts*, p. 222, col. b.

<sup>9</sup> The references to Delitzsch which Peiser was not able to give are *Studien*, pp. 93 ff. and 118; also see Amiaud, ZA. iii. 46, and Jos. Halévy, *Mélanges de critique*, p. 301.



*Grundzüge*,<sup>10</sup> and Vanček have nothing to say on it, do not even mention it in their etymological works, as is their custom in a great many other cases. The Talmudic מַלְלָרָא seems to be borrowed from the Greek-Latin form. *šal-la-ru* in the meaning of 'honey' never occurs;<sup>10</sup> the word is *lal-la-ru*: cf. Delitzsch, *Schrifttafel*, No. 79. The word is of

Akkadian origin, *lal* meaning *šābu* (Heb. לָבַד, Arab. أَكَيْب) 'good,

sweet,' and *dīšpu* 'honey' (Heb. דִּישָׁ, Arab. دَيْس), Haupt, 16. 228-229, S<sup>4</sup>. 105, Zimmern, 94-5; a synonym of *lallaru* is *par nābtu*; cf. also ZA. iii. 329, and Delitzsch, *Pard.* 108.<sup>11</sup>

Khors. 172-3, *tar-rin-ni šur-ru-ḫi maḥaršun aqi*, 'grand sacrificial meals I poured out before them.' This passage was misunderstood by both Peiser and Winckler; the latter even transcribes *tar-ḫab-ni! tar-rin-nu* is discussed by Guyard, *Notes* § 69, Zimmern, 68 bel.: also see Jensen, ZA. ii. 98ff. Jeremias, *Leben nach dem Tode*, ad iv. Rawl. 31. 58. *šur-ru-ḫu*, a syn. of *širraḫū*, ii. Rawl. 32. 5 c,d, and of *šarḫū*, ibid. 35. 17, e, f, is a Piel-formation of *šaraḫū* 'be grand, splendid' (ii. Rawl. 35. 8): ad *šurruḫū*, cf. *Tigl. Pil.* i. 42; Guyard, *Notes* § 62; in iv. Rawl. 20. 27 we read of *zi-i-bu šur-ru-ḫu*, 'of a grand sacrifice.' The Piel *ušarriḫ* occurs very often in the meaning 'I made great, splendid, brilliant': e. g. *Tigl. Pil.* vii. 101; *Asurb.* x. 97; ZA. iv. 230. 6; 241. 44-46; the ptc. *Išteal muštarḫū* (for *muštariḫū*, ii. Rawl. 48. 47: cf. ZK. ii. 347) = *muštarḫū*, occurs *Tigl. Pil.* v. 66 = 'those who deem themselves powerful'; *ilu muštarḫa* we find in a hymn, ZA. iv. 107. 2: cf. also i. Rawl. 51 (no. 2), 1.8.

7. The sentence in the Taylor Inscription of Sennacherib; by L. Bradner, Jr., of Yale University, New Haven.

For the sake of complete classification, any clause containing a verb with object or subject, or even a verb alone when connected by a conjunction, has been classed as a sentence. The results of the general classification according to kind are: Declarative Sentence, 294; Relative, 59; Negative, 18; Imperative, 4; Cohortative, 8; total, 365. No other kinds occur. An investigation of the order of the sentence shows:—

175 cases of the order	Object, Verb;
54 " " "	Verb, Object;
38 " " "	Subject, Verb;
11 " " "	Verb, Subject;

<sup>10</sup> *šal-la-ru* means 'wall': cf. Latrille, ZK. ii. 344; v. Rawl. 32. 21 a,b,c (= *igaru*); and 42. 27 g,h (= *si-i-ru*, 'a hedge'); Jensen (KB. ii. 233) has not yet learned what *šallaru* means, nor is he aware of the fact that *kalakku* means 'a surrounding wall' (v. Rawl. x. 83): cf. ii. Rawl. 21. 11-12 b; 46. 54 a,b; v. Rawl. 32. 25; 36. 30 ff.; Latrille, ZK. ii. 344 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Professor Haupt thinks *lal-la-ru* stands for *lal-laku*, a reduplication of *lal*: another case of dissimilation.

16 cases of the order Subject, Object, Verb :

- 4 " " " Subject, Verb, Object ;
- 2 " " " Object, Subject, Verb ;
- 3 " " " Object, Verb, Subject ;
- 4 " " " Object, Verb, Object ;
- 1 case " " Object, Object, Verb ;
- 1 " " " Verb, Object, Subject.

Thus the normal order is shown to be, 1. Subject, 2. Object, 3. Verb ; or, in general, the Verb comes last. Inverted orders can be accounted for in three ways : *a*, tendency to group verbs, producing a chiasitic order ; *b*, tendency to invert the order at the end of a paragraph ; *c*, desire for emphasis.

The table of the order of the Relative Sentences : viz.—

- 32 cases of the order      Subject } Verb ;  
   or Object }
- 8 " " " Verb, Object ;
- 11 " " "      Subject, Object } Verb ;  
   or Object, Subject }
- 5 " " "      Subject } Verb, { Object or  
   or Object }      { Subject ;
- 1 case " " " Object, Verb, Object,

shows that the principles noted above for Declarative Sentences hold good here also. Of the use of a final vowel by the verb in the Relative Sentence 55 cases are found, 8 of which are *a*, 47 *u*. There are 3 cases of the 3 fem. sing. *Permans.* without an ending. There are 51 examples of attributive relative clauses, while eight are conjunctive. Three times the verb of the relative sentence is lacking.

In the Negative Sentences, *ul* is used 5 times, always in principal clauses ; *la* occurs 13 times, 11 times in subordinate clauses, twice in principal clauses (iv. 30 ; vi. 32). Could these two be made subordinate clauses of result ?

To connect sentences, *-ma* is used 114 times, *u* 9 times ; 197 sentences are unconnected. There are 6 cases where *-ma* can only have the emphatic force. A deduction from these figures is that, in general, *-ma* is to be given merely the emphatic force in cases where the logical connection is not strict.

8. An Alhambra vase now in New York ; by Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, of Columbia College, New York City.

There is no finer specimen of the ceramic art of the Mohammedans than the so-called Alhambra-vase, of which the best exemplar is said to be that in the Museum at Madrid.\* There are very few other specimens of this vase;† and it is gratifying that one has lately found its way to

\* Cf. *Antiquedades Arabes de España*, Owen Jones, plate xlv. ; Murphy, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, London, 1813, plates 47 and 48 ; Müller, *Der Islam*, ii. 667.

† 1. Museum at Madrid ; one of the handles is broken off. It differs from Mr. Dana's in the ornamentation and in the writing. 2. The second one mentioned

New York, which in the perfectness of its condition perhaps surpasses all the other specimens.

The vase, of which a cut accompanies this note, was bought in the summer of 1889, by Charles A. Dana, Esq., from Jose Maria Gonzales, a man in charge of the Keeper's office at the Alhambra. According to the story related to Mr. Dana, it had been dugged up by some peasants in the Alpuxarras, the region into which Abu Abdallah Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Aḥmar (Boabdil) was exiled when he surrendered Granada to the Christian arms, Jan. 2d, 1492.\*

The vase is almost perfect in its lines and curves. The coloring has been well preserved; both the gold and the blue are still very plainly to be seen. There is no pedestal to the vase—a distinguishing feature, since Orientals sit upon the ground and not upon raised seats.† The dimensions are as follows: height, 3 ft. 2 in.; diameter, 17 in.; diameter of base, 8½ in.; diameter of neck, 8¼ in. A few cracks across the vase are visible, but they have not in any way marred its beauty.

There are three inscriptions. Around the neck and the belly runs an inscription made up of the two words, *والاقتبالا لله*, 'verily the approach is to him (Allah).' In the middle of the neck, *لله* 'to Allah.' On the front side, in the body of two gazelles, there are two words which I was at first inclined to read *الحق لله* 'right or justice belongs to Allah.' I should now prefer to take the first word as an abbreviation, and to read *القدرة لله* 'power belongs to Allah'—an inscription which occurs very often upon the walls of the Alhambra.

There are a number of modern copies of the Alhambra vase in various collections.§ They are readily discernible as such. I have been unable to find any sign that Mr. Dana's vase is such an imitation. I believe it to be an original Alhambra one; but the final word must be left to one who is more of an authority in this branch of art.

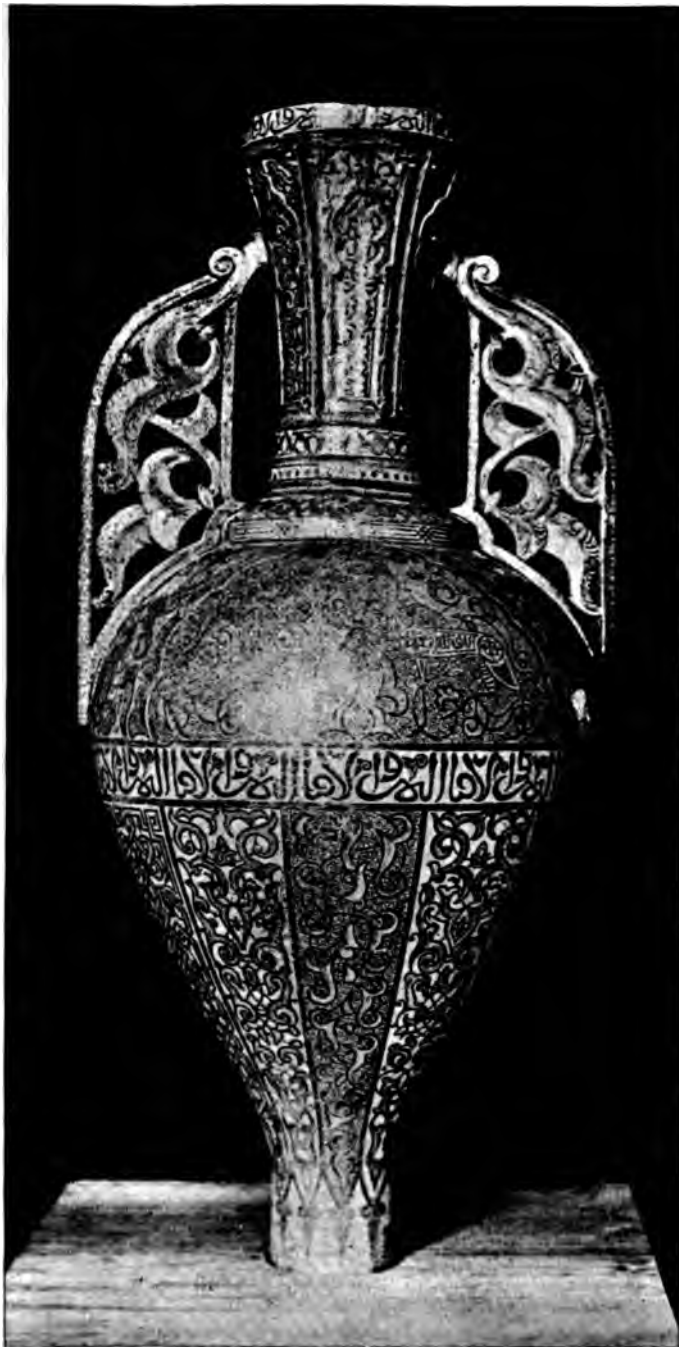
by Murphy, as having been found together with the first. This seems to have been lost. 3. Hermitage at St. Petersburg, for which Fortuny paid 30,000 francs. There is a picture of this vase in the catalogue of Fortuny's collection published by Baron Davillier. 4. Stockholm. This one is a mere fragment. 5. Kensington; partly broken (Charles Stein, *Catalogue des Objets d'Art*, etc. Paris, Chevalier, 1886).

\* De Gayangos, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasty in Spain*, London, 1840, ii. 349; Müller, *Der Islam*, ii. 679.

† For this reason the fifth vase mentioned in the above note cannot be Moorish. It has a pedestal, and is Spanish in origin.

‡ The Alhambra vase, however, according to the pictures, reads *والاقتبالا*.

§ See the "vase de l'alhambra exécuté par Deck, d'après les calques relevés sur l'original par le baron Davillier," Deck, *La Faïence*, Paris, 1888, page 27; "hispano-moresque vase (collection Basilewski)—Dessin de Fortuny," *ibid.*, p. 29. The Metropolitan Museum of New York City possesses such a copy, given by the late Stephen W. Phoenix.



PROC. AM. OR. SOC'Y. MAY, 1888.

ALHAMBRA VASE.



9. On the etymology and synonyms of the word *Pyramid* ;  
by Mr. Lysander Dickerman, of Boston, Mass.

The sources of information which Civil Engineering, Astronomy, and Geometry can furnish have all been evoked to indicate the purpose for which the pyramids of Egypt were built. Six times within the last two or three generations elaborate attempts have been made, with the most exact instruments in existence, to obtain the number of British inches and fractional parts of an inch from one corner-socket of the Great Pyramid to the other. Not less than thirty volumes, besides numerous review articles and pamphlets, have discussed these questions : whether the value of the mathematical term  $\pi$ , whether the distance of the earth from the sun, whether the azimuthal direction of the earth's axis of rotation, and the length of that axis in British inches, are expressed in the Great Pyramid.

A new question presents itself—strange it has not been already debated. It is this : Whether, concerning the design of the pyramids one and all, philology may not have a word to say.

The lexicons give us scanty information respecting our English word *pyramid* and the Greek *πυραμῖς*, from which it was derived. In their latest edition all that Liddell and Scott venture to affirm is that "probably the word as well as the thing is Egyptian." The Encyclopædic Dictionary (1886) says that the English *pyramid* comes from the Greek *πυραμῖς*, which nobody disputes, and adds that the Greek word is derived from the Egyptian *pir-em-us*, which means the vertical height of the structure. No authority, however, is given for this statement. Skeat's Etymological Dictionary says of the Greek *πυραμῖς* : "root unknown ; no doubt of Egyptian origin." The word *πυραμῖς* is not mentioned by either Vanicek or Curtius in their elaborate treatises on the etymology of Greek words.

Prof. Piazza Smyth, in order to sustain his theory that the Great Pyramid of Gizeh divinely reveals a system of weights and measures for the whole human race and for all time, derives the Greek *πυραμῖς* from *πυρός* 'wheat' and *μέτρον* 'measure.' Yet even Prof. Smyth admits that all the 66 pyramids now standing were once tombs, with one single exception. Only the Great Pyramid was intended as a granary for wheat (see *Life and Work at the Great Pyramid*, iii. 120–121). Rees's Cyclopædia says that the Greeks themselves derived the word from *πυρός* 'wheat' and *ἀμύω* 'collect.'

The Rosicrucians are said to have believed that the word *πυραμῖς* is derived from *πῦρ* 'a flame,' because the pyramid was built in the shape of a flame. It was a second thought of theirs that, since *πῦρ* also means the division produced by fire, and *ment* or *met* is the Coptic word for 'ten,' the pyramid was designed to represent the ten parts of the fiery ecliptic, or solar wheel, the ten original signs of the zodiac. Pyramids, according to them, were erected as commemorative altars to the divinity fire. Plato in *Timæus* (Bohn's ed., ii. 364) says : "Let it be agreed, then, that, according both to strict and probable reasoning, the solid form of the pyramid is the element and germ of fire."

A more full statement of this idea may be found in Ammianus Marcellinus, who in the time of Constantine wrote a general history, the first 17 books of which have been lost. In book xxiii. 15. 28 (vol. i., p. 304) he says: "The seven pyramids are put forward as wonders. Herodotus, the historian, speaks of the protracted and severe labor of their construction, taxing the utmost limits of human ability; towers (they are) whose bases cover a most extended space, but whose summits terminate in a sharp point. In geometry this figure is called a *πυραμῖς*, because it is in the form of a flame, τοῦ πυρός, which diminishes like a cone."

Jablonski, in his *Prolegomena de Religione et Theologia Ægyptorum* (pp. 82, 88), quotes with approval the theory of La Crozius that the Egyptians called the Obelisk *pi-ra-moye* = 'a ray of the sun, sun-beam;' but that the Greeks used this word indiscriminately for both obelisk and pyramid, hence the word *πυραμῖς*. The objection to this is that analogy would suggest from *pi-ra-moye* not *πυραμῖς* but *πυραμωτης* or *πυρημωτης*.

Zoega, in his *De Origine et de Usu Obeliscorum*, pp. 180-2, says that the Egyptian word *aram*, allied to the Hebrew מֶרְכָּן meaning 'a hill,' was the root of the Greek *πυραμῖς*, and was formed by prefixing the Egyptian definite article PI and adding the Greek termination *ις*, and that the word means 'a true and an eternal home.'



Ignatius Roscius says that the word *πυραμῖς* comes from the Hebrew רוּם 'be high.'

A still more recently discovered etymology is from the Hebrew מֶדֶה 'the beautiful measure,' or, owing to similarity of roots, from פֶּרִי מֶדֶה 'the fruit measure.' It is added: "The word may have carried with it both the idea of corn measure and measure in general: i.e., it may have signified Egyptian metrology." To what straits we are driven when we become slaves to a theory!














In a hieroglyphic papyrus in the British Museum occurs the Egyptian

word .





















It does not mean 'fire,' it does not mean 'a hill;' it does not mean 'a measure for wheat,' or for anything else; and it does not mean a structure of any kind. Cold comfort it affords to theorists. It is in a mathematical papyrus, which contains the Egyptian formulæ for addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. The papyrus gives the Egyptian names for the superficial contents of a circle, a parallelogram, a right-angled triangle, and a rhombus. Then the papyrus discusses the geometrical problems of the pyramid, which it calls by its usual name

 *ab-mer*. The two parts which must be known in order to obtain the measure of the third part are: the dimension of the base,  *uaa-teb-t*, and the length of the edge or slant

\* The hieroglyphic characters used in this paper have been kindly furnished by Dr. C. E. Moldenke, of New York.

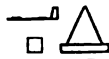

height,      *pir-am-us*. The relation of half the base to the "slant height" is called the   *sekot*. This is the only place on the Egyptian monuments where the word *pir-em-us* has been found. It is composed of three parts:   , which literally means 'a going;' the preposition  'from;' and   'the bulk, extent, or solidity' of the building from which the "slant edge" projects (see Brugsch's *Wörterbuch*, p. 274, and *Supplement*, p. 333). Mons. Révillout argues (*Revue Égyptologique*, 1881, p. 309) that the *pir-em-us* must be the line drawn from the summit to the base. He says: "This was the line which it was important to know; the slant edge taught nothing." It may seem presumptuous to question the opinion of so brilliant a scholar as Mons. Eugène Révillout; but it does seem as though, if the square of half the diagonal of the base were subtracted from the square of the "slant edge," the remainder would be the square of the vertical or axis. This Egyptian name for the "slant edge," the most conspicuous and characteristic feature of the pyramid, it is natural to believe the Greek mathematicians applied to the whole figure. Hence their word *πυραμῖς*, from which comes our English word *pyramid*. The derivation is endorsed by Brugsch (*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 1874, p. 148); but Lepsius said: "Das ist wenig glaublich; denn von der Kante wird man nicht die Pyramide benennen" (*Zeitschrift*, 1884, p. 9). But Dr. Brugsch, in the 2d ed. of his *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, i. 89, says: "The name *pyramid*, first invented by the ancients to designate the tombs of the Egyptian kings, and still used in geometry to this day, is of Greek origin. The Egyptians themselves denoted the pyramid, in the sense both of a sepulchre and of a figure in geometry, by the word which is read *abumir*; while, on the other hand, the word *pir-em-us* in the ancient Egyptian language is equivalent to the 'edge of the pyramid:' viz., the four edges, extending from the apex of the pyramid to each corner of the quadrangular base."




If, now, we examine the words by which the pyramid was designated, we may possibly discover the original purpose for which it was built. The monuments contain the following names for the pyramids:





1.   or   . Dr. Brugsch, in his *Hieroglyphisches Wörterbuch*, p. 162 (see also p. 158), says: "this word is probably related to  or  'that which is shut up or enclosed;' hence, pre-eminently, a tomb, sepulchre, pyramid, room, sarcophagus, or chest." It also means 'that which encloses, shuts something up,' as a door or cover; but here, as elsewhere, the determinative following it is a pyramid. A Vienna Papyrus says:                





The determinative for 'grave' is a pyramid. (See also Birch's *Texts*, p. 5; Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in History*, v. 720-21.)

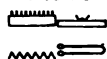

2. The word  *ap* is found once only, and with a pyramid for its determinative. It is in Apis Tablet No. 4246 of the Louvre. It reads:  *ap-pen Ka Kam*, 'this pyramid of Kome'—i.e., the stepped pyramid of Sakkara (Brugsch's *Wört.*, p. 180).

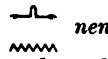


3.  *ber-ber* 'a pyramid.' This word is generally used with reference to the pyramidal form of loaves of sacrificial bread. Delattre says that *ber-ber* was the Egyptian name for a conical-shaped loaf, and was later applied to the structure. Possibly Mons. Delattre does not know which was the chronological order. Sometimes the determinative for bread, , follows , instead of the pyramid: thus,


 In the Harris Papyrus, i. 17. 6, the word  is used instead of  *ben ben*, 'an obelisk' (Brugsch's *Wört.*, see v. 436). But the  was properly the pyramidion on the summit of the obelisk (Levi's *Vocab.*, ii. 141).

Much more common than either of these words is :


4.  or  *ab-mer*.\*



This is the word by which the Egyptians almost invariably designated the pyramid; and its meaning ought to indicate their idea of the use to which this structure was put. In Papyrus Abbott (p. 8), which relates how an investigating committee visited the royal tombs to see whether they had been rifled, we read:  *ment*  *ab-mer*

 *nen*  *sek*  *ab*, 'there remained the tomb, and not disturbed was the coffin.' The determinative for 'tomb' is a pyramid. In the legal Papyrus Amhurst, p. 8, l. 6, it is said that "the thieves were conducted to the place, laid their hands on the

 *ab-mer*, and took oath that they had not robbed it."


*Ab-mer* has for its determinative a pyramid. (See Chabas's *Mélanges*, 3d series, i. 60; Dümichen's *Historische Inschriften*, ii. 35, c. y. 1). At Dendera, in an inscription which speaks of Osiris as dead, buried, and

\* The phonetic value of  is disputed. Some scholars read it *ab*, others *se*. See Levi's *Vocab.*, i. 40.

raised to life, it is said:  *noferui hik*  
*nen ut em ab-mer-t-k*, 'beautiful appeared thy face when thou camest  
 forth from thy tomb.' 'Tomb' is here *ab-mer*, but without the pyramid  
 for its determinative; and Dr. Brugsch (*Wört.*, v. 39) says: "It is to  
 me an undoubted but unaccountable fact that this word *ab-mer*, not only  
 in meaning but in sound, corresponds with (the variants) 



(*Zeit.*, 1874, p. 148),  (ostrakon in British Museum)


*ab-mer*, and signifies (as the determinative, a pyramid, proves) a sepulchral monument in the form of a pyramid, and hence a pyramid itself" (see Brugsch's *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*, pp. 324, 745). It is not to be denied that this word, often used, always means either a pyramid or another tomb in the form of a pyramid.



In the Papyrus Boulaq we find the word  to *ab-mer*.

This is a proper name, the name of a district in the vicinity of Ellahoun, in the Fayoum, and must be translated 'the land of the Pyramid' (Brugsch's *Dict. géog.*, p. 745).








There is still another Egyptian word for pyramid:



















5.  *ha-nub*. Primarily it meant 'house of gold;' later it designated the place in the temple where the jewelers worked. It was in the *ha-nub* that the priests wrought in gold and silver, making amulets and statues of the divinities, especially figures of Osiris. In the temple of Dendera there is an inscription over a doorway, the entrance to the jeweler's shop, which says: "Do not let anyone whatever, except the high priest, enter the  *ha-nub*." Afterwards, when these statues of Osiris came to be placed in the Serapeum of Memphis and of Koptos, and in the tombs of the kings, then these places also received the name *ha-nub*. Especially was it given to the central hall of the sarcophagus, the sepulchral chamber of the Pharaohs. This became the "Hall of Gold." Now this word *ha-nub* sometimes gives place to
















 *ab-mer*, when meaning 'the sepulchral chamber.' Indeed, the two words are used indiscriminately (Brugsch's *Dict. géog.*, pp. 320-4). The serapeum in the Vth nome of Upper Egypt was called *ha-nub*, and it was also called *ab-mer*. The propriety in the use of these names is seen in the fact that it was the place where the

 *keb*, the relics of Osiris, were preserved. In the Boulaq Papyrus No. 3, p. 5, l. 8, a dead man is addressed thus: "Osiris, the great god, comes to thee from Koptos, residing in the  *ha-nub*" (i.e. serapeum). The *ha-nub* is a tomb or pyramid, because the tomb

or pyramid contained the Egyptian treasures which were the most precious.

There is a list of 104 amulets, talismans in gold, and an inscription says of them: "They have been placed in the , to be used as amulets for the god Osiris." A trilingual inscription in the Berlin Museum pays homage to the god Osiris of Koptos, in the . This is the reading of the hieroglyphic text, and the demotic text follows it; but the Greek text substitutes ΣΑΡΑΠΙΣ for .  is often replaced by   , and by still other words which, without exception, include the idea of tomb, entombment, embalmment, or some kindred meaning (Brugsch's *Dict. géog.*, pp. 320-4).

It is also curious to observe that each king gave to his own pyramid a proper name. For instance, Menkau-ra of the IVth Dynasty called his pyramid   'the high one.' Shepses-kaf called his   *gebeh* 'the cool.' Khufu named his   *khut* 'the lights,' a title often added to the royal name of Khufu himself. Nofer-ka-ra called his   *men ankh* 'the station of life.' Men-Kau-Hor's was   'the holiest of places.' Papi-Merira's was   'the good place,' or 'the good station,' i. e. for travelers: a word with the same sound and same meaning as the Egyptian name for Memphis. Teta's pyramid was   'the most enduring of places.' Ati, also called Uskara, named his pyramid   *bai-u*, 'the pyramid of souls.' Assa called his   *nofer*, 'the beautiful.'

But throughout the history of the Egyptians, from the earliest times, they had no general name for pyramid which did not emphasize the idea of a sacred enclosure for the preservation of that which was most precious. The apparent exceptions are    'the sacrificial loaf,' metaphorically employed, and      the use of which was confined to the mathematicians.   likened a pyramid to a door, a chest, a sarcophagus, a tomb, or something shut up.      with its variants always carries with it the idea of sepulture. This unintentional testimony, these unbiassed

witnesses, such as 

and others, ought to have weight. But if, as Prof. Piazza Smyth suggests, those "old profane Egyptians, dark idolaters, had nothing to do with the design of the Great Pyramid, and never understood what it meant" (see *Our Inheritance*, etc., 5th ed., 1890, p. 70), then no evidence which their language contains, or which we can imagine it might contain, can have any value. But if, during the IVth, VIth, and XIIth dynasties, while the Hebrew patriarchs (whom Prof. Smyth supposes to have built the Great Pyramid) were wandering herdsmen, living in their tents and wagons, with no local institutions of any kind, and affording no signs of a disposition or an ability to establish any, the very best one among them all not hesitating to tell a falsehood even about the relations existing between himself and the woman with whom he cohabited, but receiving from Pharaoh a delicate, dignified, gentlemanly reproof, indicative of a lofty ethical culture—in perfect keeping with the wonderfully simple truthful Egyptian architecture of that period—if, even at that time, the Egyptians had a civilization on a level with their grandest monuments, then they ought to have known, and they did know, for what purpose they built the Great Pyramid; and the names by which they called it honestly indicate that purpose.

10. Notes on the Johns Hopkins and Abbott collections of Egyptian antiquities, with the translation of two Coptic inscriptions by Mr. W. Max Müller; by Dr. Cyrus Adler, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

In 1884 the Johns Hopkins University came into the possession of a valuable collection of Egyptian antiquities, numbering some 680 objects, the collection of the late Col. Mendes I. Cohen of Baltimore. These objects were gathered mostly during travels in Egypt in 1832; a part, however, being acquired at a sale in London in 1835.\*

The collection contains, among other interesting objects, an unpublished Coptic inscription. Considering the eagerness with which every fragment in Coptic, whether on stone or papyrus, is sought in Europe, any new Coptic inscription is worthy of study. Up to the present time, we believe, no Coptic text has been published in America, so that the Johns Hopkins Coptic text will hold a unique position. Besides, it seems to fill up a gap in our knowledge of the Coptic versions of the Old Testament.

The inscription is written on a rectangular board  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by  $13\frac{1}{2}$  in., marked "Tablet from Thebes, No. 645." The left side of the board is repaired, and its upper part pierced by four nails. It is uncertain what conclusions should be drawn from this fact concerning the history of the object. We are inclined to think that some Coptic monks took the

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\* Cf. a paper by Mr. Mendes Cohen on the Cohen Collection of Egyptian Antiquities and its collector, Col. Mendes I. Cohen, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. iv., No. 35, Dec., 1884, pp. 21-23.

board from a broken mummy case lying in the necropolis of Thebes. There is a stain of asphalt over the first *r* of the third line. This is apparently later than the inscription, and it is not unlikely that it was derived from some antiquities with which the board was packed. The board was painted white. The characters are carefully formed and distinct. The handwriting is probably not earlier than the Arabic dominion.

The inscription consists of Psalm ii., verses 3-5, following very closely the text of the Septuagint, but containing interesting variants compared with the Bohric or Lower Egyptian text. The latter is known in the editions of Tuki (1744), Ideler (1837), Schwartz (1843), and Lagarde (1875). Our fragment belongs to the far more ancient and valuable Sahidic or Upper Egyptian version, of which no complete edition of the Psalms has yet been published. These verses are not contained in Peyron's *Psalterii Copto-Thebani specimen* (Augustæ Taurinorum, 1875); Lagarde's *Psalterium*, which contains some additional fragments, is not accessible to us; but, even if it be complete in this passage, the value of our strange source would not be very much diminished.

The text is as follows: Line 1. ✕ *marn sôlp nneumrre<sup>1</sup> ntinnoudje<sup>1</sup> mpeuna(hb)<sup>2</sup> e*; Line 2. *bol hidjôn petouêh<sup>3</sup> hnpêue nasôbe*; Line 3. *m(m)ôo(u)<sup>4</sup> auô pdjoeis nakomšou<sup>5</sup> tote*; Line 4. *fnašadje nmmau hnteforgê<sup>6</sup> nfštrtôrou hmpesg'ônt*.

Notes to the text: 'Boh. *nnousnauh* τοὺς δεσμοὺς αὐτῶν. 'Boh. *hiou* ἀπορρίπτειν. 'yoke' ζυγόν must be *nahb* (Boh. *mpoukenahbef* 'also their yoke') although the space left for *hb* is very small. 'ὁ κατοικῶν is translated more literally than Bohric *pešôp* 'who is.' This form is remarkable because it is peculiar to the dialect of Lower Egypt. It is not favorable to the age of the fragment. 'Sneer, laugh at' is a weaker translation than the drastic Greek word ἐκμυκτηρίζειν or *elksai n-* (lit. 'contrahere nasum post') of the younger translation.' The Greek word ὀργή imitated, while the Bohric version uses as second synonymon *embon*.

The other variants are unimportant. The handwriting does not permit us to take these verses as the calligraphic exercise of a young scholar. That beginning and end are complete is proved by the beginning cross and the form of the last letter. It would be easy to offer conjectures as to the reason which caused the selection of these words, but we will not attempt it here.

We have been far less fortunate with the second text, a Coptic letter written on a small potsherd, belonging to the valuable collection of the New York Historical Society. This collection was acquired by Dr. H. Abbott, during a 20 years' residence in Cairo, and was purchased for the Society by citizens of New York in 1860. The collection numbers 1127 objects, some of them of great value. Dr. Abbott prepared a Catalogue of the Collection, which has been published by the Society. Although the estimate may be too sanguine, an idea of the importance of the collection may be gained from the following statement, written

almost forty years ago:\* "Talking of antiquaries and collections, I am sorry to say that the wonderful gallery belonging to Dr. Abbott of Cairo is about to be sent to America for sale. Most people who have visited Egypt must be aware of the value of this gallery, which, within the last year, however, has greatly increased in scope. I regret its removal across the Atlantic the more, because it has been got together on fair principles, consisting of objects which, once discovered, would have been destroyed or dispersed but for Dr. Abbott. It forms a complete museum in itself, illustrative of almost every point of the manners of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt; far more complete than any other can ever be, for most of the ruins and tombs are now rifled, and I am sorry to say the Arabs have been instructed how to manufacture relics, so that every day the task of discriminating between what is genuine and what fabricated becomes more difficult."

This collection is exhibited—or rather, stored—in cases, the objects being crowded together in the dark galleries of the rooms of the New York Historical Society. One of these cases contains our Coptic fragment; owing to its unfavorable position and the darkness of the room, we are not able to decipher the inscription with certainty. The reverse must as yet remain unpublished, as none of the attendants possessed the authority to open the case and turn the ostrakon around. We have deemed it advisable to publish this fragment of the text, in the hope of suggesting the publication of the entire text to some one who shall be more fortunate in his dealings with the authorities of the Historical Society. The following is a provisional transliteration of the text: (1) ✠ *šorp men tišin(e)* (2) *etekmetson etnanous* (3) *pđjoeis efesmou erok nfha* (4) *reh erok mnpekeiōt mnnek* (5) *snēv mnpetšoop nak t(n)* (6) *ouðš oun ngkaproouš n(ak?)* (7) *(m)n̄nsa pša n̄apa Patermout(e)* (8) *mn maka(rios?) n̄ . . . irōk trir*. Reverse wanting.

*Translation.*

(1) First\* I salute (2) thy noble (lit. beautiful) brotherhood; (3) the lord will bless thee, and he will (4) guard thee, with thy father and thy (5) brothers and what is belonging to thee. We (6) wish now that thou mightst put (thy) care (7) behind; the festival<sup>b</sup> of Abba Patermuti(os) (8) and Maka(rios) . . . thy mouth(?) . . .

Grammatically the text offers no great difficulty. \* Readers unacquainted with Coptic epistolary style should remember that the usual formula beginning Coptic letters is an imitation of the Greek words *πρῶτον μὲν*, from which here the *μὲν* is mechanically copied. For another translation of the Greek introduction, see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1885, 72 and 73. For the paraphrase 'thy brotherhood,' instead of 'my brother,' see l. 1, p. 70, *tekmūtson*, where we read 'the lord knows that if I were not trusting (*ῥαπει* = Greek *ῥαπειν*) in your brotherhood.'

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\* Cf. Note to a letter from Alexandria on the state of Egyptian monuments; London *Athenæum*, April 12, 1851, p. 407.

b. We are not sure whether we have correctly supplied the ethical dative in line 6, and whether this line means 'take care for.\*' At this point, which is the close of a pious introduction, the inscription begins to go into some private affairs which form the subject of the letter; the last word seems to be *τρυφ* 'stove.' Here, unfortunately, we are compelled to break off. It is very much to be desired that the second half of the text, no doubt the more interesting, be published. The same may be said of the other treasures of this collection, which are as yet entirely unknown, both to workers in this country and to European scholars. It is some consolation to learn that the Historical Society expects in the near future to erect a more spacious building and properly exhibit its Egyptian collection; we venture to express the hope that at the same time adequate provision will be made for its study.

Other papers were presented, as follows :

On Avestan transcription, by Dr. A. V. W. Jackson, of Columbia College, New York.

On the syntax of the Sennacherib inscription, by Prof. W. R. Harper, of Yale University, New Haven.

On two tablets of Ashūr itil lānī, by Dr. R. F. Harper, of the same.

On Prepositive and Postpositive as names for the so-called Imperfect and Perfect tenses in Semitic, by Rev. F. P. Ramsay, of Wetheredville, Md.

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\* Lit. 'put care behind.'

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
AT ITS  
MEETING IN PRINCETON, N. J.,

October 22nd and 23rd, 1890.

THE Society assembled in the Reading Room of the Philadelphian Society, College of New Jersey, at 3 o'clock, Wednesday, October 22nd, 1890. The President, Rev. Dr. Wm. Hayes Ward, of New York, called the meeting to order. The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and approved. The Recording Secretary, Professor Lyon, being absent, the chair appointed Dr. A. V. W. Jackson to serve in his stead.

Professor Marquand announced for the Committee of Arrangements that the Society would remain in session till 5.30, and that the morning session would begin at 9.30. He also invited the members to meet socially at his house in the evening.

The following persons were elected to membership :

As Corporate Members :

Prof. Sidney Gillespie Ashmore, Schenectady, N. Y. (Union Coll.);  
Dr. Charles Edward Bishop, Emory, Va. (Emory and Henry Coll.);  
Rev. Prof. Marcus D. Buell, Boston, Mass. (Boston Univ.);  
Mr. Samuel V. Constant, New York City (405 W. 21);  
Miss Maude Fortescue, New York City (57 Fifth ave.);  
Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut, New York City (39 Beekman Place);  
Mr. Max Margoulies, New York City (Columbia Coll.);  
Dr. Hanns Oertel, Nashville, Tenn. (Vanderbilt Univ.);  
Mr. Thomas H. P. Sailer, Philadelphia, Pa. (217 S. 42);  
Mr. Maxwell Sommerville, Philadelphia, Pa. (311 S. 10);  
Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson, Philadelphia, Pa. (237 S. 21);  
Rev. George N. Thomssen, Missionary to Hyderabad;  
Dr. Herbert C. Tolman, New Haven, Conn. (Yale Univ.);

As Corresponding Members :

Judge Crosby, of the International Court at Cairo or Alexandria;  
Mr. Henry Gillman, U. S. Consul at Jerusalem;



And as Honorary Member :

Prof. Ernest Windisch, University of Leipzig, Saxony.

The chair laid before the Society the question of obtaining a charter from the federal government. The Corresponding Secretary read the paragraphs (2 and 3 on page iv) of the Proceedings for May, 1890, concerning the matter. The principal reason then adduced for seeking a national charter was that the Society might be thus enabled to hold its annual business meetings at various convenient places besides Boston. In reply it was stated that this object required only an amendment of Article IX. of the Constitution, and not a change of charter. As for the argument that arrangements might thus be made by which the publications might be cast into the form of Government Reports and so printed without expense to the Society, the opinion of fourteen of the fifteen Directors is adverse to placing the Society in a position of dependence upon the government for money.

Professor M. Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia, moved, on account of the absence of Dr. Adler, to postpone the discussion until Thursday morning or until his arrival. But, because a number of gentlemen had come expressly to take part in this discussion who could not remain until Thursday, it was, upon amendment made by Professor Bloomfield, decided to take up the question at 4.30 p. m. The reading of papers was then begun. At 4.30 the question was resumed, and, upon motion of Professor Jastrow, it was voted that the Board of Directors report on Thursday morning respecting the advisability of getting from Congress a national charter and of holding but one meeting a year (see Proceedings for Oct. 1889, p. cxlvii, vol. xiv.). The meeting listened again to the reading of papers, from 5.10 to 5.55, and then adjourned.

In the evening, the Society assembled socially at Guernsey Hall, the residence of Professor Allan Marquand. In the course of the evening, Dr. Adler was called upon to give some account of the work of the Committee on Foreign Exhibits for the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 ; and, upon motion of Professor Gottheil, it was voted that

The American Oriental Society expresses its hearty sympathy with the plans of the managers of the World's Columbian Exposition in regard to an exhibit of Oriental life and history, and its approval of the same, and would be glad to offer the coöperation of its individual members so far as possible.

Dr. Ward called the assembly to order on Thursday morning, and read the report of the Directors called for by the vote of Wednesday.

1. In view of the late large increase in the number of those interested in Oriental studies outside of New England, and the

distance which the majority of our members have to travel in order to attend the annual meeting at Boston, the Directors express their view that it is not wise that the annual meeting should any longer be confined to Boston; and they recommend that the Society make it the duty of the Directors to propose at the next annual meeting such amendments of the Constitution and such other measures as may be found necessary to allow the annual meetings to be held elsewhere.

2. After having obtained the views of Directors not here present, and of other members of the Society, the Directors cannot now recommend to the Society that it seek any arrangements with the government of the United States by which either our own entire independence shall be limited, or any financial aid sought for carrying out the purposes of this Society.

3. The Directors recommend that the Society hold a single meeting once a year, to cover two nights and parts of three days, and suggest the appointment of a committee to report a suitable date to the next annual meeting.

4. The Directors recommend that the Proceedings of the Society be published in such a way as shall allow the fuller publication of the articles presented and accepted.

Professor Jastrow moved that the sections be taken up *seriatim*. On motion of Dr. Adler, the recommendation of section 1 was adopted.

Opposing section 2, Dr. Adler spoke as follows: The American Historical Association has set the example for the successful administration of scientific societies national in scope. By special act of Congress, it is incorporated with permission to hold its meetings in any place where the incorporators may determine (and not exclusively within the District of Columbia, as was objected). It has also the right to report to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution on the progress of the science whose study it fosters. The first report is a valuable bibliography, now in course of printing in the Government Printing Office. In answer to the objection that we should be under the necessity of making periodical appeals to Congress for a special appropriation, Dr. Adler said that, under the arrangement proposed, the expenses of our printing would be carried by the general appropriation for the Reports.

As far back as Jan., 1848, a special committee recommended that steps be taken to de-localize the government of the Oriental Society by permitting annual meetings to be held outside of Massachusetts (see *Journal*, vol. i., no. 4, p. xxxviii); but the recommendation does not seem to have been adopted.\* With the growth of Oriental studies and their spread in the

\*This is not quite correct; in consequence of this action an autumn meeting was held that same year in New Haven, and ever since either there or in New York, Princeton, Baltimore, or Philadelphia, in accordance with the extending interest and membership.—COMM. OF PUBL.

Middle States, the West, and the South, a society which, like ours, is national in name, must relinquish its local character. Our Society has not developed in accordance with the needs of Oriental scholars. Although its work has uniformly been of a high quality, nevertheless, in respect of quantity, it has, in an existence of forty-eight years, published only fourteen volumes; and for the last decade the smallness in quantity has been due, not to the lack of suitable scientific material, but to the lack of funds. Some of our members are obliged to send their papers to foreign societies for publication; and others have manuscripts which have been ready for three or four years but are still unpublished. We are still dependent on European offices for printing various Oriental languages for which we have no suitable or adequate fonts of type. Our library has become a valuable collection; but—for lack of means to pay for proper arrangement, a catalogue, and the requisite clerical labor—it is almost wholly unavailable for those who need it most, young scholars who are settled at a distance from the larger cities. Were the library set up under the curatorship of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the government frank might be used in dispatching books to borrowers. Finally, if we emphasize the national character of the Society to a greater degree by choosing more various and more widely scattered places of meeting, the progress of Oriental studies will be more effectively quickened than now, by reason of the creation of many new local centres of interest.

Objection being raised to the implication that a national charter would involve a limitation of the Society's independence, the second section of the Directors' report was, after further discussion, concurred in by the Society, with several dissenting voices, in the following amended form:

2. After having obtained the views of Directors not here present and of other members of the Society, the Directors cannot now recommend to the Society that it seek a national charter.

3. The third section of the Directors' report was unanimously approved by the Society. The Chair appointed as a Committee to recommend a suitable time for the annual meetings after the meeting of May, 1891, Professors Frothingham, Gottheil, W. R. Harper, Haupt, and Lanman.

4. The Directors' recommendation concerning the publication of the Proceedings was approved by the Society.

Professor W. R. Harper, of Yale University, moved that a committee of three be appointed to devise measures tending to make the Library more useful, and to report thereon at the next annual meeting. The chairman appointed Messrs. Van Name, Moore, and Bloomfield.

The reading of papers was resumed. At the close, the Corresponding Secretary presented an announcement from Rev. Dr. Winslow concerning the progress of the work of the Egypt

Exploration Fund. The Chair reported briefly upon the Mesopotamian expedition of Dr. J. P. Peters. A vote of thanks to the Trustees of the College of New Jersey and to Professor Marquand was passed; and at 12.45 the Society stood adjourned to meet at Boston in May, 1891.

The following papers were presented :—

1. On a Vedic group of charms for extinguishing fire by means of water-plants and a frog; by Professor M. Bloomfield, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

On various previous occasions I have endeavored to show that our understanding of the Atharva-Veda—the Veda of practical performance *par excellence*—depends upon a knowledge of the ritual which accompanied the recitation of the hymns. The boundary line between the Rig-Veda and the other Vedic *samhitās* is not absolute; large parts, if not all, of the Rig-Veda must have been accompanied by performances, and these must be instructive whenever recorded with any detail. That the Rig-Veda was not compiled for literary delectation is a view which I have held from the time of my earliest studies of that remarkable document. I shall now endeavor to add one more instance in which a mantra passage, presented in somewhat varying forms by Rig-Veda, Atharva-Veda, and Tāittiriya-Āraṇyaka, obtains its definition by careful observation of the practice reported in connection with it; incidentally, a curious custom, reaching back to the earliest Vedic times, will be shown to have prevailed in almost all the Vedic schools.

The RV. passage of principal importance (x.16.13, 14) reads as follows :

*yān tvām agne samdāhas tām u nir vāpayā pūnaḥ :*  
*kiyāmbv dtra rohatu pākadūrvā vyālkaṣā.*  
*ṣṭīke ṣṭīkāvatī hlādike hlādikāvatī :*  
*maṇḍūkyā' sū sām gama imān sv āgnīm harṣaya.*

The corresponding AV. verses are xviii.3.6, 60, with certain various readings, and with the following additional line prefixed to the latter verse :

*śām te nīhārō bhavatu śām te pruşvā 'va ṣīyatām.*

The TA. version is found at vi.4.1<sup>2-3</sup>.

Of the translations of the RV. passage given by Ludwig and Grassmann respectively, each approaches the true sense at some points, and recedes from it at others. But they are both, as they stand, unintelligible, chiefly because they lack the background of realistic practice, without which the verses never had nor could have any sense. Hence Lanman, in the Notes to his Chrestomathy (p. 380<sup>b</sup>), says of the second stanza, rather prematurely, 'The stanza seems to be meaningless rubbish.' The situation is simply as follows: After the fire has consumed the corpse, water is poured upon it in order to extinguish it. Then

furthermore certain water-plants are put there. In addition to these a frog—here a female, elsewhere a male—is put upon the place where the fire has burned. These, as representatives of life in the waters, are symbolically supposed both to prevent and to extinguish fire; they are put there to clinch matters, lest perhaps the fire kindle anew and injure the person who is now to pass on to Yama's realm. RV. x.16.13 is to be thus translated:

'O Agni, do thou again extinguish him whom thou hast burned up; may the *kiyāmbū*, the small millet,\* and the *vyalkaṣā* grow here.'

Ludwig in his translation has followed Sāyaṇa quite closely; the latter has altogether failed to understand the passage. At TA. vi.4.1<sup>2</sup> he glosses *nir vāpaya* by *itaḥ sthānāt niḥ sāraya*; hence Ludwig's "dort sãe wieder aus." But *nir vāpayā* here means simply 'extinguish.' See AV. vi.18.1c, d: *agnih hṛdayyān śokan tām te nir vāpayāmasi* 'the fire (of jealousy) which is in your heart, the chagrin, that do we extinguish for you.' At Çāṅkh. Çr. Sū. iv.15.13, the words are translated plainly: 'while reciting the two stanzas, RV. x.16.13, 14, the bones (of the corpse) are extinguished with water mixed with milk.' At Āçv. Gr. Sū. iv.5.4—where, to be sure, only the second of the two Rig-verses (14) is rubricated—milk and water are also sprinkled upon the bones. And TA. vi.4.1<sup>1</sup> expresses the act in mantra-form: 'the fire which we have churned for you as if for the purpose of roasting a bull, that fire do we quench with milk and with water.'

Thus the meaning of the first verse is clear. The second verse of the RV. version is to be translated: 'O cool [plant], full of coolness, O moist plant, full of moisture, do thou come right along with the female frog; gladden much (euphemistic for 'extinguish,' *ṣamaya*, of the other versions) this fire here.'

In the first place, it is quite certain that the vocatives *çitike* etc. are addressed to a plant.† The performance which is connected with the two corresponding verses of the AV. at Kāuç. 82.26, 27, and explained by two paddhatis, the Antyeṣṭikarma and the Ātharvaṇīyapaddhati, may be paraphrased as follows: 'With the verses AV. xviii.3.5, 6, 60 (the last two concern us here) the plants mentioned in the mantras are cut off and put into a mixture of milk and water in order to sprinkle the bones of a Brahman, into a mixture of honey and water to sprinkle the bones of a Kṣatriya, into simple water to sprinkle the bones of a

\* Thus, rather than 'edible millet' (Ludwig; Sāyaṇa, *paripakvadūrva*), because of *bṛhaddūrva* mentioned in the extract from the two paddhatis of the Kāuçika, below. So also Sāyaṇa at TA. vi.4.1<sup>2</sup>: *pakadūrva alpaya dūrvayā yuktā*. Note also his gloss on *kyāmbū*: *kiyatā 'mbunā yukta kacid oṣadhīḥ*. And Sāyaṇa at RV. x.16.13: *kiyatpramāṇam udakam yasmin*.

† Sāyaṇa at TA. vi.4.1<sup>3</sup> notwithstanding: *çitena jalena yuktā bhūmiḥ çitika, hlādakāriṇā kṣīreṇa yuktā bhūmiḥ hlādika . . . çitikavati çitikābhūmiyukte sthāne . . .* Interesting is Stenzler's translation of the pratika at Āçv. Gr. Sū. iv.5.4: 'O bleiche erd' mit bleichem laub.' Even in the later classical period the stems *çitala* and *hlādin* are standing epithets and designations of various cooling plants. See Pet. Lex. sub voce.

Vāiçya.\* The paddhatis then go on to give a catalogue of the plants (and other materials), the most characteristic of which are the reed plant *vetasa*, the *brhaddūrvā* (see the mantras), the *avakā* (see below), and the *maṇḍūkapaṇi*, evidently also a water-plant. Neither Kāuçika nor his commentary here mention the frog; it is possible that the word *maṇḍūkī* was understood by them simply as an additional water-plant: see Pet. Lex. sub voce, and *maṇḍūkapaṇi* of the paddhatis.<sup>3</sup> But at Vāit. Sū. 29.13, the frog and the water-plant appear in company. Further and plentiful evidence in favor of our translation of the word and our conception of the rite is not wanting.

The Vājasaneyins, Tāittiriyakas and Māitrāyaṇīyas practiced with a somewhat different yet closely related charm, when extinguishing sacred fires. The mantras which bear upon the practice occur in VS. xvii; TS. iv.6.1; MS. ii.10.1:

‘With the *avakā*-plant of the sea do we, O Agni, envelop thee; be thou to us a purifier, be thou kind to us.

‘With a covering of coolness do we, O Agni, etc.

‘Do thou descend to the earth into the reed-plant on the rivers; thou art, O Agni, the sap of the waters.† O female frog, do thou come with these (waters); do thou here render this sacrifice pure in aspect and propitious.

‘Here is the gathering-place of the waters, here is the dwelling-place of the sea; may thy missiles (O Agni) burn other persons than us; be thou to us a purifier, be thou kind to us.’

The central figures in this charm, as in that of the RV. and AV., are Agni, the water-plant *avakā*, and the female frog. That the last two are symbols of the water which is to quench the fire Mahidhara recognizes clearly, at VS. xvii.4, 6.

The TS., in its brāhmaṇa-chapter v.4.4, works up this charm; and, while its explanation of the symbolism involved is as far from the mark as is usual with these productions, it yet states clearly that the fire was actually put out with the aid of the *avakā*-plant and the frog: ‘The reed-plant is the flower of the waters, the *avakā* the reed of the waters; with the reed-plant and with *avakā*-plant does he scatter the fire. Holy (*çāntāḥ*) are the waters; with holy ones (*çāntābhir*) then does he quiet (*çamayati*) its heat. Whatever animal is the first to step over the heaped fire, that he is able to burn with his heat. He scatters the fire with the frog; for this one does not furnish sustenance to animals, he does not count among the tame nor among the wild animals; upon him (the frog) does he cause the heat to go.’

Blowing aside the chaff of talmudic wisdom, we are left with the incidental and therefore trustworthy statement that the fire was put out with the aid of the *avakā* and the frog. Very similar and more explicit is the statement in Çat. Br. ix.1.2<sup>20</sup>: ‘Thereupon he scatters the fire by means of a frog, an *avakā*, and the branch of a reed.’ The

\* The TA., which reads *maṇḍūkyā'su*, is thus glossed by Sāyaṇa: *maṇḍūkyāsu maṇḍūkaplavanayogyāsu apsu saṃgamaya prāpaya*.

† Literally ‘gall of the waters.’ Mahidhara, *apāni tejo* ‘si.

motive assigned is in a vein similar to the extract from the brāhmaṇa-  
 passage of the TS. And at Kāty. Çr. Sū. xviii.2.10 the same proceeding  
 is formulated in sūtra-form : 'Having tied a frog, an *avakā*, and the  
 branch of a reed to a bamboo-cane, he scatters the fire.' And almost  
 identically Āp. Çr. Sū. xvii.12.

The Atharvan and the Rik have each preserved one more charm  
 against fire ; they are closely related in character to those cited above.  
 The Atharvan-version (vi.106.1-3) may be rendered thus :

'On your way hither and on your way off from here may the bloom-  
 ing *dūrvā* grow ; may a well-spring here spring forth, or a lotus-laden  
 pond.

'Here is the gathering-place of the waters, here is the dwelling-place  
 of the sea. In the midst of the pond may our house be ; turn (O fire)  
 away thy face.

'With a covering of coolness do we envelop thee, O house ;\* cool as a  
 pond be thou for us. Agni shall furnish remedy (i. e. not destruction).'

The Rig-Veda version (x.142.7, 8) may be translated as follows :

'Here is the gathering-place of the waters, here is the dwelling-place  
 of the sea. Find (O fire) a path away from here, travel that as thou  
 pleasest.

'On thy way hither and on thy way off from here may the flowery  
 *dūrvā* grow. Let there be pools and lotus-flowers ; these here are the  
 chambers of the sea.'

There is, to my knowledge, no report as to the special employment in  
 practice of the RV. stanzas ; they occur at the end of an Agni-hymn,  
 and it may be taken for granted that at some stage in the use of the  
 hymn over a fire the quenching of the fire formed a part of the prac-  
 tice ; for this the last stanzas of the hymn were called in. The Athar-  
 van version, as may be seen from the bent given their form and con-  
 tents by the Atharvan ṛsis themselves, was intended as a charm to  
 protect house and home from fire. As such it is employed at Kāuṣ.  
 52.5 ff.,† and it is of great interest to find the *avakā*-plant holding a  
 prominent place in the performance :

52.5. 'with the hymn AV. vi.106 he performs the act of extinguishing  
 fire within a pond ; 6. and he performs the rite in the house also ; 7.  
 he envelops the house with the *avakā*-plant.'

The frog does not appear in this quench-charm, but both the frog and  
 the *avakā* appear once more in a closely kindred rite at Kāuṣ. 40.1 ff.  
 This is a charm for conducting a river into a new channel, performed  
 in connection with AV. iii.13 ; the point is the same, to produce water  
 where formerly there was none :

\* This half-verse is especially characteristic for the secondary manipulation of  
 mantra-material on the part of the Atharvavedins ; there can be no doubt that  
 the version of this line presented by the Yajus-saṁhitās, above, is the older and  
 original form of the mantra. They have *āgne* for *çāle* ; the former furnishes the  
 proper contrast with *himāsyā*.

† Two verses of the hymn are rubricated in the passage from the Vāit. Sā. re-  
 ferred to above.

40.1. 'while reciting the hymn AV. iii.18 he walks sprinkling the path which he wishes a river to travel; 2. he sticks up the grasses and reeds called *kāṣa*, *dividhuvaka*,\* and *vetasa* (on this path); 3. while reciting the first pāda of the seventh stanza of the hymn he places gold upon the mouth of the river (i. e. the point from which the river is to branch into the desired channel?); 4. with the second pāda of the seventh stanza he ties a frog who is striped like the reed *ṣikā* by his fore feet with two threads, one blue and the other red; 5. with the third pāda of the seventh stanza he envelops (the frog) with an *avakā*-plant.'

The symbolism of these acts is unmistakable; they anticipate the presence of the river with all its life. The gold anticipates the golden-colored waters—*hiranyavarṇāḥ śucayaḥ pāvakāḥ* . . . *āpaḥ*, AV. i.33.1; the river-grass and the reeds symbolize the vegetation. And above all, the frog, securely tied so that he cannot leap away,† and the water-bringing *avakā*, reach back to that early conception which, as we have seen, exists in the hymns themselves.

The *avakā* (*Blyxa octandra*) is the plant which is known in later literature by a group of slightly differentiated names. At Āṣv. Gr. Sū. ii.8.14; iv.4.8 it is glossed in the text itself by *ṣipāla* (*avakāṁ ṣipālam iti*), a form which occurs also in the Rig-Veda. Elsewhere the forms *ṣevāla* (*ṣebāla*), *ṣeṣala*, *ṣāivāla* (*ṣāibāla*), *ṣāivala*: see Pet. Lex. sub voce. The plant scarcely ever appears without the mention or suggestion of water in its train. At RV. x.68.5 light drives darkness from the atmospheric circle just as the wind blows the *ṣipāla* out of the water. At AV. viii.7.9 are mentioned plants whose womb is the *avakā* (i. e. which are of the *avakā*-class), whose very essence is water: *avakolvā* (*bahuvrīhi*) *udakātmāna ṣadhaṃ*. At AV. iv.37.8-10 the Gandharvas, who are particularly associated with the waters (*apāṁ gandharvāḥ*, RV. ix. 86.39; x.10.4; AV. xviii.1.4), who dwell on the banks of the rivers like the Apsarases (Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, i.79), are called *avakā*-eaters (*avakādā*). At VS. xvii.4; TS. iv.6.1; MS. ii.10.1, the plant is spoken of as the *avakā* of the sea. At Çat. Br. vii.5.11; viii.3.2<sup>5</sup>, the *avakā* is identified outright with water: *āpo vā avakāḥ*. At Āṣv. Gr. Sū. ii.8.14, the building of a house, an *avakā* is placed in the cavities of the timbers, 'for it is known that no conflagration will befall him: *garteṣv avakāṁ ṣipālam ity avadhāpayen na hā 'sya dāhuko bhavati 'ti vījñāyate*. And *ibid.* iv.4.8 an *avakā* is placed in a cavity from which the cremated corpse is supposed to ascend heavenward. The *avakā* is supposed to quench the burning body. Cf. with this last extract Çāṅkh. Çr. Sū. iv.15.13, above.

From this long excursus we return to the Rig-Veda stanzas which form the text of the investigation. It is evident that the scenic properties which constitute the corporeal part as it were of the verses have

\* Dār. *kāṣaḥ prasiddhaḥ*. Keç. *diviṣevālaparṇam* (Cod. -*sevāla*-), evidently a water-plant; the *ṣeṣala* and the *avakā* are synonymous.

† Cf. also AV. iv.15.12: 'Pour downward (O *asura pītar*, Jupiter, Zeus) the waters; may the speckle-footed frogs croak in the ditches.'



been found. There is but one step left to take—it is not a bold one—i. e. to identify the plant addressed in x.16.14 as *çitike hlādike* with the *avakā*. The verse then joins the group of Yajus-verses quoted above; its ritual, though not reported in detail as far as we know by the brāhmaṇas and sūtras of the Rig-Veda, is doubtless the same as that of the Yajus and Atharvan schools.

2. Women as mourners in the Atharva-Veda; by Professor Bloomfield.

In the Atharva-Veda, xiv.2.59–62, we read as follows :

59. *yādī 'mé keçino jānā grhé te samānartīṣū rōdena kṛṇvatō 'ghām : agniṣ tvā tasmād énasah savitā ca prā muñcatām.*  
 60. *yādī 'yām duhitā tāva vikeçy drudad grhé rōdena kṛṇvaty āghām : agniṣ tvā, etc.*  
 61. *yāj jāmayo yād yuvatāyo grhé te samānartīṣū rōdena kṛṇvatr aghām : agniṣ tvā, etc.*  
 62. *yāt te prajāyām paçūṣu yād vā grhéṣu niṣṭhitam aghakṛ'dbhīr aghām kṛtām : agniṣ tvā, etc.*

This group of mantras forms part of the wedding-stanzas of the AV.; they have been translated by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* v. 214; Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda* iii.475; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 288-9. It is extremely difficult to imagine the situation depicted in Ludwig's version. He has not added any commentary, and in the absence of it one cannot see what particular part of the wedding-rites are supposed by the translator to be implied in the recitation of these verses. Weber regards the stanzas as connected with expiatory performances in the house of the father after the departure of the bride. The most notable feature in his version is the double translation of the word *rōdena*: this is rendered by 'Gejauchz' in vss. 59 and 61, and by 'Gewein' in 60. Weber does not support his translation of the word *rōdena* by 'Gejauchz'—the word and the root *rud* in general mean 'howling, wailing'—by any other passages. He simply remarks that *rōdena* in 59 (and 61) could refer to 'tears,' but that this does not fit in with the word 'dance' in the same stanza. Undoubtedly the difficulty of the passage as well as the solution are to be looked for at just this point—the reconciliation of the words *rōdena* and *samānartīṣus*. Zimmer's translation agrees in all essentials with that of Weber: he also adopts the translation 'Gejauchz' in vss. 59 and 61, although his own doubts manifest themselves in a mark of interrogation after it. We may sum up Weber's and Zimmer's versions by stating that they regard 59 and 61 as *prāyaçcitta*-stanzas for boisterous merriment at the wedding, while 60 is by them viewed as a stanza uttered in expiation of the wailing of the bride as she leaves the paternal house.

Not so the sūtra. At Kāuç. 79.30 stanza 59 is rubricated along with the pratika of that most perplexing verse AV. xiv.1.46=RV. x.40.6, *jīvaṇ rudanti*. This latter is employed at Çāṅkh. Gr. Sū. i.15.2 and at Açv. Gr. Sū. i.8.4. In both, the stanza is recited by the bridegroom as he

leaves with his newly married bride the house of her parents: 'if she cries, let him recite the verse which begins with the words *jīvaṃ rudanti*.' The passage Kāuṣ. 79.80 reads: 'with the stanzas whose *pratikas* are *jīvaṃ rudanti* (xiv.1.46) and *yadī 'me keçinaḥ* (xiv.2.59) he pours an oblation of ghee (cf. Kāuṣ. 7.8).' Keçava's commentary plainly interprets the passage in accordance with the other sūtras: 'when the bride is led away, if wailing arises in the paternal house (of the bride), then this expiatory performance takes place. He pours an oblation of ghee, uttering the verse beginning with *jīvaṃ rudanti* (xiv.1.46) and the four verses beginning with *yadī 'me keçinaḥ* (xiv.2.59-62).' Keçava's explicit statement that the four verses 59-62 are employed together in the *prāyaścittam* is well worth noting; he is quite right, for nowhere else in the sūtra is there any mention of any other use of the three verses following 59. The next stanza rubricated in the Kāuṣika is 63. See Kāuṣika-sūtra, index D, p. 410, column 1.

If we cling to the indications of the sūtra, it becomes clear that there is in these mantras no allusion to wedding festivities and merry-making of any sort, as is assumed by Weber and Zimmer. We may also safely assume that their sense in the eyes of the redactors of the Atharva was just the same as that in which the Kāuṣika employs them. But it does not follow that this was their primary value. The Atharvan often adapts for its immediate practical uses mantras which originally were constructed for a purpose altogether foreign to that in hand. I have dwelt upon this point especially in *Seven Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, American Journ. Phil. vii. 466 and 467 (pp. 1 and 11 of the reprint); the mantras in question represent a conspicuous instance of secondary adaptation to the purpose indicated by their ritual application. Where shall we look for the situation originally depicted in these stanzas? Evidently we must seek an occasion at which wailing and dancing went together. This occasion is afforded by certain funeral practices, recorded in the AV. and one or two Sūtras. The verses which allude to them seem to have been generally misunderstood. AV. xii.5.48 states this quite clearly:

*kṣiprāṃ vāi tāsya "dāhanam pāri nṛtyanti keçinīḥ,  
āghnānāḥ pāṇinó 'rasi kurvānāḥ pāpām ālabām.*

This is a threat against the oppressor of Brahmans: 'Promptly do the women with their hair unloosened dance about his funeral-pyre, beating their breasts with their hands and making an evil wailing.\* Every feature of the verse plays a part in the funeral ceremonies: 1. the funeral pyre; 2. the dance of women about the same; 3. the unloosened hair of the women; 4. the beating of the breasts of the women; 5. the wailing of the women. AV. xix.32.2 reads:

*nā 'sya keçān prā vapanti nō 'rasi tāḍam ā ghnate:  
yasmā achinnapariṇēna darbhēṇa çārma yachati.*

\* Similarly the oppressor of Brahmans is threatened with a suggestion of his own funeral rites at AV. v.19.12 (cf. also xii.5.15). See Proceedings for October, 1889 (Journal, vol. xiv., p. clv), and below.

This is a promise that he who uses *darbha*-grass shall not die and be buried: 'They do not cut his hair,\* they do not beat their breasts for him, whom (the priest) protects with *darbha*-grass whose leaves are uncut' (wholly otherwise Zimmer, p. 70). Here we have an additional feature of the funeral ceremonies: 6. the cutting of the hair of the corpse, in conjunction with 4. the beating of breasts. AV. viii.1.19 introduces 3 and 5 again, palpably in allusion to funeral rites:

*ut tvā mṛtyōr apīparam sām dhamantu vāyodhśaḥ :  
mā tvā vyastakeṣyō mā tvā 'gharūdo rudan.*

'I have passed you over death: . . . may the women with disheveled hair not wail over you, may the women who bewail misfortune (or who wail ominously) not wail over you.' Similarly AV. xi.2.11: *parō yantv agharūdo vikeṣyāḥ*,† 'may the females who wail ominously, they with disheveled hair, go away from us,' i. e. 'may we not die.' Finally, AV. xi.9.14 presents features 3, 4, and 5, possibly also feature 2, if we admit the parallelism of *sām dhāv* with *sām nṛt* in xiv.2.59 ff. and *pari nṛt* in xii.5.48:

*pratighnānāḥ sām dhāvanth 'raḥ paśūravṣṭ āghnānāḥ :  
aghārīṇir vikeṣyō rudatyāḥ pūruṣe haté radité arbude tāva.*

'Let those who beat against themselves run together, striking their breasts and thighs, unanointed, with disheveled hair, wailing when a man has been slain, bitten by you, O Arbudi.' Stanza 7 of the same hymn contains the same statement paraphrased: 'Let her who beats herself, let the tear-faced, and the one with short ears (who has cut her ears?) shout; let her with disheveled hair shout when a man has been slain, bitten by you, O Arbudi.' Cf. also AV. xi.10.7: 'May she with suffused eyes (lit. having smoke in her eyes) hurry on, may she with short ears hurry on, when (the enemy) has been conquered by Triṣaṇ-dhi's army . . .'

The passages assembled above do not all of them bear upon our custom with equal directness. In one or the other we may perhaps have before us not so much the mourning women with their wailings as the notion of other uncanny spectral beings, to which the transition was an easy one. The enemy and the unholy wizard, the uncanny and the demoniacal, are conceptions which constantly interlace in the Atharvan. Such secondary extension may underlie the immediate meaning of the last two passages (xi.9.7; xi.10.7), and of xi.2.11 above.

The sūtra-ritual has a trace of the same practice. At Āçv. Gr. Sū. iv.6.3 the mourners go about the ashes of the deceased guru three times from right to left, beating with their left hands upon their left thighs.

\* Cf. Āçv. Çr. Sū. vi.10.2: . . . *pretalanīkārān kurvanti keṣāçmaçṛulomanakhāni vāpayanti.* Also Āçv. Gr. Sū. iv.1.16.

† Grill, *Hundert Lieder des A V.*,<sup>2</sup> p. 90, seems to put *agharūdo vikeṣyāḥ* into agreement with *kroṣṭārah*, in spite of the difference in gender.

‡ Böhlingk, 'ein bestimmter körperteil.' Our translation of the obscure word is based upon Käuç. 84.10. The word seems to contain *āru* with some modifying adjective, perhaps *prthu*, in a Prākṛtic form.

And at Kāuṣ. 84.10, in the course of the preparation of the *ḡmaçāna*, it is stated explicitly that women with disheveled hair are the performers. Cf. with this last especially AV. xi.9.14.

Returning now to verses xiv.2.59-61 of the wedding stanzas, it seems very likely that their original purpose was to expiate (*prāyaścittam*) for the noisy practices at the funeral. The evil which the wailing women have brought on when they danced about with their hair unloosened, from this evil Agni and Savitar are called upon to free the family. The verses were adapted to the purpose for which they are employed by the Atharvavedins simply because they contained words for 'wailing.' This is precisely such a case as the secondary employment of the hymns AV. i.2 and 3 as battle charms: see *Seven Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, p. 467 (2 of the reprint). In the *Gṛhya-sūtras* verses are frequently employed in connection with certain practices because they contain some single expression which suggests the practice. The untrammelled symbolism which runs riot in the *Brāhmaṇas* is at work in many ways also in the *Sūtras*, notably in the employment of the mantras, which are made to serve not only as what they really are, but in any significance which can for the moment be trumped up for them, or for a part of them; often the relevance of the application of a mantra is to be sought in a single word occurring in the mantra—usually in its opening strain, its *pratīka*—and this single word may be employed for the moment in a false sense, or in a sense which it may have in some other connection, but does not bear in the mantra in question. See e. g. *Çāṅkh. Gr. Sū.* i.15.3, where the *pratīka* *akṣann amīmadanta* (RV. i.82.2) 'they have eaten, they have rejoiced' is employed in connection with the application of axle-grease to the wagon (*rathākṣasyo 'pāñjanam*), simply because of the assonance of the words *akṣan* 'they have eaten' and *akṣa* 'axle.'

I do not wish to exclude the possibility that a practice similar to the funeral dance may have been adopted among the Atharvavedins along with the verses on the occasion of the bride's departure. The words *ḡrthé te* in stanza 59 lend a certain plausibility to such a view. At any rate, the custom as well as the verses belongs fundamentally to the funeral rites of the Vedic Indians.

3. On the *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον talīdyā*, AV. vii. 76.3; by Professor Bloomfield.

In the Proceedings for Oct., 1887 (Journal, vol. xiii., p. ccxv.), I endeavored to explain AV. vii.76; in the third stanza of the hymn certain words were left undiscussed. To these we now return:

*yāḥ kīkasāḥ praçṇāti talīdyām avatiṣṭhati,*  
*nīr āstam sārvaḥ jāyānyaḥ yāḥ kās ca kakūdi çritāḥ.*

As *jāyānya* is masculine, *sārvaḥ jāyānyaḥ* are accusatives, and Whitney's hesitating emendation to *nīrastam* 'has been expelled' is unacceptable: see *Index Verborum to the AV.*, p. 48\*. I emend to *nīr*

*āstham*, first person sing. of the aorist of that root\* *asth* whose existence Pischel has recently established, in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* of June 20, 1890, Nr. 18, p. 530 ff. *Nir āstham . . . jāyānyam* 'I have driven out the *jāyānya*' is a perfect pendant to *vy ā'sthan* (*ri āsthat*) *mṛ'dhaḥ* 'he has driven apart the enemy,' AV. xiii.1.5, and *mṛ'dha evā vy ā'sthata* 'the enemy he has driven apart,' MS. iii.1.4 (5.2). We may now translate: 'I have driven out every sore which causes to crumble the bones of the spine (so according to Böhtlingk's lexicon: *kṛkasa* 2. 'Wirbelsäule'), also that which goes down to the *talīḍyā*, also whatever one is fixed upon the head.'

No one has hitherto ventured to translate the word *talīḍyā*: see Pet. Lex. and Bō. Lex. *sub voce*, and Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda*, iii. 500. If we consider that *kṛkasāḥ* represents the trunk (middle) of the afflicted body and *kakūḍ* the head (top), it is *a priori* probable that *talīḍyā* represents the bottom of the body. The parallelism between *talīḍyām avatīṣṭhati* and *kakūḍi cṛitūḥ* is that which prevails in very many familiar expressions and proverbs which aim to emphasize the fact that the entire human body is meant: 'from head to foot;' 'vom Scheitel bis zu den Zehen;' *ab imis unguibus usque ad verticem summum* (Cic. p. Rosc. Com. 7.12); *talos a vertice ad imos* (Hor. Ep. ii.2.4); *ἐκ κεφαλῆς εἰς τοὺς ποδῶν* (Hom. Il.16.640); *ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν* (Aristoph. Plutus 650), etc.

The Petersburg Lexicon cites the word *talahṛdaya* 'die mitte der fuss-sohle' from Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*. Böhtlingk in his minor lexicon stars the word to indicate that it cannot be quoted from the literature. The word, however, must occur in the medical *gāstras*, since it is quoted by Wise, *Hindu System of Medicine*, p. 70. It appears there as one of the *marmāṇi*, the vital parts of the body, and is described as being 'the part of the sole under and behind the fourth and fifth toe.' This refinement of the *gāstras* may be quietly set aside: but we may consider it as certain that the sole of the foot, or some part of it, was called in classical Sanskrit *talahṛdaya*. With this Vedic *talīḍyā* is perhaps identical, and if so it is likely that *talahṛdaya* is the product of the former by popular etymology. Hence, too, may come the specialization of the meaning which the *gāstra* attaches to the word (*tala + hṛdaya*). Whether *talīḍyā* independently of its possible offspring *talahṛdaya* is to be connected with *tala* 'sole of the foot' (*pāda-tala*), Lat. *talus*, need not be decided in this connection. And if, as is by no means impossible, *talīḍyā* and *talahṛdaya* are of independent origin, I shall nevertheless adhere to the translation of the former by 'sole of the foot.'

#### 4. On the so-called Nirukta of Kāutsavaya; by Professor Bloomfield.

In the Proceedings for October, 1889 (Journal, vol. xiv., p. clii. note), the writer drew attention to the existence of a text which passes as a Nirukta, and figures as the 48th *pariṣiṣṭa* of the Atharva-Veda. Martin

\* Or. perhaps better, stem? Cf. the Greek formation in *θ*: *νῆ-θω*, *ἰ-νῆ-θη*, etc.

Haug is the only Western scholar who had previously seen and given a notice of this text, in his report on his journey in Guzerat in Dec. 1863-Feb. 1864: see *Ind. Stud.* ix. 175-6; in the Berlin MSS. of the AV. *pariṣiṣṭas* the text in question is wanting. With no little eagerness did the writer begin the survey of the text in two codices of the *pariṣiṣṭas* belonging to the Bombay government. What might they not have contained? Lists of difficult Atharvan words assembled in categories, explanations of cruces, citations of parallel passages from other sources, etc. Of all this there is nothing; even the title is inexact, for the text is not a *nirukta*, but merely contains series of words, grouped together in 69 continuous paragraphs. It is a text of *nighaṇṭavas*, not an etymological (*nirukta*) treatise in any sense. And these are in no way new; they are essentially the same as the *nighaṇṭavas* upon which Yāska's work is built up, with very few and unimportant additions, but in a totally different arrangement.

The MSS. at the disposal of the writer are too corrupt to permit a final report on the value of the text. This much is certain: its value for the exegesis of the AV. is practically nothing at all. A small group of Atharvan words—without any explanation—occur in § 66: *nīlāgalasālā*, *āulaba* (MSS. *elava*), *nīlalahita*, *ṣvāpada*, *kunakhī*, *kurīra*, *tādurī*, and perhaps a few others, whose reading is too uncertain for report. Otherwise there are essentially the same materials which were at Yāska's disposal, without any explanation, and in a different arrangement. A rough concordance of the *nighaṇṭavas* of Yāska and Kāutsavaya may save the future reader of the *pariṣiṣṭa* the considerable amount of preliminary labor involved in such a comparison. We designate Yāska's *nighaṇṭavas* by Y. and Kāutsavaya's by K.:

Y. i. 1 :	K. 27 (1st pt.)	Y. ii. 10 :	K. 40	Y. iii. 14 :	K. 5-7
i. 2 :	41	ii. 11 :	42	iii. 15 :	36
i. 3 :	48	ii. 12 :	13 (1st pt.)	iii. 16 :	47
i. 4 :	57 (end)	ii. 13 :	13 (2d pt.)	iii. 17 :	45
i. 5 :	60 (end), 61	ii. 14 :	16 (2d pt.)	iii. 18 :	46
i. 6 :	49	ii. 15 :	56	iii. 19 :	9 (end)
i. 7 :	27 (3d pt.)	ii. 16 :	27 (2d pt.)	iii. 20 :	10
i. 8 :	59	ii. 17 :	55	iii. 21 :	9 (begin.)
i. 9 :	60 (1st pt.)	ii. 18 :	1	iii. 22 :	not found
i. 10 :	50, 51	ii. 19 :	14	iii. 23 :	30 (2d pt.)
i. 11 :	52	ii. 20 :	54	iii. 24 :	35 (1st pt.)
i. 12 :	28, 29	ii. 21 :	16 (begin.)	iii. 25 :	57 (1st pt.)
i. 13 :	30 (1st pt.)	ii. 22 :	62	iii. 26 :	58
i. 14 :	43	iii. 1 :	23 (mid.)	iii. 27 :	25
i. 15 :	44	iii. 2 :	23 (mid.)	iii. 28 :	24
i. 16 :	15 (1st pt.)	iii. 3 :	23 (end)	iii. 29 :	67 (mid.)
i. 17 :	15 (2d pt.)	iii. 4 :	39	iii. 30 :	17-19
ii. 1 :	20	iii. 5 :	8	iv. 1 :	63 (in pt.)
ii. 2 :	37	iii. 6 :	22	iv. 2 :	63 (in pt.)
ii. 3 :	31	iii. 7 :	32	iv. 3 :	64, 65
ii. 4 :	33 (end)	iii. 8 :	21 (1st pt.)	v. 1 :	67 (mid.)
ii. 5 :	34	iii. 9 :	35 (2d pt.)	v. 2 :	67 (mid.)
ii. 6 :	3, 4	iii. 10 :	26	v. 3 :	not found
ii. 7 :	38	iii. 11 :	2	v. 4 :	68 (1st pt.)
ii. 8 :	11 (middle)	iii. 12 :	not found.	v. 5 :	68 (2d pt.)
ii. 9 :	53	iii. 13 :	not found.	v. 6 :	69

Occasionally K. adds a word or two which is not found in Yāska's *ni-ghanṭavas*, but is mentioned in the Nirukta. As may be seen from the index, a few of Yāska's groups of words are apparently wanting in K. ; conversely, the latter has a few gaṇas which are wanting in Y. : e. g., the first part of K. 11 contains a list of verbs meaning 'protect' (*rakṣe*): *piparti, pārayati, pāti, pāsati, prāti, bhumiṣati, prṇāti*: at the end of K. 21 figures a list of nouns expressing 'misfortune' (*aghasya*): *āgaḥ, enaḥ, aihaḥ, ripuḥ* (!), *duritaḥ, aṣasti, ṣamalam, vṛjinam*; at the beginning of K. 23 there are words for 'misfortune' (*duḥkhasya*): *nirṛti, kṛchraḥ*; at the beginning of K. 33 we have a list of words for 'abdomen' (*udarasya*): *jaṭharaḥ, parimāṇam, jagṛtaḥ, gardanaḥ, kṛdaram, udaram, dardaram* (?). Possibly the text when accessible in a more legible form may yet yield some items of interest, and it may perhaps contribute some information as to the history and origin of the glosses ; neither result is likely to be attained without additional better manuscripts.

5. On Böhlingk's Upanishads ; by Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

This is the abstract of a more detailed paper, which will be published elsewhere (in the American Journal of Philology). The veteran and unweariedly productive scholar Böhlingk has, during the past year, published a text and translation of the two longest Upanishads, the Chāndogya and the Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka.\* No so permanently valuable addition to our knowledge of this class of works has hitherto been made. Not only are the texts themselves carefully revised and in a host of places (especially in the Chāndogya) skilfully and successfully emended, but the version aims to be of precisely that character which, as I pointed out in a paper before the Society some years ago (see Proceedings for Oct., 1885), is most to be desired—namely, a Sanskrit scholar's version, giving, in independence of the commentaries, simply what the text itself appears to say. As the versions in the "Sacred Books of the East" impelled irresistibly to an exposure of their faults, these, on the contrary, are so good and trustworthy as to tempt to a critical examination and correction of details, or suggestion of possible improvement (in what follows, for brevity's sake, the Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka will be denoted by B., and the Chāndogya by C.).

First, as regards certain points in the external form of the texts. The editor has followed the method first exemplified in his Chrestomathy, of resolving *y* and *v* before a vowel into *i* and *u* in verse where the metrical form appears to require it (and in a few other special cases). This appears ill-judged: partly because the cases are sometimes questionable; more because the student who comes to the Upanishads must be supposed perfectly able to make for himself such facile reductions

\* *Chāndogjopanishad*, kritisch herausgegeben und übersetzt von Otto Böhlingk. Leipzig, 1889. *Bṛhadāraṇjakopanishad* in der Mādhyamīna-Recension, herausgegeben und übersetzt von O. Böhlingk. St. Petersburg, 1889.

of written to spoken form ; and also because there is no satisfaction in such a half-measure, if the fusions of final and initial vowels are to be left unresolved, irregular cases of crasis unrestored, and so on. For instance, at B.v.15.8. where *prāṇa*, *apāna*, and *vyāna* are said to make eight syllables, the editor prints *prāṇo* 'pāno viānaḥ : but how does it help us to have the third word expanded into three syllables while the second is left mutilated to two? and at B.iv. 4.18 we have in one line *sambhūtyām* expanded to *-tiām*, while what must be read *bhūyeva* remains *bhūya iva*—and similarly in many other cases. By the help, also, of a peculiar (and well-devised) sign, the editor introduces a much more liberal system of punctuation of the Sanskrit text than has hitherto been made in either Upanishad. But this, too, especially as carried out by him, will not be likely to find general approval. It appears an unnecessary assumption on the part of an editor that his readers will not be able as well as himself to divide the matter into clauses (the same may be said of the sign somewhat similarly introduced by Schröder in the prose of his *Māitrāyaṇi-Saṁhitā*) ; and where, as here, the editor gives in an added translation his own understanding of the text, the marks of division become wholly superfluous ; but, what is much worse, they are employed in the present instance to introduce into Sanskrit the worst and most pedantic features of modern German punctuation, accepted in no other European language. For example, the sentence (B.i.4.2) 'he that knoweth thus verily scorseth him that trieth to get the advantage of him' is broken up into three clauses by intrusive marks—and so, more or less, in innumerable other passages. Paucity of division is far preferable to such ill-bestowed abundance.

It is a wholly new feature in Sanskrit orthography to make after a nasal that duplication of *ch* which the grammars widely require after a vowel, thus writing *ñcch* (from *n c*), and even *ñcchr*, *ñcchv*. Even if required (see C., Preface, p. ix) by the letter of Pāṇini's rules, this orthography is too thoroughly lacking in justification by theory, by analogy, or by usage to be regarded as otherwise than monstrous. In like manner, Pāṇini's authority is insufficient to justify such readings as *pūryatāsy iti* (cf. C.v. 3.8 ; B. vi. 1.2) against the usage of all manuscripts everywhere, and against the analogy of the older language, which almost universally rejects before an *u*-vowel a *v* as product of euphonic combination (so *tā ubhāu*, etc. : see my *Skt. Gram.* 184 c).

I am glad to see that (in B. : e. g. ii.4.5) the editor now acknowledges *-tavyā*, not *-tāvya*, as the true accent of the gerundive in the *Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* also, as everywhere else ; he has long held out (in both Petersburg lexicons) against it, as have others (Cappeller, Delbrück) after his example.

Alterations of the text as given by the manuscripts chiefly concern C., since the textual tradition of B. is by far the more accurate. The majority of those made may be thankfully accepted, and many of them show much acuteness ; there are also, of course, cases of corruption beyond the reach of satisfactory emendation. Different persons will naturally differ as to where the line is to be drawn between restorations



and improvements of the text. I should be inclined to retain, as probably belonging to the real text, some words and forms rejected by the editor: as, *ātadātmya* (C.vi.8.7 ff.), *adhidāivatam* (C.i.8.1 et al.), *somya* (C.iv.4.4 et al.), *bhuñjāmas* (C.iv.11.2 ff.), *mahattām* (C.vii.6.1), *bhogya* (C.viii.9.1 ff.), *akṣiṇi* (B.iv.2.3; C.i.7.5 et al.), and sundry others. At C.ii.13.1, the proposed alterations seem to me to make the text worse rather than better; the force of the consideration urged in the note is not apparent. So at C.vi.14.1, *pradhmayīta* may better be retained, as meaning 'may be blown forth,' i. e. may take any chance direction, like a leaf blown by the wind. If, at C.v.15.2, a conditional is to be restored, it should be *açariṣyata*; such a form as *açariṣyata* is unknown to the language (except of the grammarians: see my Skt. Gr. 985 a). At C.viii.7.3, *avāstām* of the MSS. is doubtless right, and not the editor's *avāttām* (see my Skt. Gr., 2d ed., 883).

In a few passages, further emendations may be suggested, as follows: in C., at vi.2.3, *vā* is without question to be changed to *eva*, giving this sense: 'therefore, wherever it is hot (cf. vii.11.1), a man just sweats; from heat, namely, thus water is produced.' At i.11.1, we may confidently alter *vividīṣāṇi* to *-ṣāmi*; then, in 2, the aorist *āṣiṣam* does not suit the connection, but calls for the easy emendation to *āṣiṣyam*: 'I should (i. e. if I had known thee already) have sought thee; but, by reason of not knowing thee (either *avittya* or *avittvā*), I have chosen others.' The use of an optative in prohibitive sense with *mā* is so anomalous that we need not hesitate to put *lopsi* for *lopsiya* at iii.16.2 ff. At the beginning of i.6.7, we ought to have *yasya* for *tasya*, the apodosis beginning with the following *tasya*. I pass over here a few points of minor importance.

Of corrections of the press requiring to be made may be noted the following:

In C., p. 49, l. 5, read *naḥ*; 78.13, *hy ātmā*; 82.17, *hy anyasmin*; 87.10, *pāpmāno*; 89.17, *āpnoti*; 94.6, *ākācam*. At iii.17.9, the first verse should have been filled out, if at all, with the Sāma-Veda reading (i.20); in the second verse restore the pāda which the editor has unjustifiably omitted (it is found in various other texts); at iii.12.6, restore all the MS. readings (they are Sāma-readings: see the Nāigeya appendix, iv.6 and 5).

In B., owing to the inconveniently small type and the perplexities of altering the mode of designating accent, slight errors of accentuation are rather frequent; such are passed here unnoticed; worthy of attention are the following: p. 4, l. 26, read '*dhīpatīḥ*'; 6.27, '*jāyanta* and *pipṭlikābhyas*'; 7.13, doubtless *kṣuradhāné*; 10.18, *ūpaspr̥ṣto*; 26.8, *-gamayat* (the translation here follows the erroneous reading); 31.13, *nadyāḥ* (Weber makes the same mistake); 34.3, *akratā* (similarly at 51.3.6, 9, *ajñasiṣṭā*); 35.5, doubtless *adyūḥ*; 37.27 and 38.10, *sahasram* omitted (after *hastyṣabham*); 55.24, doubtless *cakāra* (important change); 61.3, *mānthe* omitted (after second *hutvā*); 66.20, *ārīricam*. There are also a number of cases in which the MS. readings are altered in verse, or in what is erroneously viewed and printed as such.

Coming now to the translation, we have to notice that, notwithstanding its prevailing faithfulness, it is decidedly more free and periphrastic than were to be wished, or than seems to suit its intended character as a scholarly version. For example, at C.i.2.1, why not read 'saying "with this we shall overcome them,"' rather than "in the opinion that with this they should overpower the demons"? Or, at C.ii.3.1, which is literally thus: 'the cloud is generated—that [is] the *prastāva*; it rains—that [is] the *udgītha*; it lightens, it thunders—that [is] the *pratihāra*; it holds up—that [is] the *nīdhana*,' why substitute "the *prastāva* is the forming cloud, the *udgītha* the rainfall, the *pratihāra* lightning and thunder, the *nīdhana* the cessation of the rain"? So the common descriptive phrase 'he who burns yonder' is shrunk into simply "the sun;" 'he who cleanses here,' into "the wind;" *iyam* 'this [earth]' becomes "the earth;" and so on. In such instances as these there is no perversion of essential meaning, but only a regrettable, and, it seems, a wholly needless sacrifice of the characteristic flavor of the original. The same is generally the effect of the innumerable omissions of a demonstrative which the translator commits, often more than once in a single sentence, or many times on a page. For example, at C.i.2.1, instead of "of beings," the text has 'of these beings' (i. e. these that we know, or see about us); at ii.9.1, "the sun" is 'yon sun'; at iii.13.1, for *tasya ha vā etasya* is given simply "the" in the translation; and so on. This whole method of rendering is a dangerous one, and leads far too easily to the supplying of essential deficiencies, the smoothing over of difficulties, and in general to the substitution of an interpretation for a version. Some instances of this will be given later.

Occasional omissions of single words and phrases are evident oversights: thus, at C.ii.11.1 (*vāk prastāvaḥ*); 21.2 (*evam*); v.10.5 (*etam adhvānam*); 24.4 (*evamīdā*); vi.3.3 (*anenāi 'va jīvenā 'tmanā*); vii.5.3 (*pratiṣṭhitān*); viii.5.4 (*aram ca nyam ca*); 9.2 (*yāt*);—at B.i.3.24 (*tasmād v eva sāma*), 33 (*ātmane*); 4.8 (*gardabhī 'tarā gardabha itaraḥ*), 19 (*ātmanam eva priyam upāsita*), 29 (*sarvadā*); ii.2.5 (*camasaḥ*); iii.9.21 (*cakṣuṣā hi rūpāni paçyati*); iv.4.17 (*sarvasya*); v.12.1 (*-antaram*); vi.1.18 (*vāidyutāt*).

The important principle (urged by me in my former paper) of observing the identity and diversity of terms is much more conscientiously and carefully observed by this translation than by any of its predecessors; the instances in which it is neglected are only exceptional. But some of the consistently used representatives of common words are quite new, and of doubtful felicity. Thus, the ever-recurring *loka*, hitherto rendered 'world' (*welt, monde*), he prefers to translate "station" (*Stätte*); the change is hardly an improvement. The more obscure noun *ākāśa*, usually given as 'ether,' is to him "emptiness, void" (*die Leere*). *Rūpa* 'form' is expanded into "form of apparition" (*Erscheinungsform*), which seems too precise and technical: why not, then, "term of appellation" for *nāman* 'name'? The suffix *-maya* 'made up of, consisting in' is (I think) mistranslated "appearing as" (*erscheinend als*), even in passages like C.vi.5.4; 6.5, where the connec-

tion demands the ordinary rendering. And similarly in a few other less noteworthy cases. It is also one of the translator's idiosyncrasies not to give the particle *hi* its proper meaning 'for.' Far too frequently he simply leaves it out; when rendered, it is oftenest by the asseverative *ja* 'verily,' sometimes by *da* 'since.'

We may now notice, in their order, certain of the points as to which the translations appear to admit of improvement.

And first, in C. Its introductory sentence is, if I am not mistaken, an example of a slight misapprehension that runs widely through both works. The text reads literally: '*Om*—this syllable [as] *udgītha* should one worship.' Which noun here is object, and which predicate? The translator takes the second, *udgītha*, as object, and (helping his apprehension by his usual omission of the demonstrative) gives us "let one worship the *udgītha* as the syllable *om*"—and so in innumerable other cases: by inversion, as it seems to me, of the true construction. And not seldom against pretty clear evidence to the contrary. Thus, at i.3.1, we have the subject of predication pointed out by the customary device of a relative clause (which had been properly understood in this way at i.1.3): thus, 'he who burns yonder, him [as] *udgītha* should one worship;' but the translator turns it into "let one worship the *udgītha* as the sun." Another example has been already quoted for a different purpose above: namely (ii.3.1), 'the cloud is generated—that is the *prastāva*,' etc., translated "the *prastāva* is the forming cloud," etc. Occasionally, in order to bring about the inversion, a unitary sentence is broken into two, with a word or words inserted to help the process: e. g., i.7.5 reads literally thus: 'now this person (*puruṣa*) that is seen within the eye, he [is] *ṛc*, he *sāman*, he *uktha*, he *yajus*, he *brahman*.' The translator makes of it this: "the *ṛc* is the spirit that is seen in the eye. It [the spirit] is also the *sāman*, the *uktha*," etc. At iii.13.1, in a similar case, he makes, as a consequence of the dislocation, a further error of reference: the text has 'as for (*sa yaj*) its eastern cavity, that [is] in-breathing, that [is] eye, that [is] sun;' his version reads "the in-breathing is the eastern cavity. This is also the eye and the sun;" and his "this" is *dieser*, as if it referred to in-breathing (*der Einhauch*), while it should be *diese*, referring to cavity (*die Höhlung*). A further instructive example, too, may be found in the very first chapter. Here, in paragraph 4, simple "what" (*was*) is a very insufficient rendering for the repeated superlative *katama-katama*; this means rather 'which one'—that is to say, which in any given group of three is respectively *ṛc*, *sāman*, or *udgītha*? and the answer follows, that (in a certain trio) 'voice is *ṛc*, breath is *sāman*, "om," that syllable is *udgītha*;' while the translator says "the *ṛc* is the voice," etc.

But also the second sentence at the beginning is to be objected to. It is given thus: "with *om* [the *udgātar*] begins the song." How comes *ud gāyati* (lit. 'sings up' or 'out') to signify 'begins the song'? The translator, to be sure, so renders it in one or two other places (as i.1.9), but also (as i.10.10 and elsewhere) by "sings the *udgītha*;" and this is unquestionably what it means everywhere, unless we are to translate

*udgātar* by 'one who begins to sing,' and *udgītha* by 'the beginning of a song.' The sentence virtually means 'for (*hi*, which, though restored to the text in the notes, is omitted in the translation : see above) *om* is in fact the *udgītha*' (more lit., 'for with *om* one sings the *udgītha*').

In the concluding sentence of this paragraph, *hier* is an insertion, and *ergänzend* not a happy rendering of *upa-*; *näher*, as used at iii.19.1, would be better; and 'further' perhaps better than either. In paragraph 2 is seen throughout the translator's usual inversion of subject and predicate. In 8, *aṣṭama* 'eighth' is shown by its position to belong to the predicate, and not to be used attributively, as rendered. In 8, *samrddhi* is not "granting" (*Gewährung*), and is not elsewhere so translated. In 9, "makes use of" is a needlessly inexact version of *var-tate* 'proceeds'; nor is *rasena* at the end a genitive. In 10, why render the three successive instrumentals by "with knowledge, with faith, and in possession of (instead of 'with') the Upanishad?"

It is of course impossible to go through the text in this manner; we must content ourselves with noticing a few selected points. In C., book first, 2.2 ff., *vividhus* 'pierced' is not well rendered by "loaded" (*behafteten*: similarly at B.i.3.3 ff.); nor, 2.13, *vidām cakāra* 'knew' by "devised" (*erfand*). At the end of 2.8, not "that" (*das*) is the stone in question, but 'this one' (i. e. *dieser* [*Hauch*]). At the end of 3.7, "so it is with" is inserted without reason; the clause means 'namely *ud*, *gī*, and *tha*' (explanatory of *akṣarāṇi*, just before). At 6.1, the literal rendering is 'this [earth is] a *ṛc*, fire a *sāman*: that [is] (i. e. there you have, there is an example of) a *sāman* imposed upon a *ṛc*.' In 6.8, *hi* necessarily makes a new clause; 'for he is the singer (*gātar*) of it (i. e. of *ud*);' it is a word-play on *udgātar*. At 12.1, 3, why should *vā* mean "otherwise called," rather than simply 'or'?

In the second book, at 15.2, *varṣantam* (by an oversight) is rendered "rain," instead of 'him who rains' (i. e. *Parjanya*). At 21.1, "Agni" is an oversight for 'fire' (cf. iii.15.6 et al.). "Belong to Indra's person-ality," 22.3, seems an unmotivated paraphrase of '[are] Indra's selves (*ātmanas*).'

In the third book, at 11.3 (also viii.4.2), *sakṛt* is rather 'once for all' than 'all at once.' At 11.5, 6, the connection is not made clear; *idam tad* in 5 is 'this,' not "so;" and only the first clause of 6 belongs with 5: thus, (to such a person and) 6. 'not to any one else soever; were he (the latter) to give him the earth, . . . that (the *brahman*) is more than it (than such a gift).' At 12.2 *ati-ṣiyate* cannot well mean "comes out," but rather 'falls beyond' or 'off from' (the earth). At 12.6, is "the totality of the immortals" to be regarded as a translation of *amṛtam*? At 16.5, *ādadate* is *zu* (rather than *mit*) *sich nehmen*.

In the fourth book, at 1.3, whatever *sayugvan* may mean, "affected with the itch" seems a most unlikely understanding of it. In the following difficult paragraph, *enam* cannot well be antecedent of the relative clause; we must put a stop after *kurvanti*, rendering what follows 'he who knows that which he knows, he is thus spoken of by me.' In 1.5 (as elsewhere, in both C. and B.), *are* is rendered "my dear," though

it is doubtless originally vocative of *ari* 'enemy,' and hence only used chidingly, or contemptuously, or to an acknowledged inferior (as by Yājñavalkya to his wife). The text-emendations in the next chapter are ingenious, and, though they leave difficulties, it is not easy to suggest anything better. But, in 3, "be it thy business to concern thyself with the cows" is hardly possible for *tavāi 'va saha gobhir astu*: we want a subject, as *tad*, supplied to *astu* (cf. v.3.6), and *saha gobhis* then means 'along with the cows' (i. e. and the cows as well). At 7.2 and 8.2, "come flying toward" for *upa-ni-pat* leaves out the *ni*; read instead 'alight by.' In 14.1, *gati* is rendered by "the sequel," as at i.8.4, 5 by "recourse:" both seem alike forced and unsatisfactory. In the next paragraph, a sentence or two may be improved thus: "who then should have instructed me, sir?"—with these words he in a manner denies (historical present) it—"why, these of such [or such] other appearance:" with these words he intended the fires.' In 15.5 (and elsewhere), *udañ*, of the course of the sun, is rather 'in the north' than "toward the north"—i. e. from equinox to equinox, not from solstice to solstice. In 15.6, *āvartam* is doubtless cognate accusative to *āvartante*, not 'intercourse' (*Umtrieb*). In the verse in 17.9, the translator lets the commentator seduce him into giving *kuru* the impossible sense of 'performer of the sacrifice.'

In the fifth book, in 2.7, *dhimahi* is falsely rendered "we think," while at B.vi.3.12 it is given correctly. The analogy of 10.5 shows that in 10.1 (and so elsewhere) *abhi-sam-bhū* has its regular sense of 'be converted into, become.' In 11.2 ff., "everywhere spread abroad" (*überall verbreitet*) seems a far from well-chosen rendering for *vāiṣṭānara* (lit. 'common to all men'), which is elsewhere (as B.v.10.1) generally left untranslated. At 19.2, by giving "after that" (*nachdem*) for *anu*, the translator ignores its peculiar and pregnant sense, 'along with and in consequence of:' he renders it better at viii.9.2 by "with."

In the sixth book, at 1.4-6 (numbered in the translation 3-5), of which the difficult content is put into much better shape than by previous translators, the version, or at least the punctuation, hides the fact that all three paragraphs (after the first sentence of 4) are protases to which the last sentence in 6 is apodosis: thus, 'just as, my dear, by one lump of clay everything made of clay may be understood—a modification [being] a process of speech; the real name [being] simply "clay"—; just as . . . ; just as . . . ;—so, my dear, is that doctrine.' At 9.8 (and 10.2), the translator renders *tad ābhavanti* by "that they continue to be," which is impossible; much more probable is 'that they come to be,' i. e. into that condition they come from something else.

In the seventh book, "mightier" (*mächtiger*) is a poor translation of *bhūyas* 'more,' at 1.5 ff.; also, at 8.1, "runner" of *utthātar*.

In the last book, at the end of 1.5, a more literal rendering would not only be truer but would better suggest the missing apodosis: read 'for just as here (in this world) human beings settle down according to order, [and] whatever direction their desires take them to, what region, what piece of ground, that same they severally live upon'—so, we are

to understand, it is also in the other world ; one's desires determine his condition. And (6 being parenthetical, probably an intrusion) the next chapter goes on to show how what one wants arises about him : ' if he becomes desirous of a Fathers' world, straightway out of his creative imagination (*samkalpa*) Fathers arise together ; united with that Fathers' world he is happy ;' and so on. At 5.1, the clause " if one has earnestly willed it " is a most ponderous substitute for *iṣṭvā*, which, moreover, doubtless goes with *brahmacaryeṇa* (cf. the end of the following paragraph) : read ' having sought by means of Vedic studentship. ' In 6.1 (of which the version is open to various objections), the translator amends *aṇimnas* to *aṇimnā*, saying in a note (p. 107) that a genitive with *sthā* appears to him impossible. Difficult it certainly is, yet at vi.12.2 he passed without a protest the same construction, and with the same noun.

We turn now to the translation of the other Upanishad, comment on which must be made yet briefer.

In the first book, it is taking quite too much liberty to substitute " the two neighboring intermediate directions " for ' that one and that one, ' as is done twice in 2.8 ; and " than what I sing it with " in 3.26 is a good deal more than a translation of *itas*. At 3.19, two clauses are fused into one in translation : read ' those gods said " so much, forsooth, is this universe as food ; that hast thou sung to thyself ; give us an after share in this food. " ' As *viṣvambhara* (lit. ' all-bearing ') is not elsewhere known as a name for ' fire, ' and seems very inapplicable as such, it seems to be taking things quite too easily to turn, 4.16, ' as a razor might be deposited in a razor-case, or a *viṣvambhara* in a *viṣvambhara*-nest ' into " as a razor or fire, when these are lying in their cases : " what is a fire-case ? and, the point being the invisibility of the things encased, where is the possibility that fire is one of them ? The close of 4.18 is misdivided, and its meaning misunderstood. At 5.27, rather ' that is divine speech by which whatever one says comes to pass. '

In the second book, at 5.18, *pūras* is three times rendered " first, " as if it were *purds* ; the riddle of the verse is not to be solved by any so violent proceeding.

In the third book, " house-priest " for *hotar* at 1.4 must be an oversight. The end of 2.10 is mistranslated, but apparently the text is defective : to the question ' of whom is death the food ? ' comes the answer ' fire verily is death, and it is the food of (i. e. is devoured or extinguished by) water ; ' and then follows ' he conquers away a second death '—doubtless ' who knoweth thus ' should be added, as at the end of 3.2. Since *akṣara* everywhere else means ' syllable, ' I do not see the justification of rendering it at 8.8-11 by " imperishable " without a note of warning, or even the quoting of the original in parenthesis ; it is more than possible that the word implies here a mystic doctrine akin to that of the *logos*, rather than a reversion to a (highly questionable) etymological significance. Another similar case is found at 9.11 ff., where the extremely common word *loka* is rendered by " power of vision, " as if for once in a thousand times it could come from *√lok*, and

have a meaning elsewhere unknown. This, in a work of such aims, seems hardly defensible; the most subservient follower of the native commentators could not well do more. We are all the time reading of 'the person (*puruṣa*) in the eye;' and here we have a 'person' that is *cakṣurloka*, or 'has the eye for his world:' what is the difficulty with that? And in like manner in the fourth book, it is not translation, but something very different, to give us "free from longing" for *atichandas* at 8.22, and "there surges" (*es wogt*) for *salīla* at 3.31. There are also similar liberties taken in v.1.1. At iii.9.25, it is by a serious oversight that *dhruvā dik* is translated by "the zenith," its direct opposite.

In the last book, the translator renders the first half of the verse in 1.4 as it ought to be in order to accord better with what precedes, rather than as it actually reads, which is 'two tracks of the Fathers did I hear of, [namely] of gods and of mortals;' but if the makers of the treatise did not mind the discordance, we do not need to do so. In 1.8, the sense appears to be missed, because of assuming that *tu* 'but' can mean "then:" better 'acknowledged by me is this boon (i. e. it shall be as if I had actually received it); but the words thou didst speak before the boy, them say to me.' In 3.14, "has gone away again" is what the text ought to read, instead of 'having come' (*etya*); emendation to *itvā* seems called for. *Prasava* in 4.18 is not well represented by "command" (*Geheiss*), unless *savitar* means 'commander.' At 4.29, is not *paramā kāṣṭhā* rather 'furthest goal' than "highest summit?"

The notes to both works concern almost only the text. It is a pity that notes to the translation are not more freely furnished; a difficult text, full of points of doubtful interpretation, can hardly be rendered to satisfaction without such help; and by its omission the translator often does himself injustice, appearing more confident than he really is of the correctness of his version.

6. On Avestan *ayōkhšusta*\* 'molten metal,' *ayah*, and its significance in the Gāthās; by Dr. A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College, New York City.

The word Av. *ayōkhšusta* 'molten metal,' or simply *ayah*, as the paper noted, is usually rendered by 'iron' or 'the sword,' without any special importance being attached to its meaning. A more thorough examination, however, shows the word to have a deeper significance. In the Zoroastrian religion of the Gāthās it is really a cardinal one, with eschatological value. The key to it is to be found in the Pahlavi literature. The occurrences of the word in the Avesta were taken up in detail.

In the Younger Avesta, Vsp. xx.1, occurs *voḥu khšathrem yazamaidē, khšathrem vairim yazamaidē, ayōkhšustem yazamaidē* 'we worship the good kingdom, we worship the wished-for kingdom, we worship the molten metal.' The close connection between *voḥu khšathra* or *khšathra vairya* and *ayōkhšusta* needs to be explained. Darmesteter's view,

\* For convenience, Justi's transcription is retained in these two articles.

Ormazd et Ahriman, p. 255, *Zend-Avesta* translated, *S.B.E.* iv., p. lxxii, may be true for primitive Indo-Iranian times; but to Zoroaster and his followers there must have been some more particular symbolism. Reference must accordingly be made to the Gāthās.

In the Gāthās, *vohu khshathra* 'the good kingdom,' or *khshathra vairya* 'the wished-for kingdom,' are expressions for the 'kingdom to come,' or 'the kingdom of heaven,' of our own Christian faith. Zoroaster taught that this wished-for kingdom would come by means of the *vidāiti*, 'the division' of the evil from the good, corresponding to the day of judgment. This *vidāiti*, moreover, Ormazd will bring about through the instrumentality of his two ministers Rāna. Of these two ministers, the fire, *ātar*, is always one. In *Ys. li. 9*—see below—*ayōkhšusta* 'molten metal' is the other. The key to explain *Ys. li. 9* is to be found in the Bundahish xxx.19-33, the chapter on the resurrection and the future existence. See West, *Pahlavi Texts* transl., *S.B.E.* v. 120-130; Justi, *Bundahish*, text, pp. 70-77: cf. Firoz-Casartelli, *Mazdayasnian Religion*, pp. 199-200. In that description, Bund. xxx.21, 22, the same word, Phl. *ayōkhšust* 'molten metal,' is found to denote a flood of fiery metal through which at the final judgment the good and the evil alike must pass. To the righteous the molten mass becomes merely as warm milk; to the wicked it is a dreadful torment. This *ayōkhšust* passage of the later literature preserves none other than an old tradition. In it, as in the Gāthās, *Ys. li. 9*, *āthrā—ayanhā khšustā*, the fire and the melted stream, Bund. xxx.19 *ātāš—ayōkhšust*, are united in bringing the kingdom of heaven, the Vohu Khshathra.

The Gāthā references were now taken up in the new light. In *Ys. li. 9*, Zoroaster prays for a revelation of the kingdom:

*yām khšnūtem rārōibyā dāo thwā āthrā sukhṛā mazdā*  
*ayanhā khšustā aibi ahvāhū dakhštem dāvōi*  
*rāšayēnhē dregvañtem savayō ašavanem*

'What joy through thy two ministers—thy bright fire and the molten, O Mazda, thou wilt give, to the destruction of the wicked but to save the righteous, a sign (of that) give us for our souls.' Observe here especially the repose of the righteous, but the torment of the wicked in the fiery stream, Bund. xxx.20 *ahravō—darvand*, in connection with the Gāthā line *rāšayēnhē dregvañtem savayō ašavanem*.

In the above passage, *Ys. li. 9*, *dāvōi* was taken as imperat. infin. from *vdā*: cf. Bartholomae in *K. Z.* xxviii.26. In *dakhštem* (cf. 'sign' in the Bible) Zoroaster seeks for revelation. With *dakhštem dāvōi* (*vdā*) cf. *dakhštem dātā* *Ys. xxxiv. 6*. For *ahvāhū* a suggestion was made to explain it as loc. pl. of *añhvā*; the Phl. tradition, however, here, as in *Ys. xxviii. 2* *dāvōi ahvāo*, sees a reference to both worlds.

The next Gāthā passage noted was *Ys. xxx. 7*. The verse pictures the religious doubt of man; Ormazd's angels by a vision of the future life guide him to choose the right:

*ahmāicā khshathrā jasaṭ manānhā vohū ašcā*  
*aṭ kehrpem utayūitiš dadāṭ ārmaitiš anmā*  
*aēšām tōi ā anhaṭ yathā ayanhā ādānāiš pouruyō*



'And to his side (i. e. of man, *maretānō*, v. 6) came Khšathra, the kingdom, and Vohu Mano, good mind, and Asha, righteousness. Armaiti, the spirit of the earth, then offered the continued existence of the body and the new life, whereby (*yathā*) with the iron and the retributions man shall become victorious (*anhaṭ pouruṇō*) for thee (O Mazda) over these sinners.'

In the above difficult verse there are a number of uncertainties. Possible explanations of some were suggested, as follows: *ahmāi* refers to the first man, Gayo Maretan (cf. *maretānō*, v. 6), who is assailed by the Daevas and is tempted, but is preserved through the intervention of Ormazd's angels, Khshathra, etc. The instrumentals *vohū manāha*, *ašā*, and probably *khšathrā*, were treated as instrumental subjects—see Geldner-Caland in *K. Z.* xxxi. 322, 258. By *kehrpem utayūitiš* 'continuations of bodies' (plur.), the resurrection, the *tanū-i pasin*, seems to be hinted at. The earth Armaiti will give up her dead. The acc. pl. neut. *ānmā* was regarded as the new life of men when the change shall have come. By *ayañhā*, the fiery ordeal again was understood, and by *ādnāiš* (*ādāna*: cf. *ādā*, i. e. *donum*: cf. *reddo*) are described the retributions or the rewards by means of which the righteous on the side of Ormazd (*tōi*) will triumph over (*pouruṇō anhaṭ*, lit. 'be before') the wicked (*aēšām*: i. e. *aēnañhām*, v. 8). The next verse, Ys. xxx. 8, was noted as carrying out the idea.

The last Gāthā stanza, Ys. xxxii. 7, in which *ayañhā* was noticed, likewise describes the final coming and establishment of Ormazd's kingdom, *khšathra* (v. 6), and the triumph over the wicked:

*aēšām aēnañhām naēcīš vidvāo aojōi hādrōyā  
yā jōyā séñghaitē yāiš srāvi qaēnā ayañhā  
yaēšām tū ahurā irikhtem mazdā vaēdištō.*

'In the company of these sinners the wise man will not be named, when through the gleaming metal the triumphs of victory, which are told of, shall be proclaimed; of which sinners thou, O Mazda, best knowest the fall.'

In this verse, once more, it is the flaming iron that precedes the coming of the kingdom, and brings the ruin of the unrighteous. The form *hādrōyā* here is loc. sg., etymologically connected with Skt. *sādhri*, *sādhri*, *sādhryāc*, see Grassmann s. v. The pres. pass. *aojōi* is eschatological present. The relative *yā* in *yā jōyā* has a temporal force; and *jōyā*, acc. pl. neut., is hardly to be separated from Skt. *jaya*. Again, the instr. pl. *yāiš* is used as instr. subject; *yāiš srāvi* is parenthetical. On *irikhtem* 'fall, destruction' (de Harlez renders 'exécution'), see Vd. ii. 40, *irikhtahē* . . . . *starasca*. The reading *irikhtem* (cf. Av. Skt. *vrīc*) in our Gāthā verse, as in Ys. xlv. 2. is rightly chosen by Geldner in his edition.

A single other passage, Yt. xvii. 20, in the Younger Avesta, it was noted, also assumes a new significance in the light of the Bundahish. In Bund. xxx. 31-32, the evil spirit, the serpent, is described as fleeing from or perishing in the molten metal; hell itself moreover is cleansed. This recalls the cry of Anra Mainyu in the Avesta in dismay at the birth of Zoroaster, Yt. xvii. 20:

*tāpayēiti mām aša vahišta,  
mānayan ahē yatha ayaokhšustem*

‘Zoroaster burns me with the Asha Vahishta prayer, just like the molten metal.’

The paper then emphasized again the necessity of turning often in interpretation to the Pahlavi books and the traditional literature; the importance of this is frequently illustrated by the faithful preservation in the Bundahish of old lines of thought.

In conclusion a further point was brought out. The above explanation of the connection between *khšathra vairya* and *ayōkhšusta* makes quite clear the reason why later, among the seven Amshaspands, Khshathra Vairya becomes the genius of metals. In Zoroaster’s teaching, as has been seen, the coming of the kingdom, *khšathra* or *khšathra vairya*, was attended by the fiery flood of molten metal; in later times, when the seven abstract conceptions, Vohu Mano, Khshathra Vairya, etc., were reduced to the seven Amshaspands, each as a genius in charge of some element, it was quite natural from the above association that Khshathra Vairya should preside over the metals.

## 7. Miscellaneous Avestan notes; by Dr. Jackson.

### 1. Av. *vanaŋ-pešene buyē*, Afr. i. 10.

In the phrase, Afr. i. 10, *āfrināmi vavanvāo vanaŋ-pešene buyē vīspem aurvathem* ‘I that am victor pray that I may be victorious in battle over every foe,’ is to be found a new instance of an *in*-adjective in the Avesta. These are not common. The form *vanaŋ-pešene* (for-*i*) is a nom. sg. masc. from *pešenin*, which is made directly by the *in*-formation from *-pešana* ‘battle.’ The peculiarity of a nom. in *-e* for *-pešeni* is to be explained by the fact that before *b* and some other letters the *e*-vowel seems sometimes to stand for *a*, *i*, *u*. This question is discussed by the present writer in *Avestan Alphabet*, p. 11. A formation *varane buyē*, exactly similar to *-pešene buyē*, is found directly below in Afr. i. 11. We need only look at the variants to find *vavani* among them. The reading in *e*, however, is preferable. This question of *e* for *i*, *u*, *a* may yet furnish interpretations for other words. Notice, finally, that an adj. form *vanaŋ-pešana* also exists beside the new-found *vanaŋ-pešenin*.

### 2. Av. *kahmāi*, *yahmāi* as local datives.

Some late instances of nouns in the dat. case used apparently for the locative are given by Spiegel, *Gram. d. altéran. Sprachen*, p. 484. Some of these examples are quite late; some, to be sure, may be explained as datives of advantage, goal, or time. But, nevertheless, the existence of a late local dative is rightly assumed. A couple of instances from the pronouns may therefore be added. Yt. Frag. i. 1 (Wg., xxi. 1), *kahmāi tē vacō aēvahmī paiti vacō vīspandm vohundm vīspandm aša-cithrandm fravākem* ‘in what one (dat. loc.) word (loc. gen.) of thine consists the proclamation of all good and sacred things.’ Again, Vd. i. 18, *varenem*

*yim cathru-gaošem yahmâi zayata thraētaonō* 'the four-cornered Varena where Thraetaona was born.' Possibly here belongs Yt. xiii. 41, *kahmāiciŕ yāoiñhām jasō* 'into whatsoever conflicts thou dost come.' On the propriety of a loc. construction after *jasō*, see Hübschmann, *Casuslehre*, p. 221; de Harlez, *Manuel*, p. 118; and Caland in *K. Z.* xxxi. 263.

As far as these pronominal *āi* forms go, they might possibly be explained at first sight as having arisen palæographically by a mistake in writing *-āi* for *-ya*; but Spiegel's assumption of the local dative is perfectly correct. See also Hübschmann, *Casuslehre*, p. 225. Earlier instances may doubtless be added.

3. Av. *rašnya*, Yt. xii. 1.

Examples of instr. sg. from long *i*-stems in Av. are scarce. Instances quoted are *ereghaitya*, *khraozhdyēhya*, *vanhuyā*, *vahēhyā*, and perhaps *zaranaēnya*, *mainyā*. Geldner's new edition of the texts seems to furnish another example from a noun. It is the above *rašnya*, Yt. xii. 1. The new text reads *peresē thwām rašnya ukhdhahē* 'with righteousness of speech will I ask thee.' This implies a noun-stem *rašni*, governing *ukhdhahē*. The old reading was *ukhdha*.

4. Av. *hvarštāiš*, Ys. xlix. 4.

Instances of instr. neut. pl. as subject have been given by Caland in *K. Z.* xxx. 542; xxxi. 259; and by Geldner in *K. Z.* xxxi. 322. A new example seems to occur in Ys. xlix. 4, *yaššām nōiŕ hvarštāiš vds duzh-varštā* '(the wicked men) whose good deeds do not surpass (i. e. outweigh) their evil deeds.' The form *vds* is 3 sg. aor. (with neut. pl. subject) from Av. Skt. *√ van*, in the sense of 'win, conquer.' On the formation, see Bartholomae in *B. B.* xiii. 82. The passage, which now becomes clear, seems in a measure to forecast the later Parsi idea of weighing the good and the bad deeds in the scales of justice after death.

8. Note on the transliteration of Pahlavī; by Professor W. R. Martin, of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

The use of the word "tradition" is largely responsible for the controversy as to Avestan interpretation. A tradition seems in its nature to imply not only a long but an unbroken succession, and that, too, reaching from the very beginning. The assertion that such a tradition existed might well arouse dispute. If the words "native explanation" be employed, the way is open to an acceptance of any hints or suggestions, without proclaiming adherence to an *a priori* view as to their values.

Both sides now incline to this moderate position. West deprecates the separation of the Pahlavī translation from the Avestan text (*Sitzber. d. b. Ak.*, 1888, p. 414), in the belief that both are mutually explanatory. Roth, in his instruction, has his pupils read in connection with the Avestan the corresponding passages of the Pahlavī and Nê-

ryōsang. He does not abandon his belief in the superior value of his own method, but is willing to receive any possible light.

The custom of writing in connection the corresponding passages, with indications of omissions and insertions, may be recommended as tending to secure to the student any advantage to be derived from the native exegesis, while keeping him fully alive to its weaknesses.

Though the translations are not good Pahlavi, as West has told us, their study has also an incidental advantage in introducing to the study of Pahlavi literature, which deserves investigation for its own sake.

The student of Pahlavi must, however, transliterate it in order to assure both himself and others that he understands it. At this point he finds himself between West, who continues the endeavor of Haug to discover the original Semitic forms, and in his article of 1888 has proposed a final improvement of his system in a transliteration that suggests the exact form of the Pahlavi, and Salemann, who in the *Mélanges Asiatiques* of the St. Petersburg Academy for 1887 condemns utterly the system of Haug and West, and furnishes an example of transcription into Middle Persian. Salemann's procedure is of course based on the belief that the Aramæan forms were never anything but ideograms suggesting Iranian words. The question of transliteration depends on the view adopted of the nature and origin of Pahlavi.

Since Haug's essay of 1870, the following have, to the knowledge of the writer, discussed the subject: Spiegel in 1878, DeHarlez in 1880 and 1881, Darmesteter and Olshausen in 1883, Nöldeke in 1886 and 1887, Salemann in 1887, West in 1888. To the list, as treating the historic explanation of Pahlavi, may be added Gutschmid in 1887. (The views were briefly summarized.)

The view seems plausible that there was at one time a considerable territory in which, owing to the close and frequent commercial and political relations with peoples to the West, the most intelligent part of the population, such as priests and merchants, spoke a reasonably good Aramaic as well as Iranian. As a sort of lingua franca the Aramæan enjoyed a special credit and esteem with the better educated. These adopted as a substitute for the cumbrous cuneiform an alphabet modeled on the Aramæan, but applied with a disregard of scientific considerations born of a long familiarity with the cuneiform.

In common intercourse Iranian was used. The priests and better educated classes cultivated with special predilection the Aramæan. The books were not so much read by the people as to them. The ideograms of the cuneiform made it seem entirely natural and easy to write Aramæan words and at the same time to pronounce in the interest of hearers Iranian equivalents. Thus two languages were written at once. The reader when reading to himself or to a cultivated audience could disregard the Iranian terminations and read properly formed Aramaic words under the guidance of the same terminations, while in reading to the less educated he could disregard all Aramaic elements.

The supposition of an intention to construct a special cryptogramic writing seems unnecessary. Spiegel thinks that merchants used the

Pahlavi for their secret correspondences. A moment's thought must convince that a cipher known to all the members of so large a class could have been no cipher. So far as we know, also, the priests who wrote our Pahlavi books had no special ground for devising a kind of cipher. They had no wish to conceal their interpretations from the laity. The simple fact is that this to us strange mode of writing was nothing novel to those who first introduced and practised it. In time, however, the Aramæan became less familiar, and the knowledge of the forms was in danger of being entirely lost. It would have been easy to discard them altogether, but the traditional bi-lingual mode of writing had acquired a certain sanctity; and so, instead of discarding the ideograms, the Glossaries were made. According to the original norm, all the words in a Pahlavi text should be Aramæan, with the exception of the verbal terminations and a few others added as phonetic complements.

With the increasing ignorance on the one hand of the Aramæan equivalents of Iranian words, on the other of the Iranian meanings of Aramæan forms, it was of course difficult to maintain this standard. Iranian words were added as glosses to assist the memory, and then substituted; and, when Iranian words crept from gloss to text, the opposite process took place. Hence arose the peculiar mingling we find in our present texts.

If these views are correct, there follow from them very definite principles as to the transliteration and study of Pahlavi. The earnest attempt to discover the Aramæan words in the Pahlavi forms, and to transliterate them in the manner best adapted to indicate the Aramæan of their epoch, has every justification. Salemann would have us substitute in every case the corresponding Iranian. The English *viz.*, £, *d.*, are often quoted as examples of similar ideograms. The *videlicet* of *viz.* has been crowded out by "namely," but a substitution of "namely" in older authors would be an unwarrantable disguising of the fact that it has once been not only written but pronounced. That the authors of the abbreviations £, *d.* said to themselves and wrote *libræ* and *denarii* while they read "pounds" and "pence" is a fact in the history of culture of which £ and *d.* are the monuments. We might adopt other abbreviations now, as when we use B. C. instead of A. C. for "before Christ;" but where they have been used we must write them in order to be true to the text.

While we write the Aramæan words as Aramæan, we must also, however, perform the task to which Salemann has applied himself with such learning and skill: namely, pronounce the Middle Persian equivalents as the eye falls on the Aramæan forms.

9. On the cosmogonies of India and China; by Rev. J. K. Wight, of New Hamburgh, N. Y.

Mr. Wight's paper did not profess to discuss all the Hindu and Chinese theories of the beginnings of things, but only attempted to sketch the lines of thought of some of the leading schools.

The earliest system taken up was that of the Sāiva school, as set forth in the Tattuva-Kattalei and Siva-Gnāna-Potham, translated by Rev. Mr. Hoisington in vol. iv. of the Society's Journal, and current especially in the south of India. In it three terms are introduced: the material cause, which is as clay to the potter's vessel; the instrumental cause, as the moulding-stick and wheel; and the efficient cause, the deity, corresponding to the potter. Matter possesses no intrinsic power, and moves or acts only as influenced by deity. God is the whole world, and yet other than the world. At the close of every great period, there will be a complete reduction to their primordial state of all existences except souls; even deity will sleep, as he did before creation.

This system prepared the way for pantheism, which drops the difference between God and the world, and regards both as one. Brahma became the source whence all finite beings emanated: and so absorption into Brahma became the supreme good. The creation began with ignorance, and this imperfect creation was succeeded by eight others, each increasingly perfect. Buddhism also asserts that ignorance is the first term in the series of existences, then merit and demerit, consciousness, and so on. It is the aim of Buddhism to free one's self from the sorrows of existence.

In the Chinese Yih-King, the *tai-kuh* is said to have produced the two figures, which produced the four forms, which produced the eight diagrams. Some ancient commentators hold the *tai-kuh* to be the condition of vapory matter, before the separation of heaven and earth. Others make it the principle of order, or law of nature. Later interpreters, as Chu Hi (A. D. 1200), make it more positively materialistic; *tai-kuh*, or the great extreme, by its unceasing alternations of motion and rest generated the male and female principles, from which all things animate and inanimate were produced (cf. Williams, Middle Kingdom, ii. 195). The Taoists picture realistically the work done by Pavan-ku, the first man. He goes to work with mallet and chisel, and hews out sun, moon, and stars. After 18,000 years he dies for the completion of his work; his head becomes mountains, his breath wind and clouds, and the insects which cling to his body are transformed into people (*ibid.*).

10. On the existence of primitive Aryan *ś*; by Dr. H. Collitz, of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

The paper of which this is a brief abstract will be published in full in the American Journal of Philology.

A well known phonetic rule of Sanskrit grammar prescribes the change of *ś* into *ṣ* after *k*. In consequence of this rule it is generally believed that the Old Ind. *ṣ* after gutturals in every case presupposes an original *ś*. But of course there is nothing in Sanskrit that would oppose the opinion that there are instances in which the *ṣ* in the group *kṣ* goes back to Aryan *ś*, if this opinion be supported by other reasons. A division of this kind is in fact recommended by Greek phonetics.

Skt. *kṣ* is in most cases reflected in Greek by ξ: e. g. ἀξων=Skt. *ākṣa*, ἀξιός=Skt. *dākṣiṇa*, or by ψ, e. g. ἔψεται, cf. Skt. *sakṣata* ( *ψac* ), καταψιγή, cf. Skt. *pākṣat* ( *ψpac* ). But in a small number of instances we find φθ, κτ, and χθ: e. g. φθίω=Skt. *√kṣi*, κτίζω=Skt. *√kṣi*, ἄκτο-ς=Skt. *ṛ'kṣu*, τέκτων=Skt. *tākṣan*, χθών=Skt. *kṣāṣ*. The dental of these latter groups cannot be explained as developed from Aryan *s*, but may be traced back to Aryan *ṣ*. Greek φθ then would be = Ar. *g'hṣ*, Gr. κτ = Ar. *kṣ*, Gr. χθ = Ar. *ghṣ*. This theory seems in contradiction to the Latin *x* or *s* in *texere*, *ursus*, and Teut. *hs* in *dehsen*. But in Latin and Teutonic Aryan *ṣ* may have been changed into *s*, as Skt. *ç* and *ṣ* are in Prākṛt and Pāli replaced by *s*.

11. The Moabite Stone and the Hebrew records; by Prof. John D. Davis, of the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.

This paper, of which the following is an abstract, will be published in full in "Hebraica" for April, 1891.

According to the latest recension of the text, the opening sentences of the Moabite stone are: "I am Mesha, son of Chemosh-melek, king of Moab, the Dibonite. My father reigned over Moab for thirty years, and I reigned after my father; and I made this high place for Chemosh . . . because he saved me from all the kings and let me feast my eyes on all that hated me. Omri was king of Israel, and afflicted Moab for many days. . . . And his son succeeded him, and he also said: 'I will afflict Moab.' In my days he said thus; but I feasted my eyes on him and on his house; and as for Israel, it perished with everlasting destruction. Now Omri had taken possession of all the land of Medeba, and [Israel] dwelt therein during his days and half his son's [or sons'] days, forty years; but Chemosh restored it in my days."

To judge from Mesha's own words, the stele was a memorial commemorative not merely of his recovery of independence for Moab from Israel, but of his glorious and successful reign as a whole; erected late in his reign, after the death of Ahab, after the humiliation of that house also, and not improbably after the extinction of the line of Omri by Jehu, and the entrance of Israel into its period of dire distress.

The Hebrew records date the revolt of Moab "after the death of Ahab" (2 Kg. i.1; iii.5): a date which conflicts with a usual understanding of the inscription, to the effect that the revolt occurred in the middle of Ahab's reign. But the Hebrew date is historically fitting in view of the circumstances connected with the death of Ahab, in view of the wide-spread insurrection which took place at that time according to concurrent Hebrew history, and in view also of the persons named as participants in the war of attempted resubjugation. The credibility of the Hebrew records for this period is moreover abundantly and minutely confirmed by monumental evidence.

In consideration, then, of the credibility of the Hebrew narrative as determined by internal consistency and monumental corroboration, the supposed conflict between the Hebrew and Moabite stories is not to be

forcibly settled by rejection of the Hebrew account, but should rather lead to the inquiry whether the statements of the stone may not be interpreted in harmony with the Hebrew recital. It will be found that they may be; and that in one of two ways:

1. The two accounts may be combined. The capture of the frontier town of Medeba was effected by Mesha about the middle of Ahab's reign; but the Moabite king did not attempt actually to throw off the Israelitish yoke until after Ahab's death.

2. Or, better, in accordance with the well-known custom of the times whereby the royal descendants of Omri, as of other founders of dynasties, were designated simply as his sons, in view of Moabitish grammar whereby the collocation *beth nun* he may be properly rendered 'his sons,' and in view of the probability which arises from Mesha's own words that he was acquainted with the final overthrow of Omri's sons, lines 7 and 8 of the inscription may be translated: 'Now Omri had taken possession of all the land of Medeba, and [Israel] dwelt therein during his days and half the days of his sons, forty years.' This is the same story as told by the Hebrew writers. The revolt of Moab did actually occur midway in the reign of Omri's sons, as it were dividing their dominion in twain, and lending in Moabitish eyes an aspect to the latter half of their rule far different from the former.

12. The etymology of the name *Canaan*; by Professor G. F. Moore, of the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.

Jerome, in the *liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, ed. Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra*,<sup>2</sup> 1887, gives us the following choice of explanations: 4.14, Chanaan (Gen. x.6) *σάλος* (hoc est motus) eorum uel negotiator aut humilis; 17.11, Chanaan reuersus est sive quasi respondentes aut quasi mouentes; 41.17, Chanaan (8 Reg. xxii.11) erubescens sive negotiator. The *Onomastica Vaticana* (ed. Lagarde) exhibit a similar variety: 180.57, *χαναὴν προσκυνῶν ἀνομίαν*; 200.9, *χαναὴν ὡς ἀπόκρισις*; *χαναναία μεταβάλλουσα* (176.32, *χαναναῖοι μετάβολοι*); 200.11, *χαναναῖος μεταβολῆς ἢ πένης ἢ ἐρμηνείων ἢ ἀποκρινόμενος*.

Among these we find, beside כנעני 'tradesman,' and meanings derived from the biblical and post-biblical senses of כנע, impossible combinations with כנע and כנע, and, still bolder composition, כנע עין. Commentators, however, were generally content to trace the name of the land and its inhabitants to Canaan, the son of Ham (Gen. x.6, 15 ff.), in whose name they found a significant allusion to the 'humiliation' to which he is condemned in the curse of Noah, and which was inflicted upon his descendants by Israel. So August., *Enarr. in Psalm. civ.7*: cur autem dicta sit terra Chanaan, interpretatio hujus nominis aperit; Chanaan quippe interpretatur humilis. Bates, *Critica hebraea*, 1767, s. v., seeks the origin of the name of the country and its people in the prevailing commercial and mercantile occupation of the latter, and is followed by Parkhurst. The same view was put forward in Germany by Paulus, *Clavis* (1798), on Isaiah xxiii.8, p. 164 ff. Gesenius, in the



first edition of the *Hwb.* (1810), passed the word without explanation; in the second (1823), he inclines to Paulus's opinion: Als appellative Bedeutung dieses Landesnamen könnte man sich vielleicht . . . Handel, Handelsstand, Handelsvolk denken, u. dieses mit כנען, Jer. x. 17, in der Bedeutung Waare combiniren. The etymology which has now for more than half a century been generally accepted was first proposed, so far as I know, by Rosenmüller, *Biblische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 1. 75 ff., 1826. After referring to the view of Paulus, he writes: Sollte es nicht wahrscheinlicher sein, dass das Land den Namen von seiner Lage erhalten habe? Wie nämlich Aram, אֲרָם für אֶרֶם, . . . den hochliegenden Landstrich, Hochland bedeutet, so scheint Canaan den gegen die Meeresküste hin sich absenkenden Landstrich, das Niederland zu bezeichnen, denn כנען bedeutet sich erniedrigen, sich senken; weshalb es auch von dem zum Untergang sich neigenden Stern gebraucht wird, und einer der von Golius benutzten arab. Lexicographen bemerkt, dass es unter andern so viel sey als دنم, demissus humilisque fuit. Gesenius adopted this explanation of

the word in the third edition of the *Handwörterbuch* (1828), the *Lexicon manuale* (1838),\* and the *Thesaurus* (ii. 1, 1839).

It has been accepted by almost all succeeding commentators and lexicographers down to the present time.† The arguments of Redslob (*die alttestamentl. Namen, u. s. w.*, 1846, 89 ff.) and Pusey (*Minor Prophets*, 1869, p. 160 n., on Amos i. 5) against it, though just and forcible, were not listened to. Recently, however, Stade (*GVI.* i. 110) and E. Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alterthums*, i. 218) have rejected the prevailing opinion.‡

Rosenmüller's etymology rested on two grounds: 1. The correspondence between Canaan 'lowland' and Aram 'highland'; 2. Arabic usage. The first of these considerations has no longer any weight, since the explanation of Aram which it assumes is now universally given up. Granted that the derivation of אֲרָם from אֶרֶם is formally possible, 'highland, highlanders' are as unsuitable names as can be imagined for peoples which, from our earliest knowledge of them, occupy chiefly plains and valleys, sometimes by the side of mountain tribes of different race.§ Accordingly, most recent scholars think that the name Canaan was originally given to the 'lowland' of Palestine itself, the sea-board, especially north of Carmel (Phenicia), and the

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\* *Lex. man.* s. v. כנען . . . prop. regio depressa, humilis, . . . . . opp. terrae superiori אֲרָם . s. v. כנען, hoc nominis gerebant incolae depressioris regionis . . . ad mare et Jordanis ripa, opp. regionis montanae incolis (אֲרָם).

† Hitz. (*Jes.* 1833), v. Leng., Tuch, Mov., Berth., Ewald, Knob., Kalisch, Del., Dillm., E. Meier, Fürst, Mühl-Volck, and many more.

‡ Cf. also Kittel, *Gesch. d. Hebräer*, i. 9 ff.

§ Cf. Nöldeke, *BL.* i. 234; E. Meyer, *GdA.* i. 213; Tiele, *Bab.-assy. Gesch.*, 64; Kittel, *GdH.* i. 10, the scholars mentioned in the next note, and many more.

Jordan valley—in contrast to the mountainous backbone of the land.\* Support for this view is sought especially in Num. xiii.29, “the Amorites lived in the hill-country, and the Canaanites on the sea and along the Jordan.”† But, in the face of the general usage of the Old Testament, in which Amorite and Canaanite are collective names for the whole pre-Israelite population of the land, it is unsafe to build a theory upon an isolated notice of a late writer (? Deuteronomic editor). In any case, the analogy upon which Rosenmüller relied has lost its force.

There remains, then, the combination with the Arabic كنع. Rosenmüller refers us to Golius, in whose Lexicon we read: كنع, *lenis*, *demissus et humilis fuit*. Gi. v. دنح. The word in this sense, then, is

a synonym of دنح, and we see that Rosenmüller has wholly misunderstood the definition which he quotes. For دنح means not ‘be low’ in a physical sense, but ‘be abject or mean-spirited,’ or—what comes to the same thing in the Arab’s way of thinking—tractable, easy to manage’ (Syn. ذل). The ambiguity of Golius’s Latin is, doubtless, responsible for the mistake.

But it is conceivable that, although Rosenmüller’s appeal to the Arabic Lexicon is erroneous in this particular, the usage of كنع in general may bear out, or at least admit, his interpretation. The latest editors of Gesenius’ *Hwb.* must be of this mind. They write: im Ar. كنع noch die sinnliche Bedeutung sich herablassen (vom Vogel, der die Flügel zusammen zieht), sich neigen (zum Untergang, vom Sterne), dah. II. abbeugen vom Wege; I. u. IV. herablassend sein. Here the usage is ingeniously misstated. The primary meaning of كنع is correctly set forth by Schultens, *Vindiciae*, Sect. xv. (p. 129 ff.): cf. *Orig.* lib. i. 29 (p. 21 ff.); *Comm. in Job.*, p. 1144. It is ‘draw up (intrans.), shrivel, shrink’ (Syn. انقبض وانضم), as e.g. wounded fingers draw up in healing, as a bird contracts its wings to swoop, etc. From the latter is probably derived the figurative expression, a star sinks swiftly to its setting.‡ With عن, shrink from something, draw back or turn aside in fear (e.g. from entering a place, from one road to take another).

\* Ewald, *GVI.* 1.340; Dillmann, *BL* iii.513 f., *NDJ.* 73; Kautzsch, *Hwb. BA.* 216 *al.*

† The contrast of Canaanite and Amorite was suggested by Gesenius, *Lex. man.*, s. v. כנעני, see above, note 1. According to Simonis, *Ges.*, *EW.*, *Berth.*, *al.*, אמרי also means ‘mountaineer.’

‡ As a warning against finding in this idiom the primitive sense of the verb, ‘sich senken,’ observe that خضع is used in the same way.

Of men, to be submissive, tractable, in a bad sense (Syn. **لَان خضع**)

with the note **الدَّالَّةُ (دنا من الذَّلَّة)**, used of an importunate suppliant who debases himself for his patron's favor, or otherwise of an abject, mean-spirited man. Compare English words like cower, cringe, etc.\* There is, in fact, no proper or tropical use of the Arabic word which gives any support to the interpretation under discussion. The alleged physical sense 'be or become low' is unknown to the Arabic lexicographers. The instances in which the verb could be rendered *demissus et humilis fuit* are tropical uses, parallel to the Heb. **נָכַע**. The etymology which makes Canaan 'lowland' is thus as remote from Arabic usage as it is from Hebrew.

Professor Moore also read a note on Kiriath-sepher, suggesting that the second element may be, not **סֵפֶר** 'book,' but the common MH. **סֶפֶר** 'frontier,' e. g. *Baba Kama*, 88<sup>a</sup> *passim*. 'Frontier-city' would be a natural name for Debir (Dhohariyeh), on the border of the Negeb, and now, as always, the outpost of Palestine. Also on **שֶׁלַח**, which he would connect with the Aram. **שֶׁלַח**, Arab. **سَلَح**, rather than with Heb. **שֶׁלַח**, Arab. **سَلَح**.

13. On the founding of Carthage; by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

The chief point discussed in this paper (which will shortly be published in full elsewhere) was the tradition reported by Philistus, that Carthage was founded by **Ἀζώρος** and **Καρχάδων** (Eusebius, ed. Schoene, ii. 50). The identification of the former with Sor-Tyre is placed beyond all doubt by the variant reading **Σώρος**, which Hieronymus and Appian (ed. Bekker, viii. 1) furnish; and the unanimous testimony of writers both ancient and modern to the part that Tyre played in the founding of the African settlement makes it needless to enter any further into the subject. Regarding Carchedon, however, a question may be raised. Syncellus and others (see Movers, *Phœnizien*, ii. 56) declared *Carchedon* to be an inhabitant of Tyre; but this, of course, is only a worthless makeshift. The opinion advanced by Gutschmidt, which Pietschmann (*Geschichte Phœniz.*, p. 135, note) follows, and which may be said to be the current view, makes **Καρχάδων** simply the *heros eponymos* of Carthage. In default of any better explanation, such a solution would have to be admitted; but since the first of the two names is that of a city, it would be a more satisfactory way of accounting for the tradition of Philistus if we could find in the second name a recollection, however dimmed, of a second town which coöperated with Tyre in the founding of the city.

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\* Mühlau and Volck interpret this "herablassend sein"!

In the inscription of Esarhaddon (i. R. 50, col. v. 23), and in a tribute list of Ašurbanabal (iii. R. 27, 131), there occur the names of ten cities in Cyprus which paid tribute to Assyria. Among these there is one whose name is to be read in both instances *Kartihadašti*; and, as Schrader has recently shown (*Zur Geographie des Assy. Reiches*, pp. 18-20, Sitz.-Ber. d. Berl. Akad., März, 1890), this *Kartihadašti* is none other than the famous Citium, and either an older or a second name of the city. Besides this testimony, there are two Phœnician inscriptions (see Schrader, as above) which make mention of a קרת חרשת which is to be sought in Cyprus, and is evidently identical with the one referred to by the Assyrians. The mention of the city in Esarhaddon takes us back to at least 637 B. C.; but, since it is more than probable that Sargon already (as Schrader suggests, and Winckler, *Sargon-texte*, p. xli, appears to admit) referred to it, we should thus be brought back to the eighth century; and, from the manner in which Sargon speaks of Cyprus and the tribute he receives, her cities must have been in a most flourishing condition, and in a high state of cultivation, that can only be accounted for on the supposition that the settlements were of long standing. As to the close relation between Tyre and Cyprus, we have, in addition to numerous authorities testifying to the settlement of the island by the Phœnicians of the mainland in very early days (see Movers, *Phœnizien*, ii. 2, p. 206 ff.), the direct statement of Menander (*Josephus, Antiq.*, ix. 14. 2) that Tyre ruled over Cyprus as early as the eighth century. There is, then, every reason to assume the existence of a Phœnician settlement in Cyprus bearing the name of Carthage, considerably before the most trustworthy date that can be assigned for the founding of the "new city" on the African coast; which, moreover, was in all probability an off-shoot of Tyre, and at all events stood in closest relations to the latter. The question now arises: is there anything to warrant the conjecture that this Cyprian Carthage was associated with Tyre in the founding of the African Carthage? To this question I venture to give an affirmative answer. In the romantic story regarding the founding of Carthage, as reported by Timæus,\* there is a distinct reference to Cyprus, the significance of which appears to have been hitherto overlooked. We are told that Elissa, on her flight from Tyre, first goes to Cyprus. There a halt is made. The priest of Juno, as Melzer (*Gesch. d. Karthager*, p. 128) would have it, and not of Jupiter, with wife and children, joins the party; and besides, a number of women—eighty, the report says—are seized to furnish wives for the contingent that accompanied Elissa. From Cyprus, then, the journey is continued, until finally the African coast is reached, and the site of the new city chosen. Clearly there must be some reason for this close association of Cyprus and Tyre in the founding of Carthage. Melzer (*ib.*, p. 133) supposes that the similarity in cult between Carthage and Cyprus led to the tradition of Timæus; but this conjecture, far from accounting for

\* See the story with full discussion in Movers, *Phœnizien*, ii. 1, pp. 350-61, and Melzer, *Gesch. d. Karthager*, p. 128.

the rise of the tradition, only serves to add a link to the bond that unites Cyprus with African Carthage. There were plenty of places on the way from Tyre to Africa where stoppages may have been made; and, if tradition therefore hits upon Cyprus, there must be some reason for this, and we are justified, when we come to interpret the tradition of Timæus, in seeing in this halt at Cyprus the recollection of some part taken by Cyprus in the events that led to the Phœnician settlement in Africa. But we may advance a few steps further. From what Timæus reports to have taken place in Cyprus, it is clear that even tradition retains the recollection of a considerable lapse of time between the landing of the Tyrian fugitives in Cyprus and their departure for Africa. Furthermore, in the same account of Timæus, Pygmalion, the King of Tyre, upon learning of the flight of Elissa, is about to take steps for pursuing his sister, and only upon the representations of his mother and the threats of the gods does he finally desist from his intentions. Does there not appear to be some connection between this hostile intent of Pygmalion and the departure from Cyprus? And thirdly, the addition of the priest and his family, and of the young women, to the party would indicate that the Tyrians were reinforced by Cyprians, who transferred their mode of worship to their new home in the West. In other words, assuming with Movers and others that the romantic story of Elissa's flight and the incidents connected with the founding of Carthage are but the peculiar form in which popular tradition has clothed actual history, the translation of Timæus's tradition into historical language would be somewhat as follows:

The tradition points to internal dissensions in Tyre as the cause for an emigration of a part of her inhabitants. The emigrants attempt to make a settlement for themselves in the island nearest to their motherland. Here they remain long enough to establish themselves, and to form close social bonds with those whom they found already settled there: but, either because of the constant menace which the vicinity of Tyre produced or because of open hostility, they (or a part of them) passed on further.

Now it is true that tradition does not tell us what part of Cyprus was touched by the Tyrian emigrants; but of all the Cyprian cities Carthage-Citium is not only the most prominent, but the one most accessible, because of its position on the coast—which accounts also for its settlement in very early days by Tyrians and the Phœnician colonists. Again, assuming that it was at Kartihadašti that a station was made, an explication of the name given to the African settlement would be furnished which certainly appears more satisfactory than those previously offered by Movers, Melzer, and others. Cyprian Kartihadašti, as a Tyrian foundation, being the "new city" in contradistinction to Tyre as the old or mother-city, what more natural than that, following this precedent, Tyrians should have given a similar name to the new home which they found in the distant West? Finally, for thus having two Phœnician settlements of the same name, one derived from the other, an analogy could be found in the two Hippos, and the two Leptis on the African coast, as well as in the third Carthage on the Spanish peninsula.

The conclusion, therefore, which appears legitimate, is that, with a Carthage flourishing in Cyprus certainly as early as the eighth century, with a certainty of Tyrian settlements in Cyprus at a much earlier period (among these in all probability Carthage-Citium as the very first, and certainly the most prominent), and finally with a distinct indication of Cyprus having taken a share in the African foundation, the tradition of Philistus embodies the recollection of this association of Tyre and Cyprian Carthage; and, whatever its real historical value may be, the rise of the tradition is to be accounted for in this way.

The paper also touched upon the question as to the date of the founding of Carthage, and endeavored to explain the traditions connecting Troy with Carthage as pointing to old Phœnician settlements in Asia Minor, and as having to be interpreted in connection with what we know of these settlements from the excavations of Schliemann and the researches based upon those excavations.

14. Review of Abel and Winckler's Assyrian chrestomathy;\* by Dr. R. F. Harper, of Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

It is not my purpose to criticize this work unsparingly. Every one must acknowledge that it will be of great value to beginners in Assyrian, because of its appearance at a time when it is almost impossible to obtain texts. The time chosen for its appearance and the neatness and legibility of Abel's copies are the two chief points in its favor. On the other hand, it is necessary to look at its defects.

1. The selection of texts is not the most happy. There are too many fragmentary pieces of texts in the collection. It may be argued against this that the authors wished to give the student an idea of the different styles of the different periods. But the book is intended for beginners, who are not able to appreciate the fine distinctions between a text of Tiglathpileser I. and one of Asurbanipal. It would have been much better to present more complete texts and fewer fragments. The complete texts could have been used by advanced students, all the Rawlinsons being out of print. In the case of Esarhaddon, the authors have given us both Cylinders A and B, with variants from C. This is a valuable aid to Assyrian students, and it is along this line that they should have done all their work on the historical texts. The texts of the Syllabaries (for the most part reproduced from Delitzsch's *Lesestücke*) and of the Babylonian Chronicle are well chosen. The text of the Deluge-Account should have been made complete or omitted altogether. It is difficult to say just how many or how few hymns should find a place in a beginner's chrestomathy.

2. The book would have been more valuable if the authors had added a commentary, grammatical and lexicographical, to the texts published. I do not press this point, however, since they intended the transliteration.

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\* *Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen*, herausgegeben von Ludwig Abel and Hugo Winckler.

tions and translations in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* to afford the beginner all the help that was needed. Every one knows how defective these translations are—especially those by Winckler and Abel.

3. The glossary covers only the historical and the easy texts, and the beginner is left to work his way without any aid through the syllabaries, hymns, etc.

4. The glossary is poorly arranged. *a.* The words are not placed under their corresponding roots or equivalents in Hebrew—a language with which all beginners are familiar; and *b.* there is no attempt made to connect derivatives from the same stem. In a great many cases one cannot tell what radicals are intended by the authors—or rather author, as Winckler is responsible for the glossary: e. g. *mīlu*, *muštālu*, *nabalu*, *namrīru*, *nappašu*, *nītu*, *nuparu*, *ramānu*, *takultu*, *turtānu*, etc., etc.

5. The glossary does not represent the present status of Assyrian research—in fact, it is a very poor piece of work. Some of the commonest words are misread: e. g. “*akuttu* (*akūtu*?) Baugrund?” for *aḫaztu* ‘possession, means,’ and then, perhaps, ‘Bauplan’ (cf. Jensen’s reading *atartu* “Hinzukommendes,” *Kosmologie*, p. 385); *uṣakir* “tö-tete, durchbohrte” is not to be taken from an *akāru*, ii. (cf. also *Hebraica*, vii. 1. 68); *bāṣu* is not “Sand, Wüste:” *dīḫu* is to be read *ṭeḫu*; *zāzu* “paarweise,” but cf. ZB., p. 97; for *izkuru* in Esarh. A. i. 43, read *iskuru*; *maḥḥuru* is for *maḥḥutiš*; *milak* is peculiar; *murnizku* is for *mur-nišku*; *nukuši* for *nukulat*; *mušikku* for *tup-šikku*; *paršu* “paarweise?,” Esarh. A. v. 52; *rittu* for *laktu*; *šuktu* for *šuktu*; *šalgu* for *raggu*; *šalṭāniš* “verwüstend” for ‘siegreich;’ *lišandil* is placed under three roots, *matālu*, *natālu*, and *šaddālu*. A great many other examples might be cited, but these are sufficient to establish the position taken.

15. Some notes on historical Assyrian syntax; by Professor William R. Harper, of Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The syntax of the Semitic family, as well as that of most of the separate Semitic languages, has been greatly neglected. In Arabic the field has scarcely been occupied save by native grammarians, who have succeeded here, as likewise in Hebrew and Sanskrit, in darkening instead of illuminating the subject.\* In view of the fact that even in Greek and Latin historical syntax is something comparatively recent, perhaps too much ought not to be expected in a department which in almost every particular is confessedly behindhand; and yet it is surely an occasion of surprise that work of this character has not been under-

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\* Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, as well as that of Caspari upon which it is based, may fairly be classed under this head, so thoroughly “native” is it in its form and spirit.

taken more widely in Hebrew literature, where material of the greatest value awaits the investigator.\*

In Assyrian, of course, the field has just opened. One cannot read comparatively inscriptions belonging to widely separated periods without discovering evidence of the great syntactical changes which have taken place. Having in mind the fact of the gradual breaking down of the case-endings in Assyrian, I began a year ago to make some investigation with a view to ascertaining the relative strictness, as regards the use of the case-endings, of the earlier and later inscriptions. Before going far I became convinced that many other subjects of syntax would yield rich results if studied historically. To test the matter provisionally, I selected the accusative. The plan included 1. the classification of all instances of nouns ending in *a*; 2. the collection of all instances of nouns with the ending *u* or *i* used in an accusative construction; 3. the classification of nouns which are accusatives in construction, but which, being in connection with a following noun, have either no case-ending at all, or the ending of the genitive. viz. *i*; 4. the collection of all nouns in the plural which are accusative by construction, but which, of course, have no case-indication; 5. the classification of ideograms which are accusatives by construction (ideograms, however, with a phonetic complement indicating a case-ending, were classified with words spelled syllabically); and finally, 6. a comparison of the results obtained from the study of each of the more important historical inscriptions, in order thus to trace the development, or the decay, as the case might be, of the construction.

Partly because the investigation, thus far, is incomplete, and partly also because the plan of work has been greatly enlarged and more extended study is to be undertaken than was originally intended,† I shall

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\* Even when special points of Hebrew syntax have been treated exhaustively, the historical element has been wholly or largely ignored.

It may be of interest to mention that a beginning, in a small way, has been made by some of the writer's pupils at New Haven. Among other subjects which are being treated, and which have been or will be published, are the following: *The Infinitive Absolute*, by Mr. M. W. Chunn, now of Glenwood, Minn.; *The Circumstantial Clause in Genesis*, by Prof. Geo. W. Stibitz, of Collegeville, Penn.; *The Particle ׀*, by Prof. A. M. Wilson, of Jackson, Tenn. (see *Hebraica*, vol. vi., pp. 139-150, 212-224); *The Syntax of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi*, by Mr. E. C. Sage, New Haven, Conn.; *Peculiarities in the Syntax of the Second Isaiah*, by Mr. Geo. W. Davis, New Haven, Conn.

† It may not be out of place to announce that, aided by Mr. Robert F. Harper, and by eight of the graduate students at New Haven who have been devoting themselves largely to the study of Assyrian, I have undertaken to collect and classify all the material in the historical inscriptions upon the more important points of syntax. The collection will include the citation or counting of every instance of a given construction in the various inscriptions arranged chronologically. We appreciate the magnitude of the task to which we have addressed ourselves, but are greatly encouraged by the nature of the results already obtained. The work, it is expected, will be completed within three years.



satisfy myself at present with a few general statements, based upon a comparison of the Prism-Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. (eight columns), and the Taylor-Inscription of Sennacherib (six columns).

1. In the Tiglath-Pileser inscriptions there are, in all, of noun and adjective forms ending in *a*, one hundred and twenty; in the Sennacherib there are but twenty-three; a rough estimate, taking into account the length of the inscriptions, would be 4 to 1.

2. In the Tiglath-Pileser, I have failed to find a sure instance of a noun, accusative by construction, with the nominative ending *u*; but in Sennacherib there are, I think, at least fifty-two instances. This explains what has become of the *a*-forms. It is certainly worthy of note that, while the Sennacherib has only twenty-three *a*-forms, it uses the *u*-form as an accusative fifty-two times; and that, while Tiglath-Pileser has a hundred and twenty *a*-forms, it never uses a *u*-form as an accusative.

3. In Tiglath-Pileser there are only seven or eight instances of *i*-forms used as accusatives, while in Sennacherib there are nineteen such instances.

4. Of nouns in the accusative, but without a case-ending because they are in connection with a following noun, there are a hundred and one instances in Tiglath-Pileser, and thirty-three in Sennacherib.

I will omit at this time the comparison of plurals and of ideograms; and also the comparison of the different constructions of the accusative: e. g. the cognate accusative, the adverbial accusative, and two accusatives with one verb.

In closing, reference may be made to the usage of the noun with an attributive adjective. While in the Tiglath-Pileser inscription there were thirteen instances in which both noun and adjective had the nominative ending *u*, fifteen in which both had the genitive ending *i*, and twenty-six in which both had the accusative ending *a*, in the Sennacherib inscription there were twenty-two instances in which both had the nominative ending *u*, forty-one in which both had the genitive ending *i*, but none in which both had the accusative.\* The comparison of these facts is surely very significant.

16. On Chinese ideas of inspiration; by President W. A. P. Martin, of the Imperial Tungwen College, Peking.

An abstract of this paper (which will be published in full in the Andover Review) is as follows:

The word inspiration must be employed with considerable latitude, as expressing the Chinese conception of an ultimate authority which pervades and lies behind their sacred books. As these belong to three

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\* In this calculation, account was taken of ideograms when either the noun or the adjective was spelled out. It is to be remembered that the count will vary slightly according to the choice made in particular instances between the text and variants in the margin. It will be easily possible to trace, in some such way, the history of the leading constructions from century to century, and thus to obtain material for a wider comparison with other Semitic languages.

leading schools of thought, not to speak of numberless alloys, it is not to be supposed that the views of their adherents coincide on the point of inspiration, more than on others, in regard to which they are in fact widely divergent. Taoism is indigenous to China. Its root-idea is the possibility of acquiring a mastery over matter and so protecting ourselves against decay and death. It gave birth to those twin extravagances of Alchemy—the transmutation of metals, and the elixir of life.

Those who attain immortality constitute a pantheon ruling over the material world, and presiding over the destinies of men. These *shen-sien*, or genii, as they are called, are all capable of renewing their intercourse with human beings, among whom they walk invisible. They do not appear in their primitive shape, but make their presence felt through suitable media. The human body in a hypnotic condition is a favorite medium. Another medium is the *fu-lon*, or magic pen : a vertical stick suspended from a cross-bar which is supported freely on the open hands of two persons. A table is sprinkled with flour, and, after becoming invocation, the spirit manifests his presence by slight oscillations of the pendulum, which leave their traces in the flour. These are deciphered and given out as revelations from the spirit-world. This will be recognized as an early form of *planchette*. In the east it has been in vogue for more than a thousand years ; and it has naturally become a prolific source of religious literature.

Buddhism has borrowed the “magic pen,” and the orthodox are scandalized by the corruptions thus introduced into the canons of their faith. On this subject a practical guide for the Buddhist priesthood contains the following indignant protest :

“Of late, men’s minds are superficial and false ; there is nothing that they do not counterfeit. They palm off their own rude language as revealed through the ‘magic pen,’ thus imposing on the ignorant. Recently impostures of an extraordinary character have come to light—such as forgeries of the books of Buddha. Taoist genii are invoked to reveal an exposition of a Buddhist classic ! And sometimes Buddha himself is invoked to indite a commentary !”

As to Buddhistic ideas of inspiration, suffice it to say that to the Buddhist there is no authority higher than Buddha. He does not look beyond Buddha to an all-pervading spirit, as Christians look through Christ up to the Father of spirits. With him the only possible question is touching the authority of the books purporting to be from Buddha : in other words, respecting the contents of the Buddhistic canon.

The ideas of Confucianists in regard to inspiration differ widely from those of both the preceding schools.

The Confucian canon consists properly of the “Four Books” and “Five Classics”—the latter pre-Confucian, the former post-Confucian—all deriving authority more or less directly from Confucius as author or editor.

The canon of Confucianism is the canon of China. With the exception of their priesthood, every member of the other sects is first of all

a Confucian. In that canon there are two chapters which are believed to have been revealed in a supernatural manner—the two tables of their law: one giving the eight diagrams that form the key to their system of nature; the other forming a compend of their ethical and political system. These once accepted as divine, their whole civilization gains in prestige. The two tables, the *ho-tu* and *loh-shu*, are said to have been brought up from the waters of two rivers on the back of strange animals, one resembling a dragon, the other a tortoise.

All Chinese scholars, however skeptical, accept this tradition; and they invoke Confucius as indorsing it, though the passage which they cite is probably spurious.

Confucius despised the superstitions of the vulgar. He was no hierophant, but claimed a providential mission as a teacher. One of the books edited by him says: "Heaven gave birth to men, and raised up princes to rule them and sages to teach them." The sage, according to the Confucian philosophy, is in harmony with the universe, and is therefore an infallible expositor of faith and duty. The sage *par excellence* is Confucius, though many preceded him; and he is described as adding a third to the dual powers of heaven and earth: i. e., forming the third person of a trinity.

Even Chinese Christians look on Confucius as a divinely commissioned lawgiver. The spread of Christianity will undoubtedly detract from his authority, but it is not likely that it will lead the Chinese to think of him otherwise than as the Moses of an earlier dispensation.

A paper entitled "Notes on Assyrian etymology," by Rev. W. M. Arnolt, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., was also presented, but no abstract of it is furnished for the Proceedings.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
AT ITS  
MEETING IN BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,  
May 15th and 16th, 1891.

THE Society assembled at Boston, in the Hall of the American Academy, on Friday, May 15th, at 10.15 A. M., and was called to order by the President, Rev. Dr. W. Hayes Ward.

The accounts of the Treasurer, Mr. Van Name, for 1890-91, were presented, audited, found correct, and duly certified. The usual summary follows :

RECEIPTS.

Balance from old account, May 7th, 1890 .....		\$50.67
Assessments (142) paid in for year 1890-91 .....	\$710.00	
Assessments (83) for other years .....	165.00	
Sales of Journal .....	560.00	
Interest on Cotheal Fund, 6 mos. ....	20.00	
		<hr/> 1,455.00
Total receipts for the year .....		\$1,505.67

EXPENDITURES.

Paper .....	\$ 93.60	
Presswork, etc., vol. xiv. ....	181.94	
Proceedings of Oct., 1889, and extras .....	210.52	
Proceedings of May, 1890, and extras .....	137.45	
Photogravure, "Alhambra vase" .....	12.00	
Proceedings of Oct., 1890, and extras .....	166.35	
For Correspondence (postage, circulars, etc.) .....	30.55	
		<hr/> \$832.41
Total disbursements for the year .....		673.26
Balance on hand, May 13th, 1891 .....		<hr/> \$1,505.67

The Bradley type fund now amounts to \$1,268.60.  
The Cotheal publication fund amounts to \$1,000.00.

The report of the Librarian, Mr. Van Name, for 1890-91, is as follows: During the past year the accessions to the Society's library have been fourteen manuscripts, sixty-three volumes, two hundred and nineteen parts of volumes, and ninety-five pamphlets. The number of titles of printed books is now 4515; of manuscripts, 177. In accordance with the vote passed at the last meeting, an offer was made through the "Library Journal" of Vols. II.-V. of the Society's Journal to College and Public libraries. Only eighteen such libraries have made application, and to all of them the volumes have been sent.

The Committee of Publication laid before the Society the first nine signatures of volume xv. of the Journal, pages 1-72.

Various matters of business were laid before the Society in the form of a report from the Board of Directors.

The Board's Committee of Arrangements reported by printed program, and the Society proceeded in general therewith.

The Board had appointed the President, the Recording Secretary, and the Corresponding Secretary, and Messrs. W. D. Whitney and I. H. Hall, to be the Committee of Publication for 1891-92.

The Committee appointed at Princeton to recommend a suitable time for the annual meetings had sent out to 222 corporate members a carefully prepared inquiry concerning individual preferences as between Easter-week (Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday), Christmas-time, and November. The replies numbered 137, and the preferences were very decidedly in favor of Easter-week. The Board recommended Easter Thursday, Friday, and Saturday as the time for the annual meetings, and the Society adopted the recommendation without dissent.

The Board reported that the following legislative enactment, approved May 14, 1891, had become a law (see Acts and Resolves of the year 1891, chap. 335).

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one. An act to authorize the American Oriental Society to hold its meetings without the Commonwealth. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:*—Section 1. The American Oriental Society, a corporation organized under the laws of this Commonwealth, is hereby authorized to hold its meetings in any state or territory of the United States and in the District of Columbia: *provided, however,* that said society shall meet within this Commonwealth at least once in three years. Section 2. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

On recommendation of the Directors, the Society voted to make certain changes in the Constitution and in the By-laws, as follows:

To amend Article IX. of the Constitution so that it shall read as follows:

ART. IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

To amend By-laws I. and II. so that they shall read as follows :

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters ; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

To abrogate the first chapter of the "Supplementary By-laws," namely the by-laws "For the Classical Section," thereby doing away with the Classical Section.

Upon recommendation of the Board of Directors, the following persons were duly elected :

As Corporate Members :

Mr. Cornelius Stevenson Abbott, Jr., Belleville, N. J. (Columbia Coll.) ;  
Mr. Caleb Allen, Rugby Academy, Philadelphia, Pa. (415 Locust) ;  
Mr. William W. Baden, Baltimore, Md. (Johns Hopkins Univ.) ;  
Mr. Mark Bailey, Jr., Eugene, Oregon (Harvard Univ.) ;  
Miss Sibylla A. Bailey, Boston, Mass. (12 Concord square) ;  
Mr. David Blaustein, Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard Univ.) ;  
Mr. James Henry Breasted, Chicago, Ill. (Yale Univ.) ;  
Dr. James W. Bright, Baltimore, Md. (Johns Hopkins Univ.) ;  
Mr. Frank Dyer Chester, Boston, Mass. (Harvard Univ.) ;  
Mr. Wolcott Webster Ellsworth, Hartford, Conn. (Yale Univ.) ;  
Mr. Carl J. Elofson, Valley Springs, S. Dakota (Yale Univ.) ;  
Prof. J. E. Harry, Georgetown, Ky. (Georgetown Coll.) ;  
Mr. Montague Howard, New York City (46 W. 52—Columbia Coll.) ;  
Mr. George Nathan Newman, Buffalo, N. Y. (Yale Univ.) ;  
Mr. Perry Oliver Powell, Monmouth, Oregon (Yale Univ.) ;  
Mr. George Andrew Reisner, Indianapolis, Ind. (Harvard Univ.) ;  
Mr. Edmund Nathaniel Snyder, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. (Vassar Coll.) ;  
Mr. Alexis W. Stein, New York City (80 W. 15—Columbia Coll.) ;  
Prof. George Stibitz, Collegeville, Pa. ;  
Mr. Charles C. Torrey, Andover, Mass. (Theol. Sem.) ;  
Mr. Herbert Lockwood Willett, Dayton, Ohio (Yale Univ.) ;  
Mr. Kichiro Yuasa, Gunma, Japan (Yale Univ.).

The Corresponding Secretary announced the death of the Corporate Members :

Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, of New York City ; and  
Prof. James C. Moffat, of Princeton, N. J.

Upon the nomination of a Committee, consisting of Professors W. R. Harper, Jastrow, and Jackson, the following board of officers was elected for the year 1891-92 :

*President*—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York.

*Vice-Presidents*—Pres. D. C. Gilman, of Baltimore ; Prof. Isaac H. Hall, of New York ; Prof. J. Henry Thayer, of Cambridge, Mass.

*Recording Secretary*—Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Cambridge.

*Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer*—Prof. C. R. Lanman, of Cambridge.

*Librarian*—Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven.

*Directors*—Professors Bloomfield and Haupt, of Baltimore ; Mr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia ; Prof. E. W. Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr ; Prof. A. L. Frothingham, of Princeton ; Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, of New York ; Prof. J. P. Taylor, of Andover.

The Corresponding Secretary presented a communication from the University of Pennsylvania, offering to house and arrange the Society's library, to prepare two card-catalogues of the library (a subject-catalogue and an author-catalogue), and to provide such administrative service as may be needed, without expense to the Society, for the period of two years.

The Secretary presented also a letter from the Society's Librarian, Mr. Van Name.

*To the Members of the American Oriental Society :*

The committee appointed at the last meeting to devise measures to make the library more useful has not been able to meet, and has, therefore, as yet no report to make.

Not having been present at that meeting, and having as librarian both of Yale College and of the Society a twofold interest in the question, I beg the privilege of making, on my individual responsibility, a brief statement pertinent to the discussion which took place there.

The transfer of the library to New Haven, thirty-six years ago, was made, as Professor Whitney has shown, in the interest of the Society, and its continuance here has on the part of the College, at least, been regarded in the same light. Apart from any labor which the care of the collection involves, it is no slight matter to provide shelf-room for four or five thousand volumes, and storage for the stock of the Journal, some three thousand volumes more. The cost of shelf-room even in our more economically constructed library buildings seldom falls below half a dollar a volume, and to this must be added the cost of reconstructions which the rapid growth of libraries makes so often necessary.

Much, and the more valuable part, of the Society's collection is duplicated in the more complete oriental library belonging to the College, and the service which it can render us in return is correspondingly diminished. Still it is obviously the duty of some library to care for it, and the College has not as yet felt disposed to raise the question of its removal. Now, however, that the question has been raised, it is desirable that a decision should be arrived at, as early as the next annual

meeting at least. If the library is to remain in New Haven for a further term of years, the re-arrangement which is greatly needed and which our new building makes possible should soon be undertaken. If it is to be removed, we shall of course desire to be spared this additional labor.

Whether the library is to go or to stay, it is desirable that the binding of the serials, which is much in arrears, should be brought up to date. Nothing has been expended for this object for the last dozen years, and I would recommend that the sum of two hundred dollars, or so much of it as may be necessary, be appropriated for this purpose.

ADDISON VAN NAME.

New Haven, May 14, 1891.

The Directors reported that they had carefully considered these communications, and that they did not see their way clear to avail themselves of the generous offer of the University of Pennsylvania.

The following letter from the chairman of the Babylonian Exploration Fund, Provost Pepper of the University of Pennsylvania, was read to the Society, and its contents were received with expressions of interest and approval :

*To the President of the American Oriental Society :*

Sir :—The University of Pennsylvania and the Babylonian Exploration Committee have for some time desired to open the collection of Cuneiform tablets, now deposited in the Museum, to the study of scholars connected with other institutions, or pursuing independent researches. This step has hitherto been deemed impracticable, and has been delayed until the suspension of the explorations at Niffer, and the close of the negotiations with the Imperial Ottoman Museum in connection with the exploration, whose prosecution would have been impossible without the cordial assistance of the Turkish Government, as represented by the Minister of Instruction, and the Director of the Museum.

In view, however, of the limited material accessible to students of Cuneiform in this country, the Babylonian Exploration Committee has decided to open its purchased collections to study at once, beginning with July 1st, 1891.

These consist of two small collections purchased in 1889, and numbering 700 tablets, none of which have been edited or published, and a still larger number of tablets, the result of more recent purchases, which will in a short time be added to the existing collection. These are all, it is scarcely necessary to say, the result of purchases made outside the Turkish Empire, within whose limits the agents of the Exploration have sedulously obeyed the laws of the Empire in reference to the export of antiquities. After the date mentioned, these will be open, under the regulations of the Museum, to the study of any regularly accredited student from any learned institution, or of any student whose original publications prove his ability to carry on independent research. A plan for early transcription and publication will be matured in the approaching autumn.



I take great pleasure in making this announcement through the American Oriental Society, the earliest Society organized for oriental studies in the United States; and, on behalf of the Babylonian Exploration Fund, I invite the earnest and active coöperation of American scholars in placing before the world acquisitions which are of little value to science until their publication.

I have the honor to be, Yours very truly,

May 14th, 1891.

WILLIAM PEPPER,

*Chairman Babylonian Exploration Fund.*

Prof. Jastrow gave a brief account of the collections of the Babylonian expedition.

The Babylonian collections of the University of Pennsylvania consist of clay cylinders and bricks, stone and clay tablets, clay cones, seals, pottery, and casts, and miscellaneous objects. Of clay cylinders, the most valuable is one containing a long Nebuchadnezzar inscription of 284 lines, and in an excellent state of preservation. In addition, there are fragments of several large and small cylinders. The bricks are from buildings of Nebuchadnezzar and Esarhaddon; that of the former has 16 long lines in modern Babylonian; that of the latter, 11 short lines in archaic script. There are two small stone tablets, one a dedicatory inscription by Ur-Ban, the other of the latter's son Dungi. The larger part of the clay tablets are the so-called contract tablets. They extend over a long period, the oldest going back to the Hammurabi era, while the youngest are of the Persian dynasty. In all, there are about 700 tablets and a somewhat larger number of fragments. There is a large inscribed cone of Hammurabi and four smaller cones from Telloh. The seals number about 160. The large majority are oblong cylinders, of various sizes, and of various materials. In addition to distinctly Babylonian seal cylinders, there are a number of Persian and Parthian seals, mostly cone-shaped; also a series of small stone weights in the form of ducks. The pottery includes five bowls, three containing Hebrew inscriptions. Of the casts there are to be mentioned the Black Stone of Shalmaneser II., the monolith of Shalmaneser II., the statue of Ashurnasirbal, hunting scenes from Ashurbanabal's palace, casts of the Sippara Shamas tablet, of the Deluge story, of clay cylinders, and contract tablets. The miscellaneous objects include some of the most valuable pieces in the collection. First among these is a slab from the palace of Ashurnasirbal, representing the well-known religious ceremony of the palm-tree with the so-called "standard" inscription running across the stone; secondly, there is what appears to be a door-socket inscription of Burnabunāsh; and thirdly, gold, glass, and alabaster ornaments, and also pottery from Babylonian graves of early and late periods. Finally there may be mentioned, though as somewhat outside of the Babylonian sphere, a handsome alabaster vase of Xerxes, containing the inscription "Xerxes the great King" in Persian, Susian, Babylonian, and Egyptian; and, further, a series of 16 Cappadocian tablets. There is also a small collec-

tion of lamps and pottery from Palmyra; clay medals, so-called *tes-seræ*, with designs and inscriptions; eight mortuary busts, six of them with inscriptions in Palmyrene; and eight fragments.

The University possesses also an Egyptian collection that is rapidly growing.

It was voted that the thanks of the Society be sent to Mr. Van Name for his faithful and efficient performance of the duties of Treasurer through the long period of eighteen years.

In view of the diversity of opinion among Orientalists respecting the next International Congress, and considering the suggestion recently made by Canon Taylor that a congress held in America in 1893 might prove an acceptable compromise, it was voted that a committee of five be appointed to inquire into the feasibility of holding such a congress in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. Messrs. W. R. Harper, Gottheil, Jastrow, Moore, and Lanman were appointed to serve as this committee.

After the business session, from 10.15 to 12.15, the members proceeded to Cambridge, and, upon the invitation of President Eliot, took luncheon at his house at half-past one o'clock. They then visited the new Semitic Museum; and the Curator, Professor Lyon, pointed out and explained the various objects of interest. By invitation of the Curator, Professor Putnam, the afternoon session was held in the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, where the Semitic collections are for the present exhibited. By invitation of friends of the Society, the members dined at half-past six at the Colonial Club, Quincy street, Cambridge. The evening session was held in the room of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University; and the Saturday morning session in the Hall of the American Academy at Boston.

The Society passed votes of thanks to the American Academy, to President Eliot, to the Curator of the Peabody Museum, and to the Curator of the Semitic Museum, and adjourned at a little after one o'clock, Saturday, May 16th.

The following communications were presented :

1. On the narrative use of perfect and imperfect tenses in the Brāhmaṇas; by Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale University.

The following is an abstract of the paper.

It is well known that in classical Sanskrit the perfect and imperfect (as also the aorist) are equivalent tenses, freely coördinated in narration; while in the Veda, though the imperfect has the same value as later, the perfect has a great variety of tense significations, that of a simple past, that of a proximate past (like the early aorist), and that of a present. In the intermediate stage of the Brāhmaṇa language, also, the re-

lation of the two tenses is in general as later; they are used to some extent alternatively and to some extent coördinately; and the different texts vary considerably as regards their employment of the one or of the other; the point is one of some interest in the history of development of Sanskrit syntax. In the first edition of my Sanskrit grammar, I was able to make (§ 822) only a very brief and general statement respecting it; in preparing to give this statement more precision in the second edition, I was led (particularly as being able part of the time to do no more serious work than this) to note in considerable detail the usage of the different Brāhmaṇa texts; and it seems worth while to report the results with some fullness. Delbrück, to be sure, in his Vedic Syntax, published later, has treated (p. 296 ff.) the subject at greater length than it comported with the plan of my grammar to do, yet he is very far from having exhausted it, nor can I in all points approve the way in which it is treated by him.

I limit myself, of course, throughout to *brāhmaṇa*-material proper, or expository prose, to the exclusion of all *mantra*-material, whether metrical or otherwise.

I begin with the Pañcaviṃśa (or Tāṇḍya) Brāhmaṇa, because in that text the two tenses are less mixed than in any other, the perfects being only 11 to 1433 imperfects, or as 1 to 180. Their distribution is as follows (omitting book i., which contains only *mantra*-material):

ii.	4 i.	0 p.	x.	58 i.	1 p.	xviii.	37 i.	0 p.
iii.	2	0	xi.	46	0	xix.	82	0
iv.	47	0	xii.	108	1	xx.	77	0
v.	18	0	xiii.	105	3	xxi.	67	0
vi.	83	0	xiv.	118	1	xxii.	24	0
vii.	138	0	xv.	61	0	xxiii.	26	0
viii.	158	0	xvi.	47	0	xxiv.	38	2
ix.	70	0	xvii.	32	0	xxv.	47	3

1488 i. 11 p.

Of the 11 perfects, 4 (at x. 5. 7 : xii. 13. 11 : xiii. 4. 11 : xiv. 1. 12) are isolated cases of *uvica* used in giving the *dictum* of an ancient sage; the remaining 7 occur in connection with imperfects (at xiii. 1. 9 : xxiv. 18. 2 : xxv. 6. 5 ; 10. 18), and without any distinctly traceable difference of value from them—though one may conjecture a difference at xiii. 6. 9, where, in the midst of a narrative carried on by imperfects, appears *āsa* : ‘now there *was* (i. e. at the time when these incidents happened) [a man named] Kutsa.’

In the *brāhmaṇa*-parts of the Tāittiriya-Saṃhitā (constituting about three fifths of the whole text), the imperfects are in somewhat similar predominance; the perfects are only 27 against 1900 imperfects, or as 1 to 70. They are distributed in the different books (omitting the fourth, which is *mantra* only) as follows :

i.	99 i.	11 p.	iii.	120 i.	0 p.	vi.	472 i.	7 p.
ii.	560	1	v.	338	6	vii.	311	2
							<u>1900 i.</u>	<u>27 p.</u>

In the whole text there are but two passages where the perfect appears to take the place of the imperfect as narrative tense, both times in an account of converse between two sages : at i. 7. 2 there are 11 perfects (all *uvāca*), with one imperfect (*avadatām*) interposed, of which the reason is not apparent ; and at vi. 6. 2 are three perfects (*papracha* and *uvāca*), and also, in what one of the conversers says, a perfect (*babhūvus*) and an imperfect : the ground of this difference is again unclear. Elsewhere we have only single perfects, either alone or with imperfects. Alone are found *uvāca* at ii. 6. 2<sup>3</sup> : v. 4. 2<sup>2</sup> ; 6. 6<sup>3</sup> : vi. 4. 5<sup>2</sup> ; *iyāya* at v. 1. 8<sup>2</sup> ; 2. 3<sup>1</sup> ; 3. 2<sup>4</sup> ; *tātāna* (repeating the same word of a *mantra* phrase) at vi. 1. 11<sup>3</sup>. With imperfects, we have *iyāya* (perhaps used as present) amid many imperfects at vi. 1. 6<sup>4</sup> ; at v. 3. 8<sup>1</sup>, a perfect followed by a single imperfect of the later consequence ; at vii. 4. 5<sup>4</sup> and 5. 4<sup>2</sup> (same text), an imperfect of narration is followed by *uvāca* of a sage's statement respecting it—apparently a motivated transition.

Of the Tāittiriya-Brāhmaṇa, considerably the larger part (about as 8 to 5) is *brāhmaṇa*-text, and in it the imperfects are over 1500, and the perfects are only 74, or as 1 to 20. Their distribution (omitting ii. 4-6, 8 and iii. 4-6, which are *mantra* throughout) is as follows :

i. 1	159	i. 0 p.	ii. 1	94	i. 0 p.	iii. 7	0	i. 0 p.
2	19	0	2	264	2	8	36	1
3	51	0	3	155	8	9	55	1
4	77	0	7	54	1	10	7	26
5	139	7	iii. 1	104	0	11	27	21
6	86	0	2	68	3	12	61	2
7	36	0	3	17	2			
8	17	0						
							1521	i. 74 p.

The large majority of perfects are found in two of the last chapters, where the perfect mainly takes the place of the imperfect as narrative tense. The largest number (16) stand together in iii. 11. 8, in the story of Naciketas ; but alternating with 4 imperfects, all of which are plainly motivated, as indicating a different past time from that of the narration : twice a personal question, ' what didst thou eat (i.) the first night ? ' etc. ; and twice an after result, ' Death told (p.) him the *nāciketa*-fire, and thereafter his works were not exhausted ' (i.), etc. At iii. 10. 9<sup>3-5</sup> is another motivated imperfect among perfects, when one of the parties to a discussion described in perfects says : ' my teacher [formerly] told (i) me ' so and so. At iii. 2. 9<sup>15</sup> is again an imperfect in quotation after a perfect. But on the other hand, at ii. 2. 7<sup>3</sup> (repeated at 11<sup>5</sup>) occurs a 1st pl. pf. in a narration by imperfects ; there is here also an evident change of time. After the Naciketas story, and while still dealing with the *nāciketa*-fire, there is (iii. 11. 9<sup>2-7</sup>) a series of five statements, of form analogous with one of those already reported from that story, telling how some one did (p.) such and such a meritorious act, and such and such recompense followed (i.) later. But in a similar case at iii. 12. 5 another perfect follows, to disturb the tense-relation, and cast doubt on our conception of it. A perfect followed by an imperfect at ii. 7. 18<sup>2</sup> shows no motive, unless it be that (to be noted especially in the

Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa) of an introductory perfect; and the contrary of it appears in ii. 3. 10<sup>1-3</sup>, where three imperfects are followed by 8 perfects. In i. 5. 9 are found 6 perfects associated with 26 imperfects without recognizable motive.

Elsewhere we have perfects by themselves: single at i. 5. 2<sup>1</sup>; iii. 8. 6<sup>2</sup>; 9. 15<sup>3</sup>; in groups at iii. 2. 5<sup>4</sup> (repeated at 6<sup>1</sup>); 10. 9<sup>2+</sup>, 11<sup>2+</sup>.

Of the Tāittiriya-Āraṇyaka only a small part is *brāhmaṇa*-material, and in this the narrative tenses are not numerous, being 17 perfects and 155 imperfects, or about as 1 to 9. They are thus distributed:

i.	23	30 i.	0 p.	v.	71 i.	1 p.	ix.	10 i.	11 p.
ii.	1-2	12	0	viii.	9	0	x.	0	2
	7-18	28	8					155 i.	17 p.

The treatise presents no cases showing a motivated interchange of tenses; the utmost that can be said is that there seems to be an inclination to introduce a narrative with perfects and finish it with imperfects; the details are not worth giving.

The Māitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā is a little more than half (about as 7 to 6) *brāhmaṇa*, and in this the perfects are to the imperfects only as about 1 to 64 (nearly as in the Tāittiriya-Saṃhitā). The following table (in which the purely *mantra*-chapters are omitted) shows their range:

i.	4	19 i.	1 p.	ii.	4	100 i.	0 p.	iii.	10	69 i.	0 p.
	5	32	1		5	144	3	iv.	1	68	0
	6	180	1	iii.	1	45	1		2	188	5
	7	24	2		2	53	5		3	50	0
	8	94	0		3	53	5		4	39	0
	9	99	0		4	60	0		5	87	1
	10	181	2		5	0	0		6	67	7
	11	61	0		6	88	1		7	75	0
ii.	1	71	0		7	70	0		8	52	0
	2	75	0		8	150	0				
	3	12	0		9	41	0			2237 i.	35 p.

For the theory of the relation of the two tenses there is next to nothing to be won, especially because there is very little mixture of them in the same narration. Nor is there to any noteworthy extent a substitution of perfect for imperfect as narrative tense, though a few passages are found where two or three, and once five, perfects are used together: they are in i. 7. 3 (both perhaps rather used as presents): ii. 5. 1: iii. 2. 7; 3. 2, 9: iv. 2. 10; 6. 6. Isolated perfects occur in i. 4. 12; 5. 8 (=present?): iii. 1. 3; 2. 3; 3. 9; 6. 5: iv. 6. 2. There remain only five cases of association of the two tenses; and in one of these the change seems motivated, a 1st sing. pf. appearing in quotation among imperfects; it is in i. 6. 13. In the remaining cases I find no ground for the alternation: they are iii. 2. 8: iv. 2. 2, 6; 5. 4.

In the Āitareya-Brāhmaṇa the perfect is decidedly more used, its numerical relation to the imperfect being nearly as 1 to 4. The numbers in the different books are these:

*Whitney, Perfect and imperfect in the Brāhmaṇas.* lxxxix

i. 116 i. 6 p.	iv. 186 i. 3 p.	vii. 30 i. 139 p.
ii. 183 5	v. 97 6	viii. 29 51
iii. 347 7	vi. 92 49	1080 i. 266 p.

In the first five books the proportion is not markedly different from what we have found it to be hitherto; then the perfects gain the upper hand. In book vii., where the majority of them are found, it is especially the long story of Çunaḥçepa (13-18) that makes the difference, being told in (114) perfects. The story includes also (after emending in 14.8 *prāpat* to *prāpa* and *prāpnot* to *prāpat*, with ÇÇS.) three imperfects, of which one (14.8, *adadāt*) is fully motivated, being in quotation: 'he [long ago] gave (i.) thee to me.' At 16.1, also, *āsīt* marks a change of tense-relation, from action to condition; but the perfect *āsus* in the same sense at 15.7 forbids us to lay any stress upon it. A similar case is found in vii. 27-34, where a narration at second hand, in the words of one of the characters, is in (13) imperfects, while the general story is in (21) perfects. In iii. 48.1, also, a quoted imperfect appears among perfects; and in like manner at v. 29.1, 2; and perhaps at vi. 14.4 (though the case is complicated and obscured by other tenses). On the other hand, at vi. 18.2 a perfect is introduced among imperfects, perhaps to differentiate the statement of Viçvāmītra's view ('he opined,' p.) from his own expression of it ('I saw,' i.). A perfect among imperfects at iii. 49.5 seems analogous with the one referred to above at vii. 16.1: 'now there was [at that time] (p.) the lean long gray Bharadvāja; he said (i.),' etc. More doubtful is the perfect in iv. 8.3: 'they had not the courage.' And in ii. 19.2, where a perfect is parenthetical in the story: 'therefore they call it even now Parisāraka, since Sarasvatī completely surrounded (*sasāra*) it;' here the perfect form also better helps the etymology. In a few passages occurs a change to perfect when, after a narration (in i.), it is stated that a seer made a verse about it: so in ii. 25.5; 33.6; iii. 20.1.

In vi. 1, where *asarpāt* appears to occur twice among perfects, it needs emendation once to a participle and the other time to a present; and in vi. 14.9-10, *anvarayus* must doubtless be altered to *anvaveyus*; the other imperfect in the same passage has no explanation.

Other passages where the two tenses are mixed are i. 18.1-3; 21.16 (the i. in virtual quotation from *mantra*-passages?); iii. 22.8 (only i. in the corresponding 21.4); iv. 17.5; vi. 15.11; 33.1-4; 34-35; viii. 10.1.

Elsewhere the perfect is used alone: either singly, as in iii. 12.5; iv. 27.9; v. 33.3; 34.3; vi. 20.17; vii. 10.3; or in groups, as in v. 30.15; vi. 24.16; 30.7-15; vii. 1.6-7 (emending *cakrāmat* before *tam* to *cakrāma*); viii. 21-23; 28.18; in some of these passages there are differences of time at which a change of tense might have been expected.

In the Kāuṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa, the numerical relation of the two tenses is unlike any thus far met with, the frequency of occurrence of the perfect being much increased, so that there are nearly 3 for every 5 imperfects. The table of occurrences is as follows:



It would take far too much space to discuss, or even to classify and catalogue, all the cases here; we can only consider a selection among them.

And first, there is class of cases, analogous with some already pointed out in other texts, where the intent of a change of tense is plain. The clearest example occurs at xiv. 6. 7<sup>1-4</sup> (BAU. iii. 7), where, in the contest between Yājñavalkya and the other Brahmans, carried on in perfects, Uddālaka introduces a personal narrative, in imperfects. Thus: 'Then Uddālaka Āruṇi questioned (p.) him. Yājñavalkya, said (p.) he, we [once] abode (i.) . . . He had (i.) . . . Him we asked (i.): who art thou? He said (i.) . . .,' and so on. Another closely similar case occurs a little earlier, in section 3; but it is complicated with other relations, and changes character toward the end. Further on in the same chapter (6. 10<sup>1+</sup>) is a long passage with corresponding tense-alternations, the general narrative being in perfects, but with imperfects (several times repeated) in such connections as these: 'let us hear what any one told (i.) you. Udañka told (i.) me so and so. Did he tell (i.) you also so and so? . . . Said (p.) Yājñavalkya: my father used to think (i.),' and so on. In the extremely curious bit of legend at xiv. 8. 15<sup>11</sup>, the change to imperfect in the question, 'since thou then didst claim (i.) to be' so and so, is in accordance with the above cases; but the perfect in the answer: 'because I knew (p.) not its mouth' is anomalous; another perfect appears in quotation in a difficult passage in 9. 1<sup>11</sup>; while a little before, in 9. 1<sup>8</sup>, the imperfect is regular. The two imperfects in 7. 2<sup>21</sup> are perhaps to be similarly accounted for. Supporting cases occur in other books: so in xi. 5. 1<sup>1</sup>, in the story of Purūravas and Urvaṇi, told throughout in perfects, Urvaṇi says: 'verily thou didst not do (i.) that which I said (i.);' in xi. 6. 1, in Bhṛgu's visit to Hades, the tense changes to imperfect four times when the words of one of the characters are quoted: 'in this way, verily, did these fasten (i.) upon us in yon world.' Less striking examples are i. 6. 2<sup>3</sup>: iii. 1. 1<sup>4</sup>: xi. 3. 1<sup>1+</sup>: 5. 5<sup>4</sup>: xii. 2. 2<sup>13</sup>: 9. 3<sup>7</sup>: xiii. 4. 2<sup>3</sup>: in part the including narration is in mixed tenses; in part the quoted statement is of something general and not personal. In viii. 6. 3<sup>1</sup>, a 1st pl. impf. is used in quotation in a narrative which is itself in imperfects.

At v. 1. 4<sup>10</sup> is an example of another considerable class of cases, essentially akin with the preceding: 'the Gandharvas verily in the beginning yoked (p.) the horse; so then he [virtually] says: let them who in the beginning yoked (i.) the horse yoke thee to-day.' The quotation is implied rather than express; the decisive thing seems to be the change of the point of view: if, as seen in direct relation to the present, so and so happened formerly, the imperfect is preferred for its expression. Not infrequently the shift of point of view is made by a 'because'; so at i. 1. 1<sup>16</sup>: 'the Asuras and Rakshases prevented (p.) them . . .; and because they [then] prevented (i.) them they are [now] called Rakshases.' Further cases are found (the collection is not exhaustive) at i. 1. 3<sup>2</sup>: 8. 1<sup>26-7</sup> (in narration of the same facts at 1<sup>7</sup> the perfect was used): ii. i. 4<sup>15</sup>: 4. 4<sup>2</sup>: 5. 2<sup>1</sup>: iii. 5. 1<sup>23</sup>: 8. 2<sup>17</sup>, 3<sup>11</sup>. Apparent exceptions also occur: at i. 1. 3<sup>4</sup> a perfect after a 'because,' but probably as meaning so



and so 'was' the case, instead of 'is' (as rendered by Eggeling); this can hardly be pleaded, however, at i. 6. 3<sup>2-10</sup>: iv. 2. 4, 19. A parenthetical imperfect among perfects in i. 4. 5<sup>12</sup> is doubtless to be explained in the same way: 'that is done in silence; for speech was (i.) not oblation-bearer for Prajāpati;' also at ii. 4. 2<sup>6</sup>: 'these same human beings subsist just as Prajāpati [then] ordained (i.) for them.' Cases which admit of being viewed in this way are not infrequent.

When perfects and imperfects are found in the same narrative, it often seems as if the perfect were used as introductory, to give the story, as it were, its proper setting, it going on then in the other tense; or a story begun with perfects passes over later into imperfects. Save that the cases are so many, they could not be taken to indicate anything. Examples from the first book are at i. 2. 4<sup>1+</sup>, 4<sup>3+</sup>, 4<sup>11+</sup>, 5<sup>16</sup>; 4. 1<sup>2-3</sup>, 4<sup>5</sup>; 5. 2<sup>18</sup>, 2<sup>20</sup>, 3<sup>2+</sup>, 3<sup>21+</sup>, 3<sup>23+</sup>, 4<sup>6+</sup>; 6. 1<sup>11</sup>, 4<sup>1+</sup>; 9. 1<sup>24+</sup>, 2<sup>24+</sup>; and they may be met with in similar numbers in the other books. Examples of an opposite character (changing from i. to p.) are not unknown: see ii. 4. 2<sup>1+</sup>: iii. 6. 2<sup>2+</sup>: iv. 1. 5<sup>1+</sup>: vii. 3. 2<sup>14</sup>: xi. 2. 3.

One or two special cases may be noted, as follows: in i. 2. 8<sup>4</sup> there is for a time a regular change from what the gods did (i.) to what followed (p.) as consequence. At i. 5. 2<sup>6</sup>; 6. 3<sup>25-7</sup>: iv. 4. 1<sup>4</sup>, the two tenses seem to be distributed respectively to the two parties concerned in the action.

Passages, on the other hand, are numerous in which the two tenses are mixed together in a manner that appears wholly heterogeneous, no ground for the change being traceable. A good example is ii. 2. 4; it is translated in part by Delbrück, in his *Synt. Forschungen*, iii. 52.

Yet it is occasionally true that an apparently arbitrary succession of tenses is faithfully maintained when the same passage is repeated in another place, sometimes far away. Thus, at i. 6. 2<sup>1-2</sup> we have a story which is then repeated, a little abridged, several times (at iii. 1. 4<sup>3-4</sup>; 2. 2 [three times]; 4. 3<sup>12</sup>; 7. 1<sup>21</sup>), with the same tenses. Again, the succession of tenses in i. 7. 1<sup>1</sup> is repeated in iii. 3. 4<sup>10</sup>. At viii. 2. 4<sup>1+</sup>, the conjunction of *āpnot* (i.) and *uccakramus* (p.) is made fifteen times; and that of *akṣarat* (i.) and *jajñire* (p.) in xiv. 1. 2<sup>19</sup> occurs again at 3<sup>11</sup> and 8<sup>15</sup>. Such cases are numerous enough to cause the uneasy suspicion that there may be a real shade of difference between the two tenses which we as yet fail to appreciate.

To set off against these, however, we find occasional inconsistencies also. Thus, in ii. 5. 1<sup>1-2</sup>, in a legend about Prajāpati told in mixed tenses, we have 'he considered' twice in imperfect and once in perfect, and 'he created' twice in each tense; in 4<sup>6-7</sup>, there are perfects used in opposition to the analogy of preceding and following sections, and against the rule inferred above of using an imperfect when something past is alleged as ground of present action. And so in other cases.

By way of illustration of the mode of distribution of the two tenses in parts of the text where the perfects predominate, we may look through in more detail their occurrences in the first book. Those passages in which the perfect may be viewed as introductory were given together above, and need not be repeated; other passages in which both occur without any recognized ground for the shift of tense are:

i. 1. 1<sup>16-7</sup>, 3<sup>4-6</sup>; 2. 3<sup>1-5, 6, 7, 9</sup>, 5<sup>1-11</sup>; 3. 3<sup>12-6</sup>; 4. 1<sup>10-18, 34-5</sup>; 5. 1<sup>8-13</sup>, 2<sup>6</sup>; 6. 1<sup>1-3</sup>, 2<sup>1-4</sup>, 3<sup>1-22</sup>, 4<sup>11</sup>; 7. 1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>22-4</sup>, 3<sup>1-9, 36</sup>, 4<sup>1-8</sup>; 8. 1<sup>1-18</sup> (in 1-9, 29 p. only). Then we have single perfects in i. 1. 1<sup>7</sup>, 1<sup>9</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>7</sup>; 2. 1<sup>6</sup>; 3. 1<sup>5</sup>; 5. 1<sup>7</sup>; 6. 3<sup>26</sup>; 7. 3<sup>26</sup>; and groups of them in i. 1. 2<sup>13</sup>(2), 4<sup>1</sup>(3), 4<sup>14-7</sup> (14); 2. 5<sup>24-9</sup>(11); 4. 1<sup>30</sup> (3); 5. 1<sup>20</sup>(2); 7. 3<sup>19</sup> (5). A single imperfect is found only in i. 6. 4<sup>21</sup> (in a quotation); groups (oftenest two together) in i. 1. 3<sup>8-9</sup>, 4<sup>18</sup>; 4. 2<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>5-8</sup>; 5. 3<sup>9-13</sup> (two in each paragraph); 6. 1<sup>9-10</sup>, 2<sup>5</sup>, 2<sup>7</sup>, 3<sup>28</sup>, 4<sup>8</sup>, 4<sup>9</sup>, 4<sup>12</sup>, 4<sup>17</sup>; 7. 2<sup>25-6</sup>, 3<sup>20</sup>, 3<sup>27</sup>, 4<sup>14</sup>; 8. 1<sup>28-7</sup>, 2<sup>8</sup>, 2<sup>10-3</sup>; 9. 1<sup>25-6</sup>, 3<sup>11</sup>: many of these fall under the principle, stated above, of preference for an imperfect when the past is directly compared with the present.

Per contra, we may take the sixth book as an example of the predominance of imperfects (25 to 1, as in some of the Brāhmaṇas first examined). Here there occur 286 imperfects (more than half the number in the whole book) before a single perfect makes its appearance; then are found, in 2. 1<sup>37</sup>, two perfects, no reason for the change being traceable. The same is the case with a perfect in 3. 1<sup>15</sup>, and with five in 5. 4<sup>4-8</sup>; but one in 5. 1<sup>7</sup> is the repetition of a *mantra*-perfect in VS. xi. 54; and, of two in 8. 1<sup>14</sup>, one is a similar case (from VS. xii. 34), and the other doubtless adapted to it. The remaining cases are of the two tenses mixed, without perceptible ground: in 2. 2<sup>17-20</sup> (3 p. and 1 i.); 3<sup>7, 4, 6</sup> (3 times *uvāca* among many i.); 3. 1<sup>31</sup> (1 p. among 4 i.); 6. 3<sup>2-3</sup> (3 p. with 4 i.).

For the sake of completeness, we may notice also the facts in the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa. The imperfects are to the perfects in this text nearly as 2 to 1, distributed as follows (neglecting doubtful readings):

i. 1	176	i. 39 p.	i. 5	37	i. 22 p.	ii. 4	12	i.	9 p.
2	98	51	ii. 1	70	4	5	40		5
3	27	39	2	59	8	6	37		27
4	12	25	3	58	1				
							626	i.	230 p.

There are but two cases in which a reason for the variation of tense can be suggested: in i. 4. 24, an imperfect in quotation among perfects—a clear case; in i. 3. 8, apparently a similar one, but the passage is confused and corrupt.

Finally, of the immense Jāiminiya-Brāhmaṇa the text is in great part so corrupt and doubtful that I have not thought it worth while to look through more than the first book (about a third of the whole) with reference to the subject of this paper; that book contains (omitting more doubtful cases) about 1280 imperfects and 335 perfects, or in the proportion of 4 imperfects to 1 perfect. No new principles appear, but some of those elsewhere recognized are found to be further exemplified; especially, there are a few clear cases of shift from perfect to imperfect in a personal narration. Of introductory perfects, on the other hand, I find hardly a trace.

The general result of our inquiry, it will be seen, is in great part negative only: yet not without an interesting exception or two. The two tenses are mainly equivalent; either is used by itself in narration, with absolutely no perceptible difference of meaning; and there are very

numerous instances of the mingling of the two in the same narrative where no reason can be pointed out for the shift of tense. But the general preference of imperfect is very marked; in nearly all the treatises (all save the Chānd. Up.) it greatly predominates, and in some whole texts, and in extensive parts of others, a perfect is an exceptional phenomenon. It is also doubtless fair to add that the increased proportion of perfects is an indication of later date. Sometimes, however, a shift from the one tense to the other is made to mark an actual change of temporal relation; and this appears especially in the form of a shift from perfect to imperfect when some one comes to give an account of his own experience; so that the imperfect is made the tense of personal narration. This is not an absolute rule, since the perfect appears more than once in such use; and the illustrative passages are also less numerous than were to be desired; yet the evidence seems to be sufficient to establish it as a rule—and the more, inasmuch as it is favored by the prescriptions of the Hindu grammarians. In a kindred way, we find a tendency to shift from perfect to imperfect when the past is looked directly back to from the point of view of something present. Of any distinction of continuous and momentary action we come upon almost no trace; nor can I discover any sign of that appropriation of the perfect to the statement of a general truth which Delbrück thinks to see.

An important part of the history of development of the perfect, though lying outside of our present inquiry, is its occasional use in the Brāhmaṇas distinctly with the value of a present; this is met with in all the texts. Also, on the other hand, the consistent restriction of the perfect participle to the expression of past time, as contrasted with its looseness of application in the Veda and its almost total disappearance from the later or classical language—where the new formation from the passive participle with the possessive suffix *vant* in a manner takes its place as a past participle active.\*

2. Note on the development of the character of Yama, by Professor E. W. Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Rig Veda x. 14. 1, 2: 1. *pareyivāṁsam pravato mahīr anu bahubhyah panthām anupaspāṇam: vāivasvataḥ saṁgamanāḥ janānāḥ yamaḥ rājānāḥ haviṣā dvasya.* 2. *yamo no gātum prathamo viveda*, etc. In verse 9, *arasāna.* x. 63. 10: *dāivīm nāvam . . . . ā ruhemā svastaye.* This earlier view of Yama as a king not of hell but of a good region, lordling it over the fathers, who in turn do not as yet occupy the *pradiv* of the later legend, is represented as late as the Mahābhārata. Here, in ii. 8. 7, Yama rules a realm made by the All-maker, where there is no cold, no hunger, no grief, no thirst; a floating park, an assembly (*sabhā*), where the sages and fathers live under him as *pitṛrāja*; presumably, however, not on earth, but indefinitely located. In the Vendidad Ahura Mazda calls the meeting of the gods on earth. As a sort of ἀγαθός ποιός, ἡγεμώνας, Yima the good shepherd hears the account of the

\* Owing to the author's absence from home, he has been unable to verify the references as printed.

coming flood, is directed to make a *vara* a mile square, and accordingly builds it, and places in it all the seeds of living things. There they live the happiest life, on earth.

We find alike in India and Persia the change from Yama the king of an earthly paradise to Yama the punisher, the lord of hell—*yamayann asato yamah*. Instead of the earlier 'hole' (*karta*) for the bad, we now have an elaborate system of twenty-one hells.

The process in India seems to me to be the result of the Indra-cult, which left Yama as god of the bad dead simply by elimination. For the heaven of the warrior becomes something quite different from the peaceful abode of Yama. He could not have been happy there. He joins Indra. All the good warriors thus choosing to leave Yama, who is yet looked upon as lord of the dead, nothing remains for him to lord it over save the bad.

The abode of Yama is, according to one text, over high mountains across a river (RV. x. 63.10). I do not see why we should not take this literally as of earth, where Yama originally belongs, and look upon the mountains as the range crossed by the Hindus. Yama's abode would then be the ancient home of the Aryans, recollection of which as across the mountains they still retained, and the Yama paradise would be the same as the Hyperboreans' *ἀγών*. In the Yima-legend we evidently have a confusion between the Manu- and Yama-legends, the flood-saving *vara*, and the *vara* that simply surrounds the good.

Yama was an aboriginal earthly king in an earthly paradise, in short an Adam. He becomes a god in unearthly regions.

The account in the Mahābhārata it is interesting to compare with Pindar Pyth. x. : *νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται* etc. (The *ὑπερβορέων ἀγών* is their *sahgamana*.) The dead man unites himself with Yama, and 'goes home' (*punar astam ehi*, RV. x. 14. 8) back north to Yama's paradise. The later view is, however, already prominent in the RV. (ix. 113. 7, 'the light heaven,' etc.).

3. On the meaning of *sūnṛ'tā* in the Rig-Veda ; by Dr. Hanns Oertel, Fellow of the Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

*Sūnṛ'tā* has been translated by Ludwig almost invariably by "trefflichkeit," and hence is understood by him to refer to moral qualities, a fact also apparent from his translation "tugend" at x. 61. 21. Grassmann in his translation gives it a great variety of meanings ; his dictionary was unfortunately not at my disposal.

I think that an examination of the following passages will make it at least very probable that the word in RV. means 'kind disposition,' and, more especially and in most cases, that kindness of disposition which finds expression in the bestowal of gifts, hence 'liberality.'

The adjective *sūnūra*, of which *sūnṛ'tā* is the abstract in *-tā* (Wh. Gr. § 1287 b), does not throw much light on the meaning of the word. We have it as epithet of Agni (x. 115. 7 : cf. with this viii. 19. 22 b, *yāh piñ-ṣāte sūnṛ'tābhīḥ suvīryam agnir ghr̥tēbhīr āhutaḥ*), of the Sun (viii. 29. 1), and of the Dawn (i. 48. 10 ; vii. 81. 1), who is in iv. 52. 1 called *sūndrī*

*jñāni*.\* All these passages admit the suggested meaning. For its fitness as epithet of the Dawn see below.† In two passages it is connected with *vāsu*. In both I should explain *sūnāraṁ vāsu* as 'liberally bestowed wealth' (i. 40. 4; v. 84. 7): cf. vii. 57. 6 b, *rāydh sūnṛ'tā maghāni* ‡ 'a liberal gift of wealth.' For the thought, cf. i. 48. 2; 124. 10 a.

Coming then to *sūnṛ'tā*, we have:

i. 30. 5: 'of thee, O lord of gifts (*rādhānām pate*), praised in songs, whose, O hero, is the (= this?) hymn, the splendor must be (= consist in) liberality.'

i. 184. 1 (*Vāyu* is invoked): 'let thy liberality stand upright (for help, cf. i. 30. 5, 6); . . . come for the sake of giving.' Cf. also vs. 2: *ydd dha—ūtāyāḥ*, vs. 3, *prā bodhayā pūramdhīm* etc.; vii. 92. 8; perhaps i. 118. 18: see below. i. 185. 7: '(enter the house where soma is pressed) [there] your liberality is seen; come with a filled team to the sacrifice.' Cf. vs. 5: *usmayā ā no gantam ihōtyā*; vs. 4: *ā candrēṇa rādhasā gatam*. The divine help and liberality are here, as often, dependent on the human sacrifices and libations.

vii. 87. 3 we have it with the epithet *vasavyā* 'connected with wealth': 'accustomed art thou, o Maghavan, to bestow; . . . both thine arms are filled with goods; not does thy liberality, wealth endowed, keep them back.'

viii. 45. 12: 'standing upright (for help, see above i. 30. 6; 184. 1) thy liberality offers hundreds and thousands to the hymn-singer;' *sūnṛ'tā* is in contrast with *dviṣaḥ*, vs. 10, and gives reason for 10 a, b: *te . . . . dāvdne gaméméd . . . gómataḥ*; vs. 11 is parenthetical. i. 48. 2: 'cause, O Dawn, liberality to go up (*ūd iraya*) towards me; urge onwards the gifts of the rich (*maghānām*):' cf. vii. 57. 6, and vs. 1, where the Dawn is said to beam forth as *dāsvatī*. Parallelism of clauses.

i. 123. 6: *ūd iratāḥ sūnṛ'tā út pūramdhīr*, where *sūnṛ'tā* denotes the mental condition which precedes the actual bestowal (*pūramdhīr*). And the very similar passage, x. 39. 2: *codāyataḥ sūnṛ'tāḥ . . . út pūramdhīr irayatam*; and again, vii. 79. 5: 'urging on (same verb as in i. 48. 2) god after god to gift-giving (*rādhase*: cf. *rādho*, i. 48. 2); unto us *sūnṛ'tā irāyanti*.'

Likewise of the Dawn. i. 113. 4: *bhāsvatī netrī sūnṛ'tānām* (= i. 92. 7), which, in connection with the preceding instances and with vs. 4 b, *vy ū no rāyō akhyad*, is easily explained as 'she who leads on liberality' (cf. *codayitrī sūnṛ'tānām*, i. 3. 11): i. e. 'takes the lead in or leads to liberality.'§ For the latter, cf. vii. 76. 7, 'she is the leader of the bestowal of the liberal, . . . . creating wealth far-renowned;' and vii. 81. 6, 'the liberal Dawn, who urges the wealthy on (to give).' viii. 82. 15: 'no one can

\* This passage may perhaps illustrate the somewhat obscure half-line i. 48. 5, where the word also occurs in connection with the Dawn.

† Cf. also v. 79. 3, where she is called *abharādvasuḥ*; also vs. 4, and vi. 64. 5, *mañhinā darṣatā' bhāḥ*.

‡ *maghāni* 'gift,' as in iii. 53. 7; iv. 17. 8, etc.

§ Is *pātir* . . . *sūnṛ'tānām*, iii. 31. 18, to be explained similarly, or is *sūnṛ'tānām* adjective?

restrain his might (*çācīnām*) nor his liberality; no one can say (to him) "Do not give!"\* This passage casts also light on i. 8. 8, if we remove with Grassmann vss. 6 and 7. The connection then is: vs. 5 b, 'wide as the heaven is thy might (*çāvaḥ*): vs. 8, 'just so is his liberality abundant, . . . great as a bough with a ripe fruit,'† etc. In this latter passage Ludwig translates *sūnṛ'tā* by "trefflichkeit," Grassmann by "macht," failing to make any distinction between *çāvaḥ* (vs. 5 b) and *sūnṛ'tā* (8 a). *Çāvaḥ* here and *çācī* in viii. 32. 15 refer to the power, *sūnṛ'tā* to the willingness to give.

In vii. 67. 9 our word is surrounded by words expressing the idea of liberality: 'be not sparing towards the wealthy (*maghāvadbhyo*) who with their wealth favor liberality (*maghadéyam*), who through acts of liberality (*sūnṛ'tābhis*) extend their friendly relations, who join the gifts of cows to those of horses (i. e. give cows and horses in succession).' x. 111. 10: 'unto ſis . . . . have come many acts of thy liberality.' x. 104. 5: 'most liberal help (*māṇhiṣṭhām ūtim*; "freigebigste hülfe" Ludw.), O Indra, let (thy) singers obtain through thy liberality.'

Used of the liberality of men in their sacrifices we have it in i. 121. 14: 'give us powerful horse-chariots for food, glory, liberality,' in order that (vs. 15 b) 'we may be thy most liberal (*māṇhiṣṭhās*) companions.' And similarly i. 82. 1: 'yoke thy horses . . . in order that thou mayest make us liberal (*sūnṛ'tāvataḥ*), so that (on account of our liberality in sacrifices thou mayest become propitious and) thou mayest (successfully) be prayed to.' vii. 74. 2: 'manifold enjoyments have ye given, O heroes; ye urge them (*bhōjanam*) on toward him who is liberal (in sacrificing).' Compare with these the following: i. 113. 18: 'the Dawn who with cattle, with all heroes, shineth forth to the sacrificing mortal, that one the soma-presser shall obtain in the coming forth (appearance) of liberality like Vāyu's, giving horses' (for Vāyu's liberality see i. 134. 1; Ludw. takes 'like Vāyu's' with 'horses:' the passage is not clear). In i. 124. 10, the Dawn, as being herself liberal, is asked to waken up the liberal (*prṇatō*), but to let sleep unawakened the misers (*paṇḍyaḥ*) and to shine brightly upon the rich one, leading him to old age. x. 61. 25 we read: 'let each one bestow for liberality:' i. e. in order to maintain his reputation of being liberal. In viii. 13. 8 we have the appropriate comparison 'his acts of liberality play as waters moving on an inclined way.' But how can this comparison, fit for the 'stream of gifts,'‡ be used of moral qualities? Cf. also vs. 9: *avasyūbhiḥ* 'longing for increase'; and vs. 12. In the next hymn, viii. 14. 3, Indra's liberality to the sacrificer is likened to a milch-cow. Cf. vs. 4: 'there is no god, no man who could hinder thy grantings, if thou wishest to bestow . . . . wealth' (cf. above, viii. 32. 15). x. 61. 21 (*Āçvaghna = açvamedhayājī manuḥ, Sāyaṇa*); we might explain thus: 'Hear us, O thou possessing good wealth, . . . . [for] through Āçvaghna's liberality (= liberal sacrifices) thou hast been

\* Cf. viii. 14. 4.

† The epithets of *sūnṛ'tā* and the comparison are very appropriate.

‡ Cf. i. 4. 10 *rāyō 'vinir*; i. 11. 6 *rātibhiḥ prāty āyaṇ sindhum āvadan*; i. 67. 1 *apā'm ita pravaṇe yāsya durdhūram rā'dho viçvā'yu çavase āpavṛtam*.

increased.' At any rate, the god could hardly increase through Ā's virtue ("tugend," Ludw.). For an increase through sacrifice cf. i. 88. 4; ii. 1. 11. In the same manner, i. 125. 3 could perhaps be explained 'cause him to drink the soma, increase him through liberality (= liberal sacrifices).'

Finally, we have *sūnṛ'tā* twice personified: i. 40. 3: 'let come forth Brahmanaspati, let come forth Sūnṛtā unto the sacrifice that [is followed by] a succession of grantings (*pañktirādhasam*).' Grassmann translates here "reiche Göttin." x. 141. 2: 'let Aryaman, Bhaga, and Bṛhaspati, let the goddess Sūnṛtā give us wealth.' Cf. AV. iii. 20. 3.

There follow now a number of passages containing the word which in themselves can prove nothing. Some of them are illustrated by the preceding examples. Others are obscure: viii. 9. 17; iv. 55. 9 (along with *maghōi*, and in a prayer to the Dawn to grant gifts); 52. 4 (as epithet of the Dawn); i. 59. 7 (epith. of Agni Vāiṣvānara); 92. 14 (cf. iii. 61. 4 a); viii. 86. (or 97.) 6 (*rādhasā sūnṛ'tāvatā* = 'liberal bestowal'); i. 3. 11 (epithet of Sarasvatī: *codayitrī sūnṛ'tānām*: see above x. 39. 2); i. 113. 12 and iii. 61. 2 obtain light from the parallel passages i. 48. 2; vii. 79. 5 (see above); viii. 46. 20 and vi. 48. 20 are considered spurious by Grassmann: i. 51. 2 is obscure; perhaps 'aids have overcome the aiding one, . . . impelling liberality climbed up (= took hold of) Çatakratu:' cf. end of vs. 1 b, *bhujē māhhiṣṭham*. The consequences of this liberality are the deeds enumerated in vs. 3 ff. (?). Likewise obscure is i. 22. 3, where the word, along with *mādhumatī*, is used of the whip of the Aṣvins. Grassmann translates "reich an Gaben." iii. 31. 21 is also unclear.

#### 4. Mortuary urns; by Prof. C. R. Lanman, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

The ancient Hindu ritual of cremation and burial, according to the Gṛhya-sūtra of Āçvalāyana, iv. 5, prescribes the manner of the gathering of the bones (*sañcayanum asthnām*) of the dead, and of their disposal in cinerary urns. The gatherers are to take them one by one with the thumb and third finger, and put them, without rattling them, into a jar: 'the [bones of a] male into a plain male jar; the [bones of a] female into a plain female [jar].' The text is: *alakṣaṇe kumbhe pumāñsam; alakṣaṇāyāñ striyam*; to which the scholiast, Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, adds: "A male jar is one devoid of breasts; a female jar is one that has breasts"—see ed. in Bibl. Indica, p. 221. In the same volume, at p. 323, the Parīçiṣṭa (iii. 7) repeats the prescription in the words: *pumāñsam alakṣaṇe kumbhe sañcinuyuh; kumbhyāñ alakṣaṇāyāñ striyam*.

After depositing the urn (*kumbha*, *ghaṭa*, *bhāṇḍa*) in a grave, and throwing into the grave enough earth to reach to the mouth of the jar (*yathā kumbha ānanaparyantañ nimagno bhavati*—Nār.), they put on a cover (*kapālenāpidhāya*—Āçv.), and fill up the grave so that the urn is no longer visible (*yathā kumbho na dṛçyate*—Nār.), and go home. See F. M. Müller, ZDMG. ix., p. xvii ff. and xxvi.

I have spent some time looking for further data concerning cinerary rites ; but I have found nothing in the Gṛhya treatises of Çāṅkhāyana, Āpastamba, Hiranyakeçin, Pāraskara, Gobhila, Gobhilaputra, and Khadira. The Çrāuta books, on the other hand, give some additional details. Thus Çāṅkhāyana, iv. 15, prescribes that the jar be old (*purāṇe kumbhe çarirāṇy opya*), and that it be covered with a clod (*loṣṭenūpidhāya*), and that it may be buried in the forest (see also xiii. 11). Kātyāyana treats of the matter at xxv. 8 (p. 1075). The comment to the Tāittiriya-Āraṇyaka is full of details : see R. Mitra's edition, vi. 4-7, and p. 44 ff. of the editor's table of Contents, and p. 45 ff. of his Introduction. Manu hardly touches the matter, except to say (v. 68-9) that a child of less than two years shall be buried and left like a log in the forest, without cremation and *ossilegium*. The Viṣṇu-smṛti (xix. 6, 10, 11) mentions merely the cremation, the gathering of the bones, and the throwing of the same into Ganges-water (*gaṅgāmbhasi prakṣepaḥ*).

Among modern works, Kamalākarabhaṭṭa's Nirṇaya-sindhu, written about 1612 A. D., contains a passage (part iii., fol. 145 b, ed. Benares, 1875—quoted apparently from Aparārka's Madanaratna) which prescribes that the large bones be wrapped in linen cloth, and put in a fair earthen jar, and left in the forest or at the root of a tree. The jar should be new and should have a cover. The same passage is quoted by Kāçināthopādhyāya (floruit 1810) in his Dharma-sindhu, iii. 2. 54, p. 325, ed. Bombay, 1888—cf. 52, p. 323. I give a couple of stanzas :

*pañcagavyena saṁsnāpya kṣāumavastreṇa veṣṭya ca :*  
*prakṣipyā mṛṇmaye bhāṇḍe nava sūcchādane çubhe.*  
*araṇye vṛkṣamūle vā çuddhe saṁsthāpayed atha :*  
*sūkṣmāny asthāni tadbhasma nūtvā toyē vinikṣipet.*

My search in Sanskrit books—other than Āçvalāyana's—for mention of mortuary urns with marks of sex has been so far fruitless. There is evidence, however, that their use has been common in other lands than India.

A great many urns were found by Schliemann and are figured in his *Ilios* (New York, 1881). Some show the female breasts only. e. g. no. 235;\* others show the breasts and genitals, e. g. no. 986.† He also mentions a terra-cotta vase with female breasts in his *Mycenæ*, p. 159. He found at Hissarlik "a vast number of large funeral urns containing human ashes," and thinks that cremation of the dead was general there—*Ilios*, p. 39; cf. p. 227, fig. 59. At p. 292, chap. vi., however, he states that the Trojan vases with sex-marks can never have been used as funeral urns on account of their small size. This reason is without force. The sufficiency of their size would depend on the completeness of the incineration. Some are in fact twelve inches high, i. e. as large as, for example, an urn actually containing human ashes which the Peabody Museum received from Prome, east of the Irrawaddy.

\* See also no's 46, 158, 241, 307, 990, 1291.

† See also no's 159, 227, 229, 232, 240, 988-9, 991-3, 1292-4, 1299.



Professor Putnam, of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology, has called my attention to some recently acquired urns in human form from very ancient graves in Ecuador. The urns number two or three score, and are from six to twelve inches in height. They have faces, arms, and legs, all in rude and conventional style. What is most noteworthy, not only do the female urns have the breasts and pudenda, but also the male urns are distinctly marked by the male genitals. Very similar jars appear to have been common in Missouri : see A. J. Conant *Foot-prints of vanished races in the Mississippi valley* (St. Louis, 1879), p. 82.

An unquestionable instance of a sex-marked mortuary urn is offered by the Hartt collection of the Peabody Museum. The urn comes from the vast cemetery on the island of Pacoval, Brazil, near the great island of Marajo, between the mouth of the Amazon and the Para river. It is something over two feet high, and has a good deal of incised ornamentation. Above the constriction or neck is a human face ; and below, or on the round, are very conventionally formed breasts, a navel, and the external genitals. The urn contained human bones, which are now in the Museum beside the urn.

The Agassiz collection of the Peabody Museum also contains mortuary pottery. From an ancient burial-place in Chimbote, Peru, there are grotesque human figures cowering on their haunches like the mummies. From another, at Ancon, there is an interesting urn : it is some eighteen inches high ; it has on the round extremely conventional legs and arms ; and the latter terminate in fingers, which grasp a lacrymal ready to receive the streams of tears that fall from the eyes of the rudely depicted human features above the neck.

The use of these forms would appear in general to antedate the use of inscriptions. Their purpose would seem to be, first, to show that the relics contained in the vessels were human ; and, secondly, to mark the sex of the departed.

5. Contributions to the interpretation of the Veda : I. The story of Indra and Namuci ; II. The two dogs of Yama in a new rôle ; III. The marriage of Saranyū ; by Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

6. The *Auṇasa-adbhutāni* : Sanskrit text, translation, and notes ; by Professor J. T. Hatfield, of the Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

7. Where was Zoroaster's native place ? by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College, New York City.

8. The divinities of the *Gāthās* ; by Professor M. W. Easton, of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

These four articles are printed in the *Journal*, Vol. xv.

9. Points in the syntax of the Old-Persian cuneiform inscriptions ; by Dr. Herbert C. Tolman, of Yale University.

The inscriptions often show a confusion of the numbers, a plural verb or pronoun repeatedly referring to a singular noun. The plural fre-

quently takes the place of the dual. Also the singular of a pronoun can be expanded in a following clause into the plural.

The uses of the cases exhibit many striking peculiarities. A few I insert here. The nominative is sometimes used apparently as the direct object of a verb. The accusative of specification becomes attracted into the case of an appositive, and frequently agrees in gender with its noun. The instrumental from its original signification of accompaniment passes over to a temporal sense, by denoting the association of time with an event. Often this case trespasses upon the functions of the locative, expressing the point in space. The dative has no existence in the language, its place being taken by the genitive. The ablative expressed all such notions as are the direct products of the idea of removal: e. g., it becomes the case of comparison, the case following *tars* 'fear,' the case signifying defense, etc., etc. The dative genitive shows simply a pregnant use of the possessive genitive: e. g. *khshatram manā frābara* 'he gave the kingdom to me (made it mine by giving).' The locative a few times takes the place of the instrumental: e. g., *nipadiy* 'on foot.'

The adjective can become hardened into a neuter substantive, and thus enter the relation of an appositive or a predicate noun. The name of a country is most often expressed by the adjective, generally in the singular.

The relative pronoun frequently serves as a simple connective. In this capacity its independent character is lost and it agrees with its antecedent, not only in gender and number, but also in case, thus becoming the equivalent both in meaning and usage of the Greek article.

A few general remarks on the modes may be made. The indicative is used in the recital of facts, except such forms of the imperfect and aorist as appear without augment. With the loss of this augment the forms sacrifice their own peculiar character, and take on other notions. After *mā* prohibitive the sense is that of a subjunctive or optative. The subjunctive has a general future meaning, denoting what is possible and probable. The optative denotes what is desired, in which capacity it is the equivalent of a mild imperative. In a weakened sense it denotes what may or can be. The imperative expresses a command or a desire. The infinitive in its usual sense expresses purpose, like the dative infinitive of the Veda. It has also become employed in a freer sense as the simple complement of a verb.

10. On the Harvard Semitic museum; by Professor D. G. Lyon, of Harvard University.

This museum, founded by a donation by J. H. Schiff of New York City, was formally opened to students and the public on May 13th, 1891. It is placed in one of the rooms of the Peabody Museum. A brief sketch of its contents is as follows, in the three divisions of original monuments, photographs, and plaster casts:

Among the originals is a case of about 150 Babylonian clay tablets, dating between 2200 and 500 B. C., but most of them from the 6th century B. C. Three of the oldest are so-called case-tablets. Another case contains Babylonian and Assyrian seals, cylindrical or conical in shape; and also the lapislazuli disc described in the Proceedings for May, 1889 (Journal, vol. xiv., p. cxxxiv ff.). There is a collection of 25 funereal stones with Cufic inscriptions from the 8th and 9th centuries of our era, from Cairo; and a good number of Cufic and later Arabic coins. Further, Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew manuscripts; of the first, the finest is the Gezza, containing lives of Syrian saints; it is of a thousand pages, and written in 1666.

The photographs, nearly a thousand in number, illustrate Semitic scenes, buildings, ruins, and costumes, as they exist at the present time.

Of the plaster casts, reproductions of important monuments in European museums, Assyria and Babylon furnish the largest share. There are bas-reliefs of Assurnazirpal (beginning of the 9th century B. C.); of his son Shalmanezzer; of Tiglathpileser, with whom begins the stream of Assyrian invasion of Israel and Judah; of Sargon, who (722 B. C.) brought the kingdom of Israel to its fall; of his son Sennacherib, and the latter's son Esarhaddon, to whom Judah was tributary; and many of Assurbanipal, the most illustrious Assyrian monarch. Among the Palestinian casts is that of the famous Siloam inscription (about 700 B. C.). Interesting Hittite and Persian reliefs are added. Among the casts of clay and stone books may be mentioned one relating to the sun-god in his temple at Sepharvaim; a grant of land by a Babylonian king; the cuneiform account of the deluge; a record of Nebuchadrezzar's building operations; a sale of real estate in Babylon in the 6th century B. C.; and a book of Nebuchadrezzar's (from the India House, London), in ten columns and 621 lines of writing. The large sarcophagus of Eshmunazzar, king of Sidon, from the 4th century B. C., with the well-known Phœnician inscription, is also worth noting.

Further accessions to the collection are on the way; and provision has been made for its continued growth.

11. On a recently discovered Bronze Statuette now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; by Professor Isaac H. Hall, of New York.

One of the most remarkable of recent acquisitions of the Metropolitan Museum of Art is a small bronze statuette, excavated in a railway cutting at Pietralgina in the province of Benevento, Italy, in August, 1890.

The statuette represents Hercules, young and beardless, with lion's skin, bow, and club (the last now gone), after the Græco-Phœnician concept, and in the style of art to be called archaic Greek, though its date is much posterior to that of the Greek masterpieces in sculpture.

The statuette is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches (or 104.5 millimetres) in height. The figure stands in the attitude of attack, and of forward movement, its weight resting for the moment upon the advanced left foot, the left knee being a little bent. The right arm, upraised and bent at the elbow, held the

club, which extended backward as if in the act to strike a blow. The left hand holds the bow, in position as if an arrow had just been discharged. Except for the lion's skin, the figure is naked. The lion's skin, after the fashion often seen, is worn with its head for a helmet, and the fore-paws tied in a knot about the figure's neck; but, instead of hanging directly down the back, it passes under the left shoulder and over the left arm, covering the latter nearly from the shoulder to the wrist; and then, falling down about as low as the knee of the figure, it trails a little backward, as if retarded by the air in the forward motion of the figure. The ears, nose, and other features of the head-part of the skin, are much like those of the usual representations, except that the lower points of the transverse cut at the mouth stand up and out like the upturned collar of a modern ulster. The back-bone and edge-parts of the skin are indicated by marks obliquely incised; the hind legs, with the claws, lie upon or against the main breadth of the skin; the tail projects a little below them, somewhat curved, as if blown to the rear.

The face of the figure, especially as seen in profile with straight nose, is decidedly Greek. The eyes are very large, too large, in fact, with somewhat the archaic almond shape. The cheeks are full, the mouth open, the expression earnest and resolute, not without a tinge of the watchfulness and anxiety of combat. The shoulders are straight and square, the muscles of the upper arm pretty well indicated, especially of the right arm, since the left is nearly all covered by the lion's skin. The muscles of the chest and abdomen, as well as those of the lower limbs, are somewhat rudely but not inartistically represented. The toes are uncommonly long. The whole figure presents an embodiment of physical power and capability, activity and courage; yet, except in the unusual strength of limb, inclining quite as much to the bodily symmetry of an Apollo as to the ponderous might of a Hercules.

The chief interest of the statuette, however, lies in its place in the history of art; which, fortunately, we are pretty well able to define.

The bronze, it should be mentioned, is of the peculiar soft kind, often seen in the ancient bronzes of Cyprus, as also in certain ancient Egyptian and Phœnician objects. The patina is ancient, intact except in one place, where it was scraped off by the discoverers. It has been already noted by others (e. g. Perrot, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, Phœn. et l'hypre*, p. 423 ff.) how, about the time that the characteristics of the Syrian Melqart and the Greek Herakles began to be confounded, the coins of various Phœnician and Greek colonies began to exhibit representations of this deity in rather peculiar and mixed shapes; some of the characteristics being even traceable to the Assyrian and especially the Babylonian representations of their god of physical power. It is also to be noted that Western representations of the sort, other than on coins, are by no means common; while certain representations that occur on the coins are nearly or quite unheard of elsewhere. Of wall statues, or of sculptures in the round, which furnish approaches to these types, about a dozen, more or less fragmentary, occur among the sculptures of the Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, hav-

ing been found among the remains of the Temple at ancient Golgoi. (A number of these are figured in heliotype in the Atlas of the Cesnola Collection, vol. I., plate lxxxvii.) A most interesting investigation, I may remark in passing, would be that of the transformations of the figures of Melqart or Herakles on the series of extant monuments, from his Babylonian and Egyptian ancestors down to the Greek and Phœnician colonies, and then on to those of the colonies of Rome.

But, with regard to the representations of Hercules on the coins, we are able to make a very rapid and complete differentiation, in both territory and time, and thus to locate our statuette beyond any reasonable peradventure. Not to begin too far away, nor to include too many of the extant data—for the transformations of Melqart and Herakles on the coins alone would furnish material for a very attractive little volume—I will say at once that the territory we light upon is a comparatively small region of Cyprus; the Phœnician language and rule being at the center both of time and territory; the Greek rule and the Cypriote writing being at one border of both time and territory, and the Phœnico-Greek at the other border, at least of time.

The Cesnola sculptures of Golgoi, above referred to, and certain coins of Evagoras king of Salamis in Cyprus (B. C. 410 to 374), which bear legends in the Cypriote character, represent fairly well a concept of Herakles appropriate to Greek colonies in the immediate or contiguous neighborhood of Phœnician settlements or kingdoms; but they vary in sundry well-defined particulars from our statuette and other representations of its type. All of them, unless (as is probable) some of the fragmentary Cesnola sculptures were an exception when perfect, lack the bow, and none of them represent the lion's skin as thrown over the arm. For a sufficient exhibit of these coins, see De Luynes' *Numismatique et Inscriptions Chypriotes*, Pl. IV. The regions of Golgoi and Salamis bordered upon the territory we are approaching; the coins of Evagoras can be but little prior to the time we are nearing; and these Golgoi statues, though apparently of different ages, cannot generally be much, if any, older than the time of Evagoras.

For ability to make a nearer approach to the object of our search, we are indebted to the most brilliant and acute labors of Comte Melchior de Vogüé, which appeared first in *La Revue Numismatique*, Nouvelle Série, tome XII., 1867; published also as an "Appendice" to his *Mélanges d'Archéologie Orientale*, in 1868; an essay which not only solved completely the difficulties that had been left unsolved, or worse than unsolved, by Mionnet, Gesenius, and De Luynes, but also, in connection with the Phœnician inscriptions of Cyprus, gave us the outline and chronology of the Phœnician kings of Citium, of conjoined Citium and Idalion and Tamassus, and of Citium and Idalion after Tamassus was disjoined. De Vogüé's conclusions have been confirmed and enlarged by the inscriptions, Phœnician, Cypriote, and Greek, discovered later in Cyprus; but of that we need not here take note. Besides De Vogüé's work, some of the designs on the silver objects of the Cesnola collection would call for notice in a longer memoir on the subject; but for the present we must pass them by.

This Phœnician dynasty, whose outline history was established by De Vogüé, is as follows :

The kings of Citium, about B. C. 450-410, were 'Azba'al, Ba'almelek (probably 'Azba'al's son), and a third, whose name is preserved in Greek form by Diodorus Siculus as Abdemon of Tyre (in Phœnician, probably 'Ebedhammân). According to the best light at hand, the dynasty seems to have been interrupted by an incursion—probably not in person—of Evagoras, king of Salamis, above mentioned, who in turn was driven out by Ba'alrâm, son of Ba'almelek. Ba'alrâm, however, seems not to have reigned, but to have held the title of *adon* (= the Greek *ἀναξ*), and to have handed the kingdom over to his son Melekyathon, who became king of Citium, Idalium, and Tamassus about B. C. 385. He left the kingdom to his son Pumiyathon, about B. C. 375, who seems to have lost Tamassus, but to have reigned over Citium and Idalium for about fifty years. There was another king, Pygmalion, presumably the successor of Pumiyathon, who is mentioned by Diodorus; but no coins of his reign seem to be known, even if he struck any. (Pumiyathon was a friend of Alexander the Great, and apparently independent.) Pygmalion was the last Phœnician king of Citium and Idalium, and was dethroned B. C. 312, because of a conspiracy against Ptolemy Soter.

An inspection of the coins of this dynasty, of which many are preserved in the collections of Europe, leads us directly to our goal. I shall try not to be too prolix; but our shortest way is to run down the dynasty chronologically. I shall use for this purpose only the coins figured by De Vogüé (*ubi supra*, Pl. xi.); though for the coins of 'Azba'al and Ba'almelek finer representations are to be found in Barclay V. Head's *Guide to the Principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients*, 2d edition, 1881, Plate 11, Nos. 42, 43; and some of the other coins are better figured in Mionnet, and perhaps elsewhere also. I may mention at the outset that the various concepts of Hercules on these coins are essentially local; and also, as substantially remarked by De Vogüé and by De Luynes before him, the coins themselves possess a family archaism in type (a fact which had been urged by others as an argument against their comparatively late date); an archaism that was perhaps purposely preserved and continued on account of the reputation the coins had acquired, as it is generally admitted was the case with the coins of Athens.

And first, the coins of 'Azba'al. The obverse shows a Hercules, either bearded or beardless, with club and bow and lion's skin; but the lion's skin hanging down the back, and the club held forward as if the blow had been given; the figure suggesting a movement completed, with no further forward step intended. On the reverse is the often seen lion devouring the stag, in a square bordered with the globules technically called pearls; and the legend, in Phœnician, "Of 'Azba'al."

The coins of Ba'almelek, 'Azba'al's successor, are of essentially the same type, differing only in the legend, which, of course, bears, in Phœnician letters, the name of Ba'almelek. His smaller coins have merely the head of Hercules (or else nothing at all) on the obverse;

and, on the reverse, either a lion devouring a stag, or else a seated lion, with the legend abbreviated.

The coins of Abdemon, or 'Ebdhammân, have a head of Jupiter Ammon on the obverse; and, on the reverse, the same Hercules as the coins of his predecessors; the *type citien* (Citium type), as De Vogüé calls it.

Here comes in the interregnum caused by the invasion of Evagoras: of which we find no coin of Citium belonging to Evagoras, but one struck by Demonicus, who according to some was the son of Evagoras, but, according to others, of a rich Cypriote named Hipponicus. As would be expected, his coins have more of the Greek about them, and bear a far less archaic look than those of the Phœnician dynasty. Of one coin, the obverse shows Hercules bearded, with club and bow and lion's skin; but the club raised nearly to a perpendicular, as if to be swung back by the lowered right arm for a blow of great sweep and momentum; the lion's skin hanging down the back; and the figure advancing as if on a quick march into action. This side of the coin bears also the legend, in Phœnician letters, "Of King Demonicus." The reverse shows Athene, with helmet, shield, and spear, and a *crux ansata* in the field. The other coin has on the obverse a Hercules much like the last, but beardless, with a *crux ansata* in the field, but no legend; on the reverse, Athene, like the last, and the legend in Greek letters ΔΗ ΒΑ: that is, ΔΗΜΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

At the restoration of the Phœnician dynasty we come upon the coins of Melekyathon, which at the start revert nearly, but not exactly, to the types of 'Azba'al and Ba'almelek. Soon they change to something like the figure of our statuette, the lion's skin being thrown over the left arm, but the club extended forward as if the blow had fallen; the figure standing with little or no bending of the knees, nor any suggestion of locomotion. Sometimes the *crux ansata* is in the field with the Hercules, but the legend is on the other side of the coin. It is in Phœnician letters, and reads, in its fullest form, "Of King Melekyathon."

His son, Pumiyathon (in Greek, Pumatōs, the contemporary of Alexander the Great, and probably the last independent Phœnician king of Citium), begins with a type almost exactly similar to that of Melekyathon, except that the year of his reign is given along with his own name in the legend. At last, a coin dated in his forty-sixth year gives the exact type of our statuette, and seems to be its kindred product and contemporary. It would seem that the origin of the closer or specific concept of our statuette must be due—and that not remotely—to the artist who designed the dies for these later coins of Pumiyathon. Its date must therefore be not far from B. C. 330, or a few years later than the Phœnician inscriptions, on marble, of the same Pumiyathon in the Cesnola Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Whether made in Cyprus or not, both its material—the soft bronze, identical with the Cyprian bronze of the period—and every other circumstance and characteristic, point to the likelihood of its having been made there.

It only remains to be said that, if the statuette is not unique in design among objects fashioned in the round, it is an exceedingly rare

one, in both concept and execution ; and other like examples existing must be either buried in private collections,\* or not yet exhumed from their long sepulture.

For the benefit of those who wish to follow up the matter independently, I will add that in Head (*ubi supra*, Pl. 14, No. 38) is figured a coin of Phæstus in Crete, representing Hercules contending with the Lernean hydra, with the lion's skin thrown over the left arm and thus carried, but not worn. Another coin, of Stymphalus (*ib.*, Pl. 23, No. 38), shows Hercules destroying the Stymphalian birds, with the lion's skin as in the coin of Phæstus. But the coins of the Greek colonies progress in directions different from the line in which our statuette is found.

In Gesenius' *Monumenta*, Tabb. 36 and 37 (text at pp. 284-287) are figured some of the coins above mentioned of the Phœnician kings of Citium ; but, following Mionnet, they are generally there assigned to the "incerta" of Cilicia : a wrong theory followed generally by De Luynes in his *Numismatique des Satrapies* (a work, however, to which I have not had access). Gesenius (*ibid.* p. 284) gives a number of valuable references.

The pertinent references to Mionnet are to his *Description de Médailles antiques, grecques et romaines*, tom. 7, pl. lvi, 7 ; and *Supplément*, tom. vii., pl. viii, 1, 2, 6.

See also Schroeder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, Taf. xviii, 9, with footnote on p. 276.

But for the main channel of the Phœnician dynasty of Citium the work of De Vogüé so thoroughly and completely supersedes all his predecessors that the older authorities need hardly be resorted to except for their plates ; and not always then with profit. De Vogüé could hardly have worked out the coins with no more epigraphic material than Gesenius had at hand ; and he could scarcely have done better or more brilliantly if he had had at hand the later-discovered inscriptions of Melekyathon and Pumiathon—those of Lang, now in the British Museum, and those of Cesnola, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Citations might be multiplied to show the change and progress in the concepts of the representations of Hercules on coins, in various directions--I think, nearly all the way from that of the Babylonian hero who strangles the lion to the representation in our statuette ; but, with the hint that, in my present opinion, the shortest path lies through the Persian modifications, I must here leave the matter, as too remote a branch of the present subject.

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\* The nearest I can find are in the Louvre. See Adrien de Longpérier's *Notice des Bronzes Antiques exposés dans les galeries du Musée Impérial du Louvre* (Ancien Fonds et Musée Napoleon III.), Première Partie, Paris, 1868. On page 72, No. 336 answers tolerably to the general description, and is of about the same size as this statuette ; No. 337, same page, is a statuette of silver, more like the Hercules of the Cretan coins, and found at Paestum.



12. Pathros in the Psalms ; by Professor E. Nestle, of Tübingen.

In this paper (which will be printed in full in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*) was given a suggestion on Psalm lxviii. 31. Verses 30 and 32 represent foreign princes and peoples as coming to Jerusalem with offerings to God. In the context, verse 31 can contain nothing but a development of this thought. The attempt to understand the expressions of the verse in this sense (קרבנות, not 'wars,' but to be associated with קרבן, 'gift'; קנה, 'sweet cane,' used in altar worship, Jer. vi. 20; Is. xliii. 24; ברצי, perhaps corruption of בעצר, Job xxii. 24, 25; etc.) led to the convincing conjecture that for the inexplicable מחרפם should be read מפתרם, 'from Pathros.' Pathros would thus stand as the third with מצרים and כוש (vs. 32) as it does in Is. xi. 11: cf. Jer. xlv. 1. 15; Ez. xxix. 14; xxx. 13, 14.

13. Order of the declarative sentence in the Hebrew parts of Daniel ; by James H. Breasted, of Yale University.

The investigation was undertaken not merely for the sake of the results to be won from the book of Daniel, but also for the purpose of comparison with other books which were examined from the same point of view. The numerical statements refer solely to the declarative sentence.

In Daniel, the "compound nominal" sentence, not so arranged for the sake of emphasis and not circumstantial, is found in 32.5 per cent. of the clauses containing a verbal predicate. In the simple nominal sentence, the abnormal order, predicate—subject, occurs in 28.8 per cent. of the cases. The average percentage of all inversions in Daniel is therefore 30.6.

The books examined for comparison were Ezekiel (ten chapters only), Malachi, Ezra, and Ecclesiastes. The results are as follows :

Percentage of compound nominal sentences, not so arranged for emphasis and not circumstantial :

Ezek.	Mal.	Ezra.	Eccles.	Dan.
8.4	15.0	28.7	35.8	32.5

Percentage of simple nominal sentences, abnormal order, predicate—subject :

Ezek.	Mal.	Ezra.	Eccles.	Dan.
13.0	19.4	18.6	20.7	28.8

Percentage of participial clauses showing the abnormal order, predicate—subject, and already included among the simple nominal sentences :

Ezek.	Mal.	Ezra.	Eccles.	Dan.
13.9	10.0	16.6	18.7	19.0

Percentage of all instances of inversion among all declarative sentences :

Ezek.	Mal.	Ezra.	Eccles.	Dan.
10.6	16.6	25.0	27.2	30.8

The wide difference between Ezekiel and Daniel is fairly well graduated by the percentages of the intervening books; and this fact may be taken as suggesting the inference that the arrangement of the books as in the foregoing tables is also approximately a chronological one.

#### 14. Critical Remarks; by Dr. S. A. Binion, of New York City.

I. In the Proceedings for Oct. 1889, p. clxxi ff., is an article by Dr. Cyrus Adler on "The Shofar, its use and origin." In the course of the article the writer remarks (p. clxxii): "The order of the sounding is given in the Mishna (*Rosh-hash-shana*, iv. 9) as follows: 'three sounds are blown thrice; the time of the duration of six *teqī'as* is equal to that of three *teru'as*, and that of each *teqī'a* is equal to three sighs or moans.'"

The correct translation is this: "The order of sounds (*teqī'as*) is three; each is composed of threes (or, of a series of threes). The duration of a *teqī'a* is equal to three *teru'as*, and that of each *teru'a* is equal to three *yababas* (short, abrupt cries)."

The original is as follows:

סדר תקיעות שלש · של שלש שלש ·  
שעור תקיעה כג' תרועות ·  
שעור תרועה · כשלש יבבות

The word יבבות, rendered 'sighs or moans' by Dr. Adler, means, rather, 'short, piercing cries'; cf. Judges v. 28, ותיבב אם ססרא 'the mother of Sisera cried aloud.'

Dr. Adler makes a double mistake in the following words (p. clxxi): "On Hosh'a'na Raba, the seventh day of the festival of *Sukkoth* or Tabernacles (also known as *yom kippur qatan*, the minor day of atonement)." Two things are here blended into one. Hoshana Rabah, 'the great Hoshana,' or the great day of Hoshana, is, according to the orthodox Jewish faith, the day when the G'mar Hathima, 'the consummation of the sealing of the verdict,' takes place. It is the tenth day of Tishri (*Yom Kippur*), "the day of atonement," when the sins are forgiven, and at the prayer (generally about sunset) called *Nē'ilah*, when the gates of heaven are closed. It is at the end of this prayer that the verdict commences, but the 'final attaching of the seal,' *G'mar Hathima*, takes place on *Hosh'ana Rabah*, when the various hymns and prayers called Hosannas are recited, and other liturgical ceremonies are performed. There is no authority in the Talmud, Maimonides, or Turim for identifying, as Dr. Adler does, *Hosh'ana Rabah* with *Yom Kippur Qatan*, the lesser day of atonement.

On the other hand, there are special prayers and *selichoth* for every ערב ראש החדש 'eve of the feast of the new moon'; and this eve is called *Yom Kippur Katan*. The orthodox Hebrew has thus a day in every month set apart for prayer and supplication, and the name lesser *yom kippur*, applied to this day, comes from the fact that the sins committed in thirty days are presumably less than those committed in twelve times thirty days.

Dr. Adler quotes also (p. clxxiii) the two words **שיפורא דירחא** as if from *Niddah* 38\*. But in reality only **שיפורא** occurs in this passage. Two of the commentators, the **תוספת** and **ר"ש**, *in loco*, explain **שיפורא** to mean the Shofar which is sounded at the **קדוש החדש**. 'the sanctifying of the New Moon.' Has not Dr. Adler depended too largely on second-hand sources, instead of going to the originals?

II. In the course of an interesting article in the Proceedings for Oct. 1888, p. xlii ff., Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil gives the original Hebrew and his translation of a letter written on the margin of a manuscript. In two or three instances the meaning of the original is doubtful, as in the case of the word **קאת**, which Prof. Gottheil renders "a pelican," and of the initials **שיח'י**, which he interprets "may God preserve thee, and grant thee [new] life." But the translation of **ואל תעשה לי כאחות לוטן** by "do not do unto me as [did] the sister of לוטן (Litten?)" fails to catch the spirit of the Hebrew savants of the date of the composition of the letter. The allusion to the sister of Lotan is a playful and ingenious one. Lotan's sister is mentioned Gen. xxxvi. 22 and 1 Chron. i. 39, where the genealogy of Seir, the Horite, is given: "And the children of Lotan were Hori and Heman, and Lotan's sister was Timna (תמנע)." Now the Hebrew verb **מנע**, from which *Timna* comes, means 'hinder, refuse,' etc. "Do not do unto me as did the sister of Lotan" means, accordingly, 'do not refuse (or deny) me.' In Prov. iii. 27; xxx. 7, we find the word **תמנע** in the same signification.

No doubt, the writer of the letter in the MS. belonged to the youthful savants of his age; and those who are versed in the literature of the **ספרד וצרפת**, Hebrew 'savants in Spain and France' of that period, know well that it is an admirable style of writing, and quite à la mode.

15. Note on an Alhambra vase; by Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, of Columbia College.

In the Society's Proceedings for May, 1890 (p. xxiii), I gave a description of an Alhambra vase now in the possession of Mr. Charles A. Dana of New York. I was careful enough to add at the end "I believe it to be an original Alhambra one; but the final word must be left to one who is more of an authority in this branch of art." On November 15th, 1890, I received the following note from Mr. Dana:

"I have but just returned from Europe, and it is my duty to report to you that I took with me the Spanish Arab vase and obtained upon it the judgment of the great experts. The jar is now in the Kensington Museum, where I have placed it as a loan, and where they have written to me desiring to buy it. But the judgment of the most competent is that it is not a product of remote antiquity, but has been made within the last twenty or thirty years.

It appears that there lives in the town of Eybar a very skilful potter named Zuloaga. He has made a number of these imitation vases that have deceived many persons. One of them was sold for 3000 fr., and became the subject of a lawsuit in Spain, which resulted, as I believe, in the seller being obliged to return the money. One of these vases was brought to London, and was exhibited there at the Burlington Art Club five or six years ago; and when its authenticity was doubted, the owner was ready to quarrel with such men as Mr. Fortuny and Mr. Henry Wallis; and yet their judgment was unquestionably correct. I suppose that my vase is probably one of Mr. Zuloaga's manufacture; and it certainly exhibits a great deal of talent."

We have here, then, another of those frauds which have been practiced upon American and European collectors, and about which, as regards Palestine, Clermont-Ganneau has written so daintily in his *Les Fraudes Archéologiques en Palestine* (Paris, 1886). It is not pleasant to have to proclaim these facts; but it is necessary to put Orientalists upon their guard against such frauds. One thing can be said in regard to our vase: it is a work of art; while the other modern copy which I have seen in the Metropolitan Museum (but which has never been put on exhibition) is a clumsy and inartistic production.

16. Dawidh bar Paulos, a Syriac grammarian; by Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, of Columbia College.

Merx, in his *Historia artis grammaticæ apud Syros*, makes no mention of Dawidh bar Paulos. The following extracts are taken from MS. 9 (Syriac) of the India Office in London, which I copied in the year 1889. It is impossible to tell from what larger work they are taken. These fragments were of interest to me, because in MS. Sachau 306 I had found a long extract on the conjunctions, which turned out to be Dionysius Thrax, word for word. Amira<sup>1</sup> cites him in several places, and Hoffmann had published another small extract.<sup>2</sup> In the Paris Syriac MS. 276<sup>3</sup> there is a scholion of Dawidh on the letters which interchange with one another; and in MS. Peterman i. 9 a note on the *Categories* of Aristotle.<sup>4</sup> Dawidh is mentioned several times by bar Ebhrâyâ<sup>5</sup> and by the earlier Syriac lexicographers.<sup>6</sup> I have reason to believe that he is identical with the *David Beth Rabanensis* mentioned by Abhdišo in his catalogue.<sup>7</sup> In the MS. of the India Office he is expressly said to have lived in *Beth Rabban*.<sup>8</sup>

I have attempted an English translation of these fragments. The translation is literal, and, in consequence, the diction is poor. It must simply take the place of extended notes.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 1, 7, 37, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *De Hermeneuticis*, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Zotenberg, *Catalogue*, p. 213.

<sup>4</sup> Sachau, *Kurzes Verzeichniss*, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> *Bibl. Orient.*, ii. 243: i. 518.

<sup>6</sup> Payne Smith, cols. 464, 2444.

<sup>7</sup> *Bibl. Orient.*, iii. 1, p. 254.

<sup>8</sup> Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, p. 206.

[illegible]

By Dawidh bar Paulos. Speech is the turning of the tongue and the ordering of human words which are conceived in thought, born of cogitation, pressed forward to the opening by the understanding, and brought forth by the will. It is put together by the tongue in the inner part of the mouth. It is given form and shape by means of the breath in the organs which are placed in the mouth, so that it may image in characteristic speech those things which are spoken by it, and which are pronounced by the tongue together with the teeth in the upper part of the palate, and are loosened with air by the tip of the tongue which is the key to speech. They possess vowels as the result of breathing, and with the help of the throat, by means of the rustlings of inhaled air. Songs and cantilations are produced by means of air which is confined within the mouth and is turned around by means of the teeth and is pressed out with the lips. And by the key of the tongue, as is proper, by means of a slight opening and compressing it is shown forth and brought to a hearing. By means of the voice which is used it shows those things which thought conceives, whether they be

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'fruit.'



Class of compound nouns.' There is another class which is called compound. It is made up of two complete nouns, as *bar ḥadhb'šabbā*, *bar šabb'thā*, *benyāmīn*, which is explained to mean 'son of my trouble,' *yabḥ allāhā*, *išō'yabḥ*, *māran'amē*, '*abhdīšō*', *k'līlīšō*', *išō* 'dar, and the like.

There is another kind which is called compounded of two incomplete nouns, as *k'rishud*, which is 'Christian and Jew'; *perātozmiä*,

<sup>2</sup> Bar 'Ebhṛayā, i., p. 6, line 10 ff.: cf. also Merx, *Historia*, p. 235.





[illegible]

is a unit in itself. They are called *k'thīb'hāthā*, because they are fitted for script. *Sephrā* is Hebrew ; *k'thābhā*, Syriac. *Āthmāthā* can be expressed without being written ; *k'thīb'hāthā* cannot be expressed without *āthurāthā*.

Epiphanius of Cyprus gives the reason<sup>1</sup> why [the letters] are twenty-two [in number]. In the first place, they were given to the patriarchs living before the time of Moses, who were twenty-two generations as there are twenty-two letters. Others say that according to the works which God did during the six days he gave them (the letters). The works were twenty-two in number; twenty-two letters did he give to Moses, and double letters, because of double works. As, e. g., from water came the firmament; and from the elements came the body of every being; and from light, the stars: and from other things, other things. As is said in Job, Art thou able to put our signs in the firmament of heaven?

<sup>1</sup> See the passage in Lagarde's edition of the tract *Weights and Measures* in his *Veteris testamenti ab Origene recensiti fragmenta*, pp. 36, 37, 38. The Greek text will be found in Lagarde's *Symmicta*, ii, 178 ff. In the little tract on the *Syriac conjunctions* which I published in *Hebraica*, there are a few words by Epiphanius on the "accents in use among the Greeks," to which I could not find the proper reference (see p. 168). But see now Lagarde, *vet. Test.*, p. 7, l. 16; *Symmicta*, ii, 153, l. 15.

[illegible]

Know that six letters each form two syllables when they are used—  
 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; and the other letters, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, each has one sound (vowel?).

Letters are divided into sounding letters and such as have no sound.<sup>1</sup> They are called "sounding" because they are complete sounds in themselves, and do not stand in need of their fellows for the completion of their sound. Each one of them is by itself a full syllable; and by means of the joining of these with others which have no sound all words are produced, and metres determined; and the number of the vowels (i. e. feet) of a metre of sermons and homilies is known and disclosed by them. The others are called "having no sound" (consonants), because they cannot by themselves form complete words as can the vowels.

**The affirmative letters used for designating the different persons are**

<sup>1</sup> Amira, *Grammatica Syriaca*, p. 31; Gottheil, *Treatise on Syriac Grammar*, notes, p. 6; Merx, *Historia*, p. 54.

[illegible][illegible]

ٲ, ٲ, ٲ, ٲ, ٲ, ٲ, ٲ — as *b'rā*, *b'rāch*, *b'ran*, *b'rān*, *b'rait*, *b'rāh*, *b'rē*; and as *baz*, *bazzē*, *bazzan*, *bazzāh*, *bazzāch*—which are derived from *bārōyūthā* and *b'zāzā*, and the like. Now just as one of the elements cannot form a man, nor one part a *lectio*, so one letter cannot form a word. But each one of them stands in need of all those which are its affirmative, and then they become complete.

**Question : Why is the noun placed first and then the verb?**

**Answer :** It is proper that the cause should be placed first and then that which is caused. Man comes first, and then the law. Person comes first, and then personality. One is [first] a man, and then one is said to be righteous or unrighteous.

Honein<sup>2</sup> says that Galen says, in regard to the points which the Syrians call *pūhhāmē*,<sup>3</sup> that when they are placed in difficult books those who read them (i. e. the books) do not stand in need of a leader and explainer.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently an error for عَرْمَدَة or مَرْمَدَة. COMM. OF PUBL.

<sup>2</sup> Probably in his *k'thūbha dh'nuqzē*: Gottheil, *Treatise on Syriac Grammar*, notes, p. 30; Merx, *Historia*, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. viii; Merx, *Historia*, p. 265.

17. Arabic proverbs and proverbial phrases, collected, translated, and annotated by James R. Jewett, Instructor in Brown University, Providence, R. I.

Is printed in the Journal, Vol. xv.

18. Nasif el-Yaziji's *Book of the Meeting of the two Seas*; by Professor Charles W. Benton, of the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Professor Benton sent a transcription of the preface to Nasif's work, accompanied by a translation (of the preface) and a few notes.

19. On contraction in Arabic; by George N. Newman, of Yale University.

The object of this paper was to define the principles of vowel-contraction in Arabic, and trace their action as exhibited in verb-inflection, in the roots containing weak letters. It claims that all change occasioned by the presence of weak letters is brought about directly by the vowels, and the nature of the resulting change is subject strictly to the nature of the vowels present. *Fatha* is the strongest vowel, *damma* the weakest, while *kesra* holds the middle place. A vowel derives additional strength from long quantity; any long vowel is stronger than any short, and will prevail over it in effecting change. And a vowel preceding *wāw* or *yā* has greater relative strength than the same vowel following. These principles were established, and illustrated by many examples in their detailed workings. The counteracting principles of differentiation and conformity were recognized and allowed for.

20. On Kraetzschmar's views as to the *a*-vowel in an overhanging syllable; by Dr. Robert F. Harper, Instructor in Yale University.

In B. A. S. ii., Kraetzschmar has undertaken to discuss the *a*-vowel in the so-called overhanging syllable. After a careful study of the subject, I am unable to see that he has added anything to what has already been put forward by other Assyriologists; and, on the other hand, I am inclined to think that he has accepted views of others which will not stand the test.

His statement that the province of the *a*-vowel is the principal clause, just as that of the *u*-vowel is the relative, has been a well-known fact for years, as he himself admits. His chief statements in regard to the occurrence of the *a*-vowel are: 1. That of Amiaud—accepted by Delitzsch and Haupt—that it often occurs when a noun has two or more coordinated predicates; 2. when an *a*-vowel immediately precedes in the verbal form; 3. for the sake of emphasis—after Peiser.

I have taken up all the cases cited by Kraetzschmar—in all, several hundred—and I cannot bring myself to acknowledge the last two points. Even the first has been emphasized too strongly. What I have to say here will apply to all the inscriptions, but in particular to the Esar-

haddon' inscriptions—which were not taken into consideration by Kraetzschmar. There are in Cyl. A. 28 cases of this *a*-vowel in the principal clauses—more proportionately than in any inscription noticed by Kraetzschmar. I might say here that there are also two cases of *a* in subordinate clauses in this same cylinder.

I. Taking up Amiaud's rule, we get the following positive and negative results: 1. that in 8 cases at least out of 10 the *a*-vowel is not used in these coördinated verbs; 2. that, when it is used, it may be added *a.* to the first of two verbs, *b.* to the first two of three, *c.* to the second of two, *d.* to the last of three, and *e.* to both of two—there being no regular rule; 3. that the chiasmic position is not necessarily or even commonly marked by this vowel.

II. In regard to emphasis: I was not able to find a single case where I could appreciate this reason—or, in other words, I do not believe that the *a*-vowel is used for emphasis in the inscriptions which we have, even if it had been once.

III. In regard to rule 3, that it is found in verbs which have an *a*-vowel in the preceding syllable, I would say that out of 28 cases in Esarh. A. only 2 have this *a*—or, in other words, in Esarh. *a* follows either *i* or *u* 26 times out of 28.

That it is the remnant of a mode I would not deny; neither can one affirm this with such emphasis as Kraetzschmar does; but it must be emphasized 1. that it has lost its original meaning or force; 2. that no set laws can be given for its occurrence; 3. that it does occur frequently—but only frequently in coördinated verbs; 4. that much more frequently it does not occur in these verbs; 5. that it does not mark emphasis; 6. that it does not as a rule, or even frequently, follow a preceding *a*-sound; 7. that in a few cases it is attenuated to *i* after an *i*; but 8. there is no rule for this attenuation to *i*; for, in 17 cases in Esarh. A. where it follows an *i*-vowel, there is not a single case of attenuation.

It will be seen that these results are chiefly negative; but I think that it is impossible to formulate any rules or laws of occurrence with the material at hand. Surely those already proposed will not stand the test.

It is very easy with Kraetzschmar to say that *a* is used for euphony; but no one is able to appreciate this reason. It is used indiscriminately before vowels and consonants and after vowels—e. g. especially in weak verbs, where it coalesces with the preceding vowel—and after consonants. Any vowel may stand in the preceding syllable. That it is meaningless can be seen from many parallel texts, where it is used in one and not in another.

I have noticed that in a few cases it corresponds to *ma* in some texts parallel to each other. And this would lead to the supposition that in some cases it is really copulative; but these cases are few, and the supposition is very doubtful.

21. The construct case in Assyrian ; by George A. Reisner, of Harvard University.

The material on which this paper is based was taken from the historical inscriptions of Assyria, extending from the time of Tiglath-Pileser I. (1120 B. C.-1100 B. C.) to that of Asshur-bani-pal (668 B. C.-626 B. C.). Only words written syllabically have been used. A number of exceptions to the following results occur ; but they are usually substitutions of the nominative for the construct, and most of them may be ascribed with considerable certainty to ignorant and accidental mistakes of scribes and copyists.

In Assyrian, the construct, or genitive, relation affects both nouns. The governing noun is placed last, and is put in the *i*, or genitive, case. The dependent noun, or the noun in the construct, is placed before the other, and undergoes a phonetic shortening by which the two are brought as closely together as possible in pronunciation. In Hebrew, where the case-endings are lost, this phonetic shortening of the first noun is the only sign of the construct relation ; and, on account of this same loss of case-endings, the shortening is mostly effected by internal vowel changes. In Assyrian, however, since the vowel-endings are preserved, the most marked characteristic of the construct case is the changes in these endings. Thus the same motive, the desire for a quick euphonic pronunciation of two words together, acting on two different Semitic languages in different stages of development, produces different changes.

In Assyrian, the construct case is formed in three ways : 1. by dropping the final vowel ; 2. by dropping the final vowel and making a single vowel change ; 3. by weakening the final vowel to *i* short.

Examples of 1. :

Nominative.	Construct.
<i>nadanu</i>	<i>nadan</i>
<i>kakkaru</i>	<i>kakkar</i>
<i>sharratu</i>	<i>sharrat</i>
<i>zikkuratu</i>	<i>zikkurat</i>
<i>ṭimu</i> (טעם, as if טט)	<i>ṭim</i>
<i>ashibuti</i> (pl.)	<i>ashibut</i>
<i>idati</i> (pl.)	<i>idat</i>

Examples of 2. :

Nominative.	Construct.
<i>kablu</i>	<i>kabal</i>
<i>gimru</i>	<i>gimir</i>
<i>uznu</i>	<i>uzun</i>
<i>ṭabtu</i>	<i>ṭabat</i>
<i>bintu</i>	<i>binat</i>
<i>biltu</i> 'lady'	<i>bilit</i>

Examples of 3. :

Nominative.	Construct.
<i>tukultu</i>	<i>tukulti</i>
<i>niširtu</i>	<i>niširti</i>
<i>puluḥtu</i>	<i>puluḥti</i>
<i>dababtu</i>	<i>dababti</i>
<i>libbu</i>	<i>libbi</i>
<i>shibbu</i>	<i>shibbi</i>
<i>zunnu</i>	<i>zunni</i>
<i>aḥu</i>	<i>aḥi</i>
<i>shadu</i>	<i>shadi</i>
<i>dihū</i>	<i>dihī</i>

The loss of the final vowel would naturally be the easiest way of connecting one word with its successor, and was perhaps the most primitive change. The other changes are simply modifications of this loss, due to ensuing difficulties of pronunciation. Every Assyrian noun begins with a consonant, strong or weak. So, in nouns ending in a double consonantal sound, the final vowel cannot be dropped without bringing three consonants together: as, for example, *puluḥt sharrutiya*. The second and third ways of forming the construct are the results of the attempt to avoid this succession of consonants in different classes of nouns. First, in triliteral univocalic nouns, whose second and third letters are unlike, a vowel is inserted (or revived) between the last two consonants; as, for example, (nom.) *ardu*, (const.) *arad*. The vowel that appears is the same as the vowel of the nominative, and is apparently the original vowel of the stem. This method of reviving a vowel is used also in the case of nouns whose triliteral univocalic form arises from the disappearance of a weak letter and the addition of the feminine ending *t*: as, for example—

Nominative.	Construct.	Stem.
<i>shubtu</i>	<i>shubat</i>	שׁוּב
<i>ṭabtu</i>	<i>ṭabat</i>	טוּב
<i>simtu</i>	<i>simat</i>	סוּם
<i>martu</i>	<i>marat</i>	מָהַר
<i>biltu</i> 'tribute'	<i>bilat</i>	בָּל
<i>turtu</i>	<i>tarat</i>	תוּר
<i>birtu</i>	<i>birit</i>	בָּרָה
<i>biltu</i> 'queen'	<i>bilit</i>	בָּעַל

Here, as a rule, the vowel that appears is the *a* originally connecting the feminine ending *t* with the stem, although, in some cases, probably owing to the influence of a guttural or a weak final radical, the returning vowel is changed to *i*, as in the last two examples above.

Secondly, in duo- or multi-vocalic words which end in a double consonantal sound, the final vowel is not dropped, but is weakened to *i* short: as, for example—



Nominative.	Construct.
<i>tukultu</i>	<i>tukulti</i>
<i>puluhtu</i>	<i>puluhti</i>
<i>madattu</i> (mandantu)	<i>madatti</i>
<i>tallaktu</i>	<i>tallakti</i>
<i>dababtu</i>	<i>dababti</i>
<i>abiktu</i>	<i>abikti</i>

The construct case of nouns of masculine form, from double-*ayin* stems, which have no vowel between the last two consonants, is formed in the same way, by the weakening of the final vowel to *i* short: as, for example—

Nominative.	Construct.
<i>libbu</i>	<i>libbi</i>
<i>shibbu</i>	<i>shibbi</i>
<i>shiddu</i>	<i>shiddi</i>
<i>zunnu</i>	<i>zunni</i>
<i>nashaddu</i>	<i>nashaddi</i>
<i>rukku</i>	<i>rukki</i>
<i>liblibbu</i>	<i>liblibbi</i>
<i>sharru</i>	<i>sharri</i> (Tel El Amarna Tablets)

The reason for the difference of these nouns from other univocalic trilaterals lies in the repetition of the final sound. The repetition of the consonant produces a double sound too strong to permit the loss of the final vowel, but not strong enough to require a separation of the two elements by a vowel. The formation of a double-*ayin* construct similar to the Hebrew form, like *shar* from *sharru*, is undoubtedly incorrect. I have been unable to find a single example of such a construct; and the analogy of the Hebrew, which seems to have been followed, certainly cannot apply, because the Hebrew lacks the vowel-ending of the Assyrian.

The attempt at a phonetic shortening results occasionally in a weakening of the final vowel to *i* in one other class of nouns, those of a univocalic masculine form from stems with a weak final radical. Here the construct is sometimes formed by the simple loss of the final vowel, as if the word ended in a single consonantal sound: as, for example—

Nominative.	Construct.	Stem.
<i>panu</i>	<i>pan</i>	פנה
<i>hudu</i>	<i>hud</i>	חדה
<i>rashu</i>	<i>rash</i>	רשה
<i>tibu</i>	<i>tib</i>	תבע
<i>ahu</i>	<i>ah</i>	אחה

But sometimes, again, the force of the weak letter seems to be felt sufficiently to produce the effect of a double consonantal sound. Then the construct ends in *i*: as, for example—



Nominative.	Construct.	Stem.
<i>nagu</i>	<i>nagi</i>	נגו
<i>dihu</i>	<i>dihī</i>	דחה
<i>shadu</i>	<i>shadi</i>	שדה
<i>shibu</i>	<i>shibi</i>	שבע
<i>aḡu</i>	<i>aḡi</i>	עא
<i>ḥiru</i>	<i>ḥiri</i>	חרע
<i>shahu</i>	<i>shali</i>	(ח) שלח
<i>aḥu</i>	<i>aḥi</i>	אחה

So far as I can see now, there is no fixed rule. Sometimes one and the same noun even appears with both forms of the construct: thus, for example, *aḥu* has for its construct both *aḥ* and *aḥi*. About all that can be said is that the force of the final weak letter was sometimes felt in pronunciation and sometimes not.

To sum up: in the singular, there are four classes of nouns, divided according to the forms of their construct: I. Nouns ending in a single consonantal sound, except nouns with a final weak letter, lose their vowel termination. II. Nouns of a univocalic trilateral form, except those from double-*ayin* stems, lose their final vowel, and revive a vowel between their second and third letters. III. Duo- and multi-vocalic nouns ending in a double consonantal sound, and univocalic double-*ayin* nouns, weaken their final vowel to *i* short. IV. Nouns of masculine form from stems with a final weak letter may either lose their final vowel or weaken it to *i*.

In the plural, two consonants never come together at the end. Consequently, the final vowel is lost whenever this would not mutilate the form. Two classes result: I. Plurals in *ani* and *i* do not lose their final vowel: as, for example—

Nominative.	Construct.
<i>nishi</i> 'people'	<i>nishi</i>
<i>kishadi</i>	<i>kishadi</i>
<i>sisi</i>	<i>sisi</i>
<i>lamassi</i>	<i>lamassi</i>
<i>sharrani</i>	<i>sharrani</i>

II. Plurals in *uti* (*utu*), *ati*, and *iti* lose their final vowels: as, for example—

Nominative.	Construct.
<i>ashibuti</i>	<i>ashibut</i>
<i>nakruti</i>	<i>nakrut</i>
<i>pakidati</i>	<i>pakidat</i>
<i>ummanati</i>	<i>ummanat</i>
<i>ribiti</i>	<i>ribit</i>
<i>ishriti</i>	<i>ishrit</i>

The dual termination *a* cannot be lost without destroying the distinguishing mark of that number. Consequently the construct of the dual is like the nominative.

A noun with a pronominal suffix is often put in the construct, as if the suffix were a governing noun : as, for example, *bilatsu*, *asharshu*, *shaninshu*, *abshanka*, and *shuparshakya*. The most remarkable thing is that the genitive with a suffix is not changed to the construct, while the nominative and accusative are. This difference seems only to be in accordance with the general usage ; for irregularities in the genitive are far less frequent than in the other cases. In fact, the Assyrians seem to have regarded the *i*-case as more necessary to grammatical clearness than either the *u*- or the *a*-case. Another peculiarity is that the forms of the nominative and the accusative used with pronominal suffixes vary between the construct and the regular forms : as, for example, *shallasunu bushashunu u namkurshunu ashul*. In general, the facts seem to be that a noun having its regular construct in *i* takes the regular *u*- or *a*-case with pronominal suffixes ; but other nouns take their construct forms. Examples of the nominative with pronominal suffixes are :

Construct.	Full Form.
<i>katsu</i>	<i>ahushu</i>
<i>shipitsu</i>	<i>sharrushu</i>
<i>asharshu</i>	

Examples of the accusative with pronominal suffixes are :

Construct.	Full Form.
<i>shubatsu</i>	<i>madattshunu</i>
<i>binatsu</i>	<i>abiktashu</i>
<i>zumurshun</i>	<i>tumartashu</i>
<i>shaninshu</i>	<i>sharrashu</i>
<i>abshanka</i>	<i>libbashu</i>
<i>nuparshun</i>	<i>bushashunu</i> (בִּשָּׁה)
<i>shallassu</i>	<i>zirashu</i> (זֶרֶה)
<i>shangutsu</i>	<i>niyashu</i> (נִיָּא)

The rule above holds so far that nouns with a final weak letter take sometimes the *u*- or *a*-case, and sometimes the vowelless construct : so, for example, *matu* has for its accusative both *matashu* and *matsu*. The explanation seems to lie in the old phonetic difficulty of pronouncing three consonants together ; but with the pronominal suffixes, probably for the sake of clearness, the accusative vowel *a* is used to facilitate pronunciation instead of the short *i* of the regular construct.

When a number of nouns are dependent each on its successor, the last or final governing noun is put in the genitive, while all the rest are in the construct : so, for example, *dagil pan biliya, utu'ut bit Bilit, urumi* (pl.) *isi* (pl.) *shadi*, and *rukki* (*rukku*, *rukku*) *kabal tamtim*. When it is necessary to express dependent relations in which the dependence of the nouns is not successive, then the demonstrative *sha* is used. The *sha* may refer as an appositive to a preceding nominative, accusative, or genitive ; and, being itself in the construct, it takes the following or governing noun in the *i*-case. *Sha* is used : 1. where two correlative nouns depend on a third noun, as *hurri u bamati sha shadi* ; 2. where a

noun and its adjective depend on another noun, as *gab'ani dannuti sha shadi*; 3. where two nouns in the construct relation depend as a whole, not in succession, on another noun, as *shubat sharruti sha mahazaniya*; 4. where a noun with a pronominal suffix depends on another noun, as *apulshu sha Shum-ukin*; 5. where the governing noun precedes the dependent, as *sha ishriti kalishina hibiltashina ushallim*. Besides being used in this way, *sha* in the construct is used for the sake of clearness after proper names, after plurals in *ani* and *i*, and sometimes even after nouns where it seems unnecessary.

22. Annexion in Assyrian; by Charles Foster Kent, of Yale University.

The following inductions are based upon a two-fold classification of the examples of annexion occurring in the historical inscriptions, where the first member of the example is phonetically written. The first classification is based upon the form assumed by the first and second members, and includes the cases of *ša* employed to express the construct relation; the second, upon the syntactical force indicated by the annexion. In addition to these, all peculiar forms and cases have been collated under a special classification. The following are a few of the results of the investigation.

A study of the cases in which the first member ends in *i* shows that in the inscriptions of the Old Assyrian period this *i* is employed 148 times when the first member is in the genitive relation, and 83 times when in other case-relations. In the New period, the figures are, for the genitive, 129; for other cases, 104. These facts indicate: 1. That the use of the ending *i* is by no means confined to cases in which this first member is in the genitive; 2. but that in the earlier inscriptions there are unmistakable indications of a preference for this use, which disappear later; thus pointing to a primitive usage, of which the Arabic is the type, where the case-ending of the first member was regularly retained in annexion.

The final *i* is retained with the first member: 1. when this is a noun whose third radical is weak—nominative in *û*; 2. when this is a noun formed by the addition of the feminine affix *ti*; 3. when its final radical is reduplicated; 4. when the final *i* is attracted by a preceding *i* (in the same word) and retained for the sake of euphony.\* With the exception of two or three examples, these four principles explain all the cases in which the first member ends in *i*; and also the rare cases in which this form occurs in Hebrew.

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\* Among the many other illustrations of this principle in Assyrian might be cited: 1. the change of *û* or *a* to *i* in nominal and verbal inflection through the influence of a preceding or following *i*; 2. the exact analogy which appears in those cases in which final *u* or *a* is retained with the first member of the annexion, through the influence of a preceding similar vowel; 3. The corresponding vowel which is often inserted when the case-ending is dropped in annexion: e. g. *kalbu, kalab; kirbu, kirib*.

The cases of the first member ending in *u* have been similarly considered. Here the indications of the influence of the primitive usage are even more marked. In all the inscriptions before Sargon, the ending *u* is retained more than four times as often when the first member is in the nominative as when in either the genitive or accusative; but by the time of Ašurbanipal the memory of this primitive significance of *u* has entirely disappeared. It is only in the latest inscriptions that it follows in the line of development previously marked out by the genitive ending *i*, and comes to be used with equal facility in all cases.

Out of the two thousand or more cases of annexion occurring in the inscriptions, in only eight does the first member end in *a*. With one exception the presence of *a* is to be explained by the principle of euphony, a vowel attracting its like vowel.

In view of these facts, Prof. Delitzsch's statement that "The *i* of the genitive of the first member is retained" must be modified.\* In the light of previous conclusions, this would be true, if anywhere, in the earlier inscriptions. In Tig. Pil. I., of the total 100 cases in which the first member of an annexion stands in the genitive singular, 84 drop the final vowel, while only 16, or less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the whole number, retain the *i*. Hence we may say that the final vowel of the first member is elided almost irrespective of case. From a careful study and comparison of cases I am convinced that the elision or retention of the final vowel depends upon the character of the final vowel of the first member of the annexion. Thus, for example, if this be weak or reduplicated, the final vowel is retained; but if it be strong and supported by an immediately preceding vowel, the final vowel is commonly dropped. A study of the endings of the second member discloses the surprising fact that out of the several thousand cases only seven are found in which this takes any other case-ending than that of the genitive. This remarkable uniformity indicates that the genitive ending of the second member, as in Arabic, is one of the surest tests of annexion. In the light of this induction it is significant that, among the 736 cases of *ša* used to express the construct relation, in only five instances is the noun which follows *ša* in any other case than the genitive. The *ša* thus employed must therefore be the demonstrative pronoun, standing in the construct relation with the following word, and not the relative (as claimed by certain high authorities). A study and classification of the examples leads to the conclusion that the fundamental reason for the use of *ša* for annexion is the impossibility of indicating the construct relation by the usual changes of the first or second member or of both.

Under the head of the syntax of the Assyrian annexion, the same general method has been adopted, the examples being first classified according to the syntactical force which they express, and these classifications in turn being employed as the basis of study.

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\* Assyrian Grammar, § 72.

23. The order of the sentence in the Assyrian historical inscriptions ; by Lester Bradner, Jr., of Yale University.

The way in which this investigation has been carried out was determined by a desire to aid in the building up of a historical syntax. Consequently the scope of the examination included all the principal historical remains from Tiglath-Pileser (about 1100 B. C.) down to Ašurbanipal (d. 626 B. C.), a period of about 500 years. The aim has been : 1. to determine accurately the usual order of the sentence, and to trace any development of it that should arise during the growth of the language ; 2. to account as far as possible for any deviations from the usual order thus determined ; and 3. to show the relative frequency of variations at different periods. The results were obtained by a detailed analysis of the order of each sentence in all the inscriptions examined, put into tabular and statistical form under the heads of principal and subordinate sentences, embracing in all over four thousand examples. A normal order—subject, object, predicate—was soon established, and variations from it noted and discussed in detail. The investigation shows a remarkable development in the use of inverted orders. In the earliest times they are rare, become more common toward the close of the Old Assyrian period, while in the New Assyrian they increase greatly in frequency, sustaining at last in Ašurbanipal a ratio of 78 per cent. to the number of normal orders.

The main cause of this increase must be regarded as a development of literary freedom and artistic style, as is shown by the fact that the majority of cases of inversion are found to produce either directly or indirectly a chiasmic arrangement of two coördinate clauses. Other causes, however, may be detected, such as a lofty or poetical style ; the preference for an inverted order at the end of a paragraph ; a desire for emphasis (which has a far less important part than would appear from the statement of the subject in Delitzsch's *Assyrian Grammar*) ; the close connection of the subject with the verbal idea, drawing the former out of its normal position toward the verb ; or occasionally an attempt to improve the syntactical arrangement of the sentence. The most ordinary form of inversion is to bring the verb before the object. On comparison with the cognate Semitic tongues we find that everywhere else the opposite order prevails—predicate, subject, object—although in some many variations are found. What reason shall then be given for the peculiar divergence of the Assyrian ? Is this a point in favor of the Accadist theory ? But in the increased frequency of inversion in the later period it seems probable that the influence of the greater intercourse of the Assyrian with other Semitic tongues of an opposite order may be noted.

24. Position of the adjective in Assyrian historical inscriptions ; by Carl J. Elofson, of Yale University.

1. *a.* The adjective in Assyrian usually follows its noun : this, being the general principle, needs no further discussion ; a few remarks on the more exceptional cases will suffice.

b. The demonstrative and indefinite pronouns follow their substantive, as in Hebrew. Note the different constructions in Arabic and Ethiopic.

The following are all the cases which occur of an indefinite pronoun used as an adjective; it follows its noun in every case: thus, *šarru iaumma*, Tigl. i. 67; iii. 42; iv. 55; *ilu ma-am-ma*, Ašurn. i. 9.

c. There are four cases where the indefinite pronoun is used as a substantive and qualified by an attributive adjective. Here the indefinite pronoun always precedes: thus, *mima limna*.

d. Sometimes two adjectives qualify the same noun. Both adjectives then follow their nouns, and are, as a rule, asyndetically connected, as in Arabic: thus, *mildiš kibšuti lā magiri*.

e. When one adjective qualifies two or more nouns, it follows as before: thus, *ilāni ištārātī ša-a-tu-nu*.

f. The adjective is sometimes separated from its noun by intervening words: thus, *muntāḫišu ina kāti balḫāti ašbat*.

g. Four cases are found where the noun is qualified by an adjective together with a demonstrative pronoun; in two of these cases the order is the same as in Hebrew, the demonstrative following the adjective, while in the other two the demonstrative precedes the adjective: thus, *ikalla ḡḫra šuatu*; but *ip-ši-i-tu an-ni-tu limut-tu*.

2. a. The adjective is frequently placed before its noun when the quality expressed by the adjective is to be emphasized. The principle of emphasis, however, will not cover all the cases. It is difficult to see how it may be applied to such cases as *ki-i-ni lib-bi-ku-un*, Tigl. i. 20. Although some emphasis may rest on the adjective, this is not a satisfactory explanation. It seems that we must lay down the same rule for Assyrian as for Syriac in this respect: namely, that the adjective sometimes precedes when an honorable title or quality is to be expressed.

b. The numerals generally precede their nouns, on account of emphasis. Exceptions: 1. *maḫru*, when it means 'the former,' follows its noun. 2. In the expression *pa-a išti-in*, the numeral always follows.

3. With the word *āmu*, the numeral always follows. 4. In Khors. 144, the numeral (iii) follows the noun (*šattu*).

8. When an adjective modifies the first of two nouns in the construct relation, an adjective which qualifies the construct must be placed after the genitive. Thus, *ni-ir bilā-ti-ia kab-ta, šal-mat-tu šimū ḫurāši uḫ-lu-zu-ti* (two genitives), *man-da-at-tu bi-lu-ti-ia šat-ti-šam la ba-at-lu* (genitive and additional word).

4. There are exceptions to the rule just mentioned. When the adjective is emphatic it is placed before the construct and the genitive. It is claimed by some that this is the regular order when an adjective accompanies the governing word; but there is no proof to warrant such a supposition. The normal position of the adjective is after both nouns in the construct relation; but an emphatic adjective demands an emphatic position. Four examples of this construction are found in the inscriptions here considered: thus, *kab-tu ni-ir bi-lu-ti-ia*, Esarh. Cyl. B. iii. 12.

5. There are exceptional cases where the genitive is separated from its governing word by an intervening adjective, while the construct re-

lation between the two nouns is still retained, contrary to the Hebrew idiom. There are five examples of this construction, at Tigl. iv. 1; Ašurn. i. 87; ii. 127-128; iii. 121; Sarg. Cyl. 48.

25. Esarladdon's account of the restoration of Ishtar's temple at Erech; by Prof. George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr, Pa.

During the past winter, as I was engaged in a research concerning the goddess Ishtar, I found that, in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii. 120, Dr. Hugo Winckler had transliterated a few lines of an unpublished Esarladdon text, which treated of the restoration of the temple of Ishtar at Erech. As the text seemed likely to have an important bearing on my subject, I wrote to Mr. Theophilus G. Pinches, of the British Museum, asking him for a copy of the first few lines of the text, which contained the epithets of the goddess Ishtar. These Dr. Winckler had not given in full. Mr. Pinches very generously sent me the whole text, together with the following letter:—

“London, Dec. 6th, 1890.

Dear Sir,—In answer to your letter of Nov. 15th, I enclose a copy of the text to which you refer. It is one of those which I intended to publish with Mr. Budge (see P. S. B. A. for March, 1884), but it is now very doubtful whether I shall do so or not. Should you feel inclined, you are at liberty to publish the whole text. If you do not do this, would you kindly send me the copy book at your leisure, after you have done with it? I am willing to collate any passage that may seem to you to require emendation. The text is slightly doubtful in some places.”

As the text is of considerable interest, since it gives the ancestry of the later Sargon, I have determined to use the liberty Mr. Pinches so kindly accorded me, and present the inscription to the Oriental Society.

The British Museum number of the tablet is 81-6-7, 209.

#### TRANSLITERATION.

<sup>1</sup>A-na ILU Iš-tar billi šur-bu-ti i-til-lit šam-i u irši-tim ka-rit-ti ilani-PL šu-ru-uḫ-ti <sup>2</sup>ILU Ištar Uruk-KI ru-ba-a-ti sir-ti li-ka-a-ti pa-ra-aš ILU a-nim-u-tu <sup>3</sup>ša ri-in-ti ri-i-ti ḥa-am-rat, <sup>4</sup>ru-um-ti ti-iz-ka-ri-ti ša a-na šarri mi-ig-ri-ša ki-niš ip-pal-la-su <sup>5</sup>pala-šu u-šal-ba-ru i-šar-ra-ku-uš da-na-nu u li-i-ti <sup>6</sup>ša zil-ka-at ad-na-a-ti ša-ku-ti ilani-PL a-ši-bat I-itillu.

#### TRANSLATION.

<sup>1</sup>To Ishtar, the majestic lady, the chief of heaven and earth, the mighty warriorress of the gods, <sup>2</sup>the great Ishtar of Erech, the exalted one who receives the commands of deity, <sup>3</sup>she who is loving(?), the shepherdess(?) the ḥamrat, <sup>4</sup>the lofty one, the eloquent(?), who faithfully shows favor to the king her favorite, <sup>5</sup>(who) prolongs his reign and presents to him power and might, <sup>6</sup>who is the brilliant\* one of the

\* Cf. Arabic زلق .

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an-na <sup>1</sup>ša ki-rib I-an-na bi-lit Uruk-KI bilti rabi-ti bilti-šu <sup>2</sup>M ILU Aššur-  
aḫi-iddi-na šarru rab-u šarru dan-nu šarri kiššati šarri MATU ILU Aššur-  
KI šarri kib-rat irbit-ti šakkanak Babili-KI, <sup>3</sup>šarri MATU Su-mi-ri u  
Akkadi-ki, <sup>10</sup>rum-uz ri-iš kata ILU Aššur i-tu-ut kun lib-bi ILU Bil ni-bat  
ILU Marduk mi-gir ding-ir-ni-ni, <sup>11</sup>ša ul-tu gi-ḫi-ri-šu a-na ILU Aššur ILU  
A-num ILU Bil ILU Ea ILU Sin ILU Shamaš ILU Raman ILU Marduk ILU  
Nabu ILU Nergal u ILU Ištar, <sup>12</sup>ilani-PL rabuti-PL bili-PL-šu it-tak-lu-ma  
ni-is mat-su u-šak-ši-du-uš i-mu-ru da-na-an-šu-un <sup>13</sup>a-na nu-uh-ḫu lib-bi  
ilu-u-ti-šu-nu u nu-up-pu-uš ka-bat-ti-šu-nu ISU ḡillu-šu-nu da-ru-u <sup>14</sup>it-  
ru-yu ili-šu, <sup>15</sup>ina i-muk ILU Aššur ILU Bil apal ILU Bil u ILU Ištar ilani-  
PL ti-ik-li-šu kul-lat matati i-bi-lu-ma, <sup>16</sup>gi-mir ma-li-ku u-šak-ni-šu ši-pu-  
uš-šu, <sup>17</sup>ba-nu-u bit ILU Aššur i-piš I-sag-ila u Babili-KI mu-ud-diš I-an-  
na <sup>18</sup>mu-šak-lil iš-ri-i-ti u ma-ḫa-zu mu-kin sat-tuk-ku <sup>19</sup>šarru ša ina  
umi-PL pali-šu bilu rab-u ILU Marduk a-na Babili-KI sa-li-mu ir-šu-u  
<sup>20</sup>ina I-sag-ila i-kalli-šu ir-mu-u šu-bat-su, <sup>21</sup>ILU A-num rab-u ana ali-  
šu Dur-ili-KI u bilti-šu I-dim-gal-kalam-ma u-ši-ri-bu-ma <sup>22</sup>u-ši-ši-bu pa-  
rak-ka da-ra-a-ti, <sup>23</sup>ilani-PL matati ša ana (?) \* MATU ILU Aššur-KI i-ḫi-  
šu-ni šu-kut-ta-šu-nu ud-diš-ma ul-tu ki-rib MATU ILU Aššur-KI <sup>24</sup>ana aš-  
ri-šu-nu u-tir-šu-nu-ti-ma u-kin iš-ri-ḫuš-šu-un <sup>25</sup>rabu in-ku it-pi-šu ḫa-

adnati of the exalted gods, the inhabitress of I itilluanna, <sup>1</sup>which is within I-anna, lady of Erech, the great lady, his lady, <sup>2</sup>Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, the king of hosts, the king of Assyria, the king of the four quarters of the world, the governor of Babylon, <sup>3</sup>king of Numir and Akkad, <sup>10</sup>the rum-uz-ri-iš of the hand of Aššur, the associate of the faithfulness of the heart of Bil, the appointee of Marduk, the favorite of the gods, <sup>11</sup>who from his youth unto Aššur, Anu, Bil, Ea, Sin, Shamaš, Raman, Marduk, Nabu, Nergal and Ishtar, <sup>12</sup>the great gods his lords, trusted, and they caused him to capture the distant of his country, (who) saw their power (and who) <sup>13</sup>in order to appease the heart of their divinity and satisfy their liver, their everlasting protection, <sup>14</sup>placed over him, <sup>15</sup>(who) by the power of Aššur, Bil the son of Bil and Ishtar, the gods his helpers, subdued all the countries and <sup>16</sup>subjugated all kings to his feet, <sup>17</sup>the builder of the temple of Aššur, the maker of Isagila and Babylon, the renewer of Ianna, <sup>18</sup>the completer of the shrines and the city, the establisher of the sacrifices, <sup>19</sup>the king in the days of whose reign the great lord Marduk granted favor to Babylon, <sup>20</sup>in Isagila his temple, he inhabited his dwelling, <sup>21</sup>(who) caused the great Anu to enter into his city Durili and his house I-dimgal-kalamma and <sup>22</sup>to inhabit an everlasting sanctuary, <sup>23</sup>(who) as to the gods of the countries who had hastened unto Assyria, their image renewed, and out of the midst of Assyria <sup>24</sup>unto their place returned them and established their enclosure (?), † <sup>25</sup>the prince, the wise worker (who)

\* This sign was written "a" and then the right hand wedges were partly erased. Ana is the suggestion of Mr. Pinches.

† For this reading, see Brünnow 4711, and S<sup>a</sup> iv. 12.

‡ Stem 𐎶𐎵.

sis kal šip-ri ša ina ma-ḥa-zi rabuti-PL <sup>26</sup>si-ma-a-ti iṣ-tak-kan-nu uš-ti-ši-ru šu-lah-ḥa, <sup>27</sup>apal M ILU Sin-aḥi-PL-ir-ba šarri kiššati šarri MATU ILU Aššur-KI apal M Sarru-kinu šarri MATU ILU Aššur-KI <sup>28</sup>sakkanak Babili-KI šarri MATU Su-mi-ru u Akkadi-KI, <sup>29</sup>li-ip-li-pi da-ru-u ša M Bil-ba-ni apal M A-da-si šarri MATU ILU Aššur-KI <sup>30</sup>i-šip Aššur-KI šu-ku šub-tim (?) šarru (?) u-tu-ki-rit-ti ya-a-ti. <sup>31</sup>i-nu-ma I-an-na bit ILU a-nu-u-tu na-ram ILU Ištar bilti-ya ša šarru ma-ḥar i-pu-uš, <sup>32</sup>la-ba-riš il-lik-ma i-ku-pu igari-PL-šu, <sup>33</sup>aš-ra-ti-šu aš-ti-'i--ma bit-ta-šu as-suh ti-mi-in-šu u iz-bi-ma ki-ma si-ma-ti-šu, <sup>34</sup>la-bi-ra-a-ti ina ši-pir ILU Libitti ar-šip u-šak-lil ki-ma šad-i ri-i-ši-šu ul-li. <sup>35</sup>ILU Ištar biltu šur-bu-ti ši-pir šu-a-tu ḥa-diš lip-pa-lis-ma a-mat damikti-ya liš-ša-kin šip-tuš-ša, <sup>36</sup>muḥ-ḥi kul-lat na-ki-ri li-šam-ri-ir iṣu kakki-PL-ya. <sup>37</sup>ma-ti-ma ina aḥ-rat umi-PL rubu arku-u ša ina umi-PL pali-šu ši-pir šu-a-tu <sup>38</sup>in-na-ḥu-ma šuatu biti i-raš-šu-u-ma aš-ra-ti-šu liš-ti-'i-i-ma igara-šu lik-šar, <sup>39</sup>mu-šar-u ši-ṭir šumi-ya šamni lip-šu-uš KIRRU niḫani lik-ḫi ina aš-ri-šu liš-kun, <sup>40</sup>ik-ri-bi-šu ilani-PL i-šim-mu-u ur-rak umi-PL u-rap-pa-aš-šu (?) balaḫa. <sup>41</sup>ša mu-šar-u ši-ṭir šumi-ya ina ši-pir ni-kil-tu ib-ba-tu lu-u a-šar-šu u-nak-ka-ru, <sup>42</sup>ILU Ištar biltu rabi-ti ag-ḡiš lik-rim-mi-šu-ma suma-šu zira-šu ina nap-ḥar matati li-ḥal-lik.

meditates upon all the work which is set <sup>26</sup>as an adornment in the great cities, (who) repairs the ramparts (?), <sup>27</sup>son of Senacherib, king of hosts, king of Assyria, son of Sargon king of Assyria, <sup>28</sup>governor of Babylon, king of Sumir and Akkad, <sup>29</sup>the everlasting offspring of Bilbani, son of Adasi king of Assyria, <sup>30</sup>the *išip* of the lofty city Aššur, the dwelling of might royalty, am I. <sup>31</sup>When Ianna the house of deity, the favorite of Ishtar my lady, which a king had built before, <sup>32</sup>had become old and its walls had decayed, <sup>33</sup>its places I examined, and its house removed, its foundation I left and like its adornments <sup>34</sup>with a work of the brick god I raised up, I completed, I raised its top like a mountain. <sup>35</sup>May Ishtar, the great lady, look joyfully on my work, and may the word of favor to me be established by her lip, <sup>36</sup>may she cause my weapons to march over all enemies. <sup>37</sup>At any time in future days, may the prince, in the days of whose reign this work <sup>38</sup>shall decay and this house be dilapidated (?), examine its places and repair its walls. <sup>39</sup>The writing written in my name with oil may he cleanse, sacrifices may he offer, in its place may he set it. <sup>40</sup>His prayers the gods shall hear, and length of days he shall extend as his life. <sup>41</sup>Whoever shall destroy the writing written in my name with (its) cunning work, or change its place, <sup>42</sup>may the great Ishtar angrily overthrow him, and may she destroy his name and his seed in all countries.

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Bulletin de la Société Académique Indo-Chinoise de Paris. 2<sup>e</sup> sér. Tome iii, 1890. 8°.

Mémoires. Tome i, 1877-78. Paris, 1879. 4°.

*From Rev. S. D. Peet.*

The American Antiquarian. Vol. xi. 3-6, xii, xiii. 1-3. Chicago, 1889-91. 8°.

*From Mr. H. Phillips, Jr.*

An attempt towards an international language, by Dr. Esperanto. Translated by H. Phillips, Jr. New York, 1888. 8°.

*From Pratāpa Chandra Rāy.*

The Mahabharata translated into English prose. Published and distributed by Pratāpa Chandra Rāy. Pt. 40-66. Calcutta, 1888-91. 8°.

*From Bābū Rājendralāla Mitra.*

Notices of Sanskrit MSS. By Rājendralāla Mitra. Vol. ix. 2. Calcutta, 1888. 8°.

*From the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.*

Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg. 7<sup>e</sup> sér. Tome xxvi, xxvii. 1-7. St. Pétersbourg, 1888-90. 4°.

Bulletin. Tome xxxii. 2-4. St. Pétersbourg, 1888. 4°.

*From the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences.*

Abhandlungen der philologischen-historischen Classe der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Bd. xi. 2-8, xii. 1, 2. Leipzig, 1889-91. 4°.

Berichte über die Verhandlungen. Philologisch-historische Classe. Bd. xl. 3, 4, xli, xlii. Leipzig, 1888-90. 8°.

Jahresbericht der Fürstlich Jablonowski'schen Gesellschaft, März, 1890. 8°.

*From Prof. Eduard Sachau.*

Indo-arabische Studien zur Aussprache und Geschichte des Indischen in der ersten Hälfte der xi. Jahrhunderts. Von Eduard Sachau. Berlin, 1888. 4°.

*From the Smithsonian Institution.*

Miscellaneous contributions of the Smithsonian Institution. Vol. xxvi. Washington, 1890. 4°.

Miscellaneous collections. Vol. xxxiv. 1-3. Washington, 1890. 8°.

Annual report, 1886-1889. Washington, 1888-90. 8°.

Annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology. vi, 1884-85. Washington, 1888. 8°.

Bibliography of the Iroquoian languages. By James C. Pilling. Washington, 1888. 8°.

Bibliography of the Muskogean languages. By James C. Pilling. Washington, 1889. 8°.

The circular, square and octagonal earthworks of Ohio. By Cyrus Thomas. Washington, 1889.

The problem of the Ohio mounds. By Cyrus Thomas. Washington. 1889. 8°.

Textile fabrics of ancient Peru. By William H. Holmes. Washington, 1889. 8°.

*From Mr. Max Spöhr.*

Die innere Verwandtschaft buddhistischer und christlicher Lehren. Zwei buddhistische Suttas und ein Traktat Meister Eckharts aus den Originaltexten übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Anmerkungen hrag. von Dr. Karl Eugen Neumann. Leipzig, 1891. 8°.

*From Mr. Maxwell Somerville.*

Engraved gems, their history and an elaborate view of their place in art. By Maxwell Somerville. Philadelphia, 1889. 4°.

*From the United States Bureau of Education.*

Bureau of Education. Bulletin. 1889, no. 1; 1890, no. 1. Washington, 1889-90. 8°.

Circular of information. 1889, no. 1-3; 1890, no. 1-3. Washington, 1889-90. 8°.

Special report on public libraries. Pt. 2. 2d ed. Washington, 1889. 8°.

*From the United States Geological Survey.*

Annual report of the U. S. Geological Survey. viii, ix, 1886-87, 1887-88. Washington, 1889. 8°.

Bulletin. No. 40-61, 63, 64, 66. Washington, 1888-90. 8°.

Monographs. Vol. i, xiii-xvi. Washington, 1888-90. 4°.

Mineral resources of the United States, 1888. Washington, 1890. 8°.

*From the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.*

Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Classe. Bd. cxvi-cxxi. Wien, 1888-90. 8°.

*From the Geographical Society, Vienna.*

Mittheilungen der k. k. geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Bd. xxxi-xxxiii. Wien, 1888-90. 8°.

*From Mr. F. C. H. Wendel.*

History of Egypt. By F. C. H. Wendel. New York, 1890. 16°.

*From Prof. William Dwight Whitney.*

Çāṇaka's Prātiśākhya to the Rīg-Veda. Sanskrit MS. 34 leaves.

— The same. With commentary of Uvāṭa. Sanskrit MS. [fragment; leaves 38-52; from pat. ii çl. 25 to end of pat. iii].

Kātyāyana's Prātiśākhya to the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhita of the Yajur-Veda. Sanskrit MS. 9 leaves.

— The same. With the commentary of Uvāṭa. Sanskrit MS. 90 leaves.

— The same. With the commentary of Uvāṭa. Sanskrit MS. [fragment; leaves 1-11; from i. 1 to ii. 9].

— The same. With the commentary of Annambhaṭṭa. Sanskrit MS. [fragment; leaves 1-17, to end of adhy. 1].

Atharvāna Rahasya, with commentary. Sanskrit MS. 65 leaves.

Taittirīya-Saṁhita of the Black Yajur-Veda. Sanskrit MS. 536 leaves.

Brahma Siddhānta. Sanskrit MS. 31 leaves.

Kauçika Sutra, transliterated. Sanskrit MS. 184 pp. 8°.

Taj-ul-Salatin, or "The Crown of all Kings." Malay MS. 136 pp. 4°.

The Vinaya Pitakam, one of the principal Buddhist holy scriptures in the Pāli language. Edited by Hermann Oldenberg. London, 1879-83. 5 v. 8°.

- The five Zarathushtrian (Zoroastrian) Gâthâs, with verbatim and free translations and critical commentary. By L. H. Mills. Hanover. 8°. [incomplete; pp. 1-280].
- Die Lieder des Hafis. Persisch mit dem Commentar des Sudi, hrag. von Hermann Brockhaus. Bd. i. Leipzig, 1854-57. 4°.
- Hitopadesa. The Sanskrit text of the first book, with a grammatical analysis. By Francis Johnson. London, 1840. 4°.
- Indian Antiquary. Vol. i. 1-3. Bombay, 1872. 4°.
- Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay. Vol. 1-3. London, 1819-23 [reprinted Bombay, 1876-77]. 8°.
- The Saddarshana-Chintanikâ, or studies in Indian philosophy. Vol. i. 1-9, 12, ii, iii. 1, 2, 4-8, 10, 11, iv. 1-7, 9, 11, 12, v. 1-9, 11, vi. 1-8. Poona, 1877-81. 8°.
- Journal of the Peking Oriental Society. Vol. i. 4, ii. 1, 2, 4, 6, iii. 1. Peking, 1886-90. 8°.
- Šulchan-Arukh (Gedeckte Tafel), oder das Ritual- und Gesetzbuch des Judenthums, in's Deutsche übersetzt von Dr. Johannes A. F. E. L. V. Pavly. Lief. i-iv. Basel, 1888. 8°.

*From Mr. N. D. M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe.*

- List of the Pansiyapanas Jâtaka. Compiled by N. D. M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe. Colombo, 1887. 8°.





PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
AT ITS  
MEETING IN WASHINGTON, D. C.,

April 21st, 22nd, and 23d, 1892.

THE Society assembled at Washington, in the hall at the western end of the Smithsonian Building, on Thursday, April 21st, at 3.30 P. M., and was called to order by the President, Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward. In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Prof. George F. Moore, of Andover, Mass., was appointed in his stead *pro tempore*.

The following members were in attendance at the sessions :

Adler	Bloomfield	Gottheil	Johnston	Peters	Webb
Arnolt	Chambers	Harper	Kohler	Price	Williams
Barton	Day	Haupt	Lanman	Prince	Winslow
Bates	Eby	Hopkins	Lovell	Snyder	Wood, C. J.
Binlon	Frothingham	Jackson	Mason	Ward, W. H.	Woodward
Binney	Gilman, D. C.	Jastrow, M., Jr.	Moore	Watkins	

The accounts of the Treasurer for 1891-92 were presented by him, and were audited by Messrs. Gottheil and Winslow, found correct, and duly certified. The usual summary follows :

RECEIPTS.

Balance from old account, May 15, 1891. ....	\$673.26
Assessments (155) paid in for year 1891-92 .....	\$775.00
Assessments (32) for other years .....	160.00
Life-membership fee .....	75.00
Sales of publications .....	100.08
Interest on Cotheal Fund, Jan. 1, 1891, to Dec. 31, 1891, ..	41.20
Interest on balance of Gen'l Account, same period ...	16.40
	1,167.68
Total receipts for the year .....	\$1,840.94

EXPENDITURES.

Journal, xv. 1, and distribution .....	\$366.53
Proceedings, May, 1891, and distribution .....	246.96
Journal, xv. 2, in part .....	300.03
Authors' extras from Journal and Proceedings .....	62.25
Punches and matrices .....	16.00
Job printing .....	57.75
Expenses, postage, etc. ....	44.63
Manuscripts .....	55.00
Book-binding .....	258.95
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Total disbursements for the year .....	\$1,408.10
Balance on hand, April 21, 1892 .....	432.84
<hr/>	
	\$1,840.94

The Treasurer further received, April 4, 1892, from an anonymous giver, the sum of one thousand dollars (not included in the foregoing statement), to be added to the Society's Publication-Fund; the principal of said sum to be left intact, and its interest to be used towards defraying the Society's expenses of publication.

The gift was made as "a help to the Society," and in the hope that the gift—along with the gift of the like sum from Mr. Cotheal—might serve as a "suggestion and encouragement to others to do likewise."

The state of the funds is as follows :

1891, Jan. 1, Amount of the Bradley Type-Fund .....	\$1,268.60
Interest, Jan. 1, 1891, to Dec. 31, 1891 .....	48.10
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1892, Jan. 1, Amount of the Bradley Type-Fund .....	\$1,316.70
Deposited in New Haven Savings Bank, account no. 43,493.	
1892, Apr. 5, Amount of Publication-Fund .....	2,000.00
Deposited in part in The Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston, account no. 169,336.	
1892, Apr. 16, Balance of General Account .....	407.84
Deposited in Cambridge Savings Bank, account no. 28,935.	
1892, Apr. 21, Cash in hand .....	25.00
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Sum of the last two items .....	\$432.84

The report of the Librarian, Mr. Van Name, for the year 1891-2, is as follows: The additions to the Society's library have been 73 volumes, 155 parts of volumes, and 175 pamphlets. Of gifts other than the ordinary exchanges the most important are 12 volumes and 45 parts from the American Philological Association, many of them however duplicates of works already in the Society's possession, and 9 volumes and 26 pamphlets from Professor Whitney. The total number of titles is now 4566; of manuscripts, the same as reported last year, 177.

In accordance with the authority granted by the Society, 38 quarto and 217 octavo volumes, principally serials, have been bound, at a cost of \$258.95.

The Committee of Publication reported that the first part of volume xv. of the Journal had been published since the last meeting and that the second part was very nearly ready for distribution.

The Directors reported that they had voted to recommend :

1. That henceforth the fees received in composition for annual assessments to constitute Life Members be treated by the treasurer as a part of the Capital Fund of the Society.

2. That the thanks of the Society to the anonymous giver of one thousand dollars to the Publication Fund of the Society be duly expressed in its records ; and that the assurance be given that the money will be invested and used in accordance with the wishes of the giver.

These recommendations were adopted by vote of the Society.

They further reported that they had appointed as the Committee of Publication for the year 1892-93 Messrs. Hall, Lanman, Moore, Peters, and W. D. Whitney.

The following persons were recommended by the Directors for election to membership in the Society :

**As Corporate Members :**

Mr. Irving Babbitt, Cincinnati, O. ;  
Miss Annie L. Barber, New York, N. Y. ;  
Mr. Carl Darling Buck, Bucksport, Me. ;  
Rev. Simon J. Carr, Washington, D. C. ;  
Mr. Fred'k Taber Cooper, New York, N. Y. ;  
Dr. Elliott Coues, Washington, D. C. ;  
Prof. Angus Crawford, Alexandria, Va. ;  
Mr. Jas. Everett Frame, East Boston, Mass. ;  
Mr. Henry Lee Gilbert, West Philadelphia, Pa. ;  
Rev. Chas. Peter Grannan, Washington, D. C. ;  
Rev. Jno. Baptist Haygooni, New York, N. Y. ;  
Rev. Hy. Harrison Haynes, Cambridge, Mass. ;  
Mr. Walter Hough, Washington, D. C. ;  
Mr. Caspar Levias, New York, N. Y. ;  
Miss Helen L. Lovell, Baltimore, Md. ;  
Prof. O. J. Mason, Washington, D. C. ;  
Mr. Alfred B. Moldenke, New York, N. Y. ;  
Mr. George N. Olcott, Brooklyn, N. Y. ;  
Mr. Charles Peabody, Germantown, Pa. ;  
Mr. Marshall L. Perrin, Boston, Mass. ;  
Mr. Geo. Livingstone Robinson, Princeton, N. J. ;  
Mr. Thos. Stanley Simonds, Beverly, Mass. ;  
Dr. David Sleem, New York, N. Y. ;  
Rev. Jas. D. Steele, New York, N. Y. ;  
Mr. Joseph R. Taylor, Boston, Mass. ;



Rev. Joseph Vincent Tracy, Baltimore, Md. ;  
Mr. J. E. Watkins, Washington, D. C. ;  
Rev. Chas. James Wood, Lockhaven, Pa.

And as Corresponding Members :

Mr. A. Gargiulo, U. S. Legation, Constantinople, Turkey ;  
Mr. Chas. Edwin Wilbour, Cairo, Egypt.

By direction of the Society, ballot was duly cast for the above-mentioned nominees, and they were declared elected.

Upon the nomination of a Committee, consisting of President Gilman, Mr. Talcott Williams, and Professor Jackson, the following board of officers was elected for the year 1892-93 :

*President*—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York.

*Vice Presidents*—Pres. D. C. Gilman, of Baltimore ; Prof. A. P. Peabody, of Cambridge, Mass. ; Prof. Isaac H. Hall, of New York.

*Recording Secretary*—Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Cambridge.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Prof. C. R. Lanman, of Cambridge.

*Treasurer*—Mr. Henry C. Warren, of Cambridge.

*Librarian*—Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven.

*Directors*—Professors Bloomfield and Haupt, of Baltimore ; Mr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia ; Prof. E. W. Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr ; Prof. A. L. Frothingham, of Princeton ; Prof. R. Gottheil, of New York ; Prof. George F. Moore, of Andover.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the names of recently deceased members of the Society. The record is as follows :

Professor Charles Elliott ;  
Professor C. Wistar Hodge ;  
Rev. E. W. Syle ;  
Rev. Ferdinand De W. Ward.

The invitation of the Right Reverend John J. Keane, D. D., Rector of the Catholic University of America, to a reception at Brookland, the seat of the University, near Washington, for Friday evening at eight o'clock, was accepted by vote of the Society. An invitation was received from the Provost and Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, in conjunction with the Committee of the Babylonian Exploration Fund, to a dinner to be given on Saturday, April 23, at half past seven o'clock, to the Director of the Expedition to Niffer, Rev. Professor John P. Peters, at the Library Building of the University. This invitation was also accepted by vote of the Society.

Mr. Talcott Williams, Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Directors to inquire into the desirability and feasibility of uniting with other philological, archæological, and ethnological societies of this country in the adoption of a common place and time of meeting every other year, reported that the Committee had consulted the Societies concerned by means of a circular let-

ter ; and that, with the concurrence of the Directors, it proposed the following resolutions :

1. *Resolved*, That a Committee of three be appointed to confer with the following Societies—

The American Philological Association ;  
The Archæological Institute of America ;  
The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis ;  
The Modern Language Association of America ;  
The American Folklore Society ;  
The American Dialect Society ;  
The American Ethnological Society—

for the purpose of agreeing upon a common time and place of meeting in 1894, and thereafter every second year, if the results of the first joint meeting prove satisfactory.

2. *Resolved*, That, if two of the above Societies agree to adopt such common time and place of meeting, the Committee be authorized and instructed to agree with representatives of other societies on such time and place, and report the same to the Society at its meeting in 1893.

The resolutions were adopted without dissent.

It was voted that a Committee be appointed to arrange for a proper celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the society. The President appointed the following : Messrs. Bloomfield, Frothingham, Hall, Hopkins, Jackson, Lyon, Toy, Van Name, W. D. Whitney.

On motion of President W. R. Harper, it was resolved that a Committee of three be appointed to receive suggestions and concert plans for increasing the efficiency of the society, to report at the next annual meeting. Remarks were made in support of this resolution by Prof. Bloomfield and Dr. W. H. Ward. The Chair appointed as this Committee Messrs. W. R. Harper, Bloomfield, and Moore.

On motion of Prof. Frothingham, the following resolution was adopted :

In view of the introduction into this country of numerous collections of Oriental antiquities, especially from Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon, *Resolved*, 1. That the Oriental Society recommends that records be obtained of such objects in both private and public collections. 2. That a Committee of three be appointed by the President to aid in securing such material.

The President appointed Messrs. Frothingham, Adler, and Winslow.

Dr. Adler called the attention of the Society to two new Turkish Dictionaries, Dwight's new edition of Redhouse, and the small dictionaries, Turkish-French and French-Turkish, published by the Jesuits in Constantinople.

Professor Lanman laid before the Society an interesting new catalogue of Sanskrit books for sale by Pandit Jyestharam

Mukundji, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay, and another catalogue of the same book-seller, containing a valuable list of Jaina, Hindustani, Gujarati, and Marathi works.

Professor Mason made a statement concerning the Oriental and American collections in the Smithsonian Institution and the National Museum at Washington.

On motion, it was voted that the American Oriental Society extend its hearty thanks to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Professor S. P. Langley, and to the other officers of the Institution, and to the Rector and the Vice Rector of the Catholic University of America, for their kindness and hospitality to the Society during its sessions in Washington.

The Society adjourned at 6 p. m. on Thursday. The sessions of Friday and Saturday were held in the same place. Friday's sessions were from 9.30 to 12.45 and from 2.30 to 5.30. Saturday's session was from 10.15 to 12.30.

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The following communications were presented :

1. A Brief Statement concerning the Babylonian Expedition sent out under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania; by Rev. Prof. John P. Peters, of New York City.

This Expedition may be said to have originated in a conversation held with Mr. E. W. Clark of Philadelphia in the summer of 1887. It took definite shape at a meeting at the house of Dr. Pepper, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, in December of the same year. I left this country in June of 1888. My staff consisted of Prof. H. V. Hilprecht of the University of Pennsylvania, and Dr. R. F. Harper of Yale, Assyriologists; Mr. P. H. Field of New York, architect and engineer; Mr. J. H. Haynes, photographer and business manager (the same position which he had occupied on the Wolfe Expedition); Mr. J. D. Prince of Columbia, who accompanied the Expedition as an attaché; and Mr. D. Z. Noorian, formerly of the Wolfe Expedition, who was engaged as interpreter and so forth. There was much delay in Constantinople, owing to the negotiations for permission to excavate. We had hoped to obtain somewhat more liberal terms than those provided for by the Turkish law on excavations, and more particularly a general permission to excavate in Babylonia as circumstances and knowledge collected on the spot might determine. Such liberty seemed desirable, if not absolutely necessary, owing to the impossibility of obtaining beforehand satisfactory information regarding the feasibility of excavations. The only concessions which we could obtain, if indeed they were concessions, were the permission to choose three sites instead of one, and to present the topographical map of the site required by law after we had visited the site and been able to make one, not beforehand, as is ordinarily done. No definite concession was made with regard to a division of the objects found.

The sites chosen by us were Anbar, on account of the report of the Wolfe Expedition concerning its size and importance, and its probable identification with Sippara = Sepharvaim ; Borsippa, on account of the colophon of a Nabopolassar tablet found there not long before (and now in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania), according to which the tablet seemed to have been part of the contents of a library at that place ; and Nippuru, because of the recommendations of the Wolfe Expedition and of the German Expedition to Zerghul and Hibbah (courteously communicated to us by order of the authorities of the Berlin Museum), and on account of the great antiquity and early importance of the place. Anbar was refused by the local authorities, on grounds not stated, and only Borsippa and Nippuru were granted.

It was the end of November when the permission was finally issued in accordance with an iradé of the Sultan ; and Mr. Prince and I left Constantinople the same day to join the rest of the party, who were waiting at Alexandretta and Aleppo. We left Aleppo Dec. 13th, traveled by way of the Euphrates valley, and reached Baghdad twenty-six days later. Among other matters of geographical interest noted by us on this trip was the probable site of the ancient Thapsacus, or Tiphseh. This had formerly been located at Souria, or El-Hammam, where Col. Chesney's party found indications of the existence of a bridge of boats. We found the ancient name still lingering in the form Dibse at a ruin-site eight or nine miles below the modern Meskene, the port of Aleppo, and almost two days journey above Souria. This site also corresponds with ancient references better than Souria. Dr. Bernard Moritz suggests the same identification in his *Zur Antiken Topographie der Palmyrene*, p. 31, note. Indeed, to him belongs priority of discovery, although I made the earlier announcement (*N. Y. Nation*, May 23, 1889). Each party made the discovery independently of the other.

Dr. Ward's account of Anbar led us to make a careful investigation of that site. I visited it twice, and even made a few soundings, which were, however, of no consequence. It lies east of the Euphrates and south of the Sakhlawiyeh canal, and is represented on the map of Kiepert's *Ruinenfelder* by Akra, which is properly the name of the highest part of the ruins, the eastern corner of the great wall of unbaked brick. Two of Dr. Ward's principal grounds for his proposed identification with Sippara = Sepharvaim were the division of the ruins into two parts by a great canal-bed, and the ancient palaces and temples whose outlines he was able to trace. There is in fact no such division of these ruins into two parts. The Euphrates seems formerly to have flowed about the city on the north and west. Just east of the citadel, which was on the north side, a canal or harbor ran into the city some distance, but was not carried through. As to the ancient palaces and temples, it may be said that the surface ruins are Arabic with an occasional cropping out of Sassanian. Sassanian and possibly Parthian coins have been found here, but nothing older, to the best of my knowledge. Through the debris of Anbar and Persabora it would scarcely be possible to see the outlines of old Babylonian palaces even if they had once existed. I went to Anbar rather prejudiced in favor

of Dr. Ward's suggestion, and abandoned it because I could see no ground on which to base it. A Sippara does seem to have existed on the other side of the Sakhlawiyeh, where are now the insignificant ruin-mounds called Sfeira; but, so far as our present knowledge goes, the very extensive ruins called Anbar and Akra represent only Anbar of the caliphate, and its predecessor Persabora.

Reaching Baghdad Jan. 8th, we were delayed three weeks by the governor. Here Mr. Prince was taken ill, and obliged to leave the Expedition. Here also we were joined by A. Bedry Bey, the commissioner assigned us by the government. It was the end of January before we reached Niffer, or Nufar, ancient Nippuru, at which site, after examining Birs Nimroud, we had decided to commence operations. It was February 6th before the required topographical map was prepared and we were allowed to commence actual work. The ruins are of enormous extent and considerable height. The circumference of the high mounds is about one mile. A ship canal, the Shatt-en-Nil, once divided the city into an eastern and a western half, and the former portion was again divided into two by a branch of the same canal, which ran in front of the great temple of Bel on the southeast side. Little trouble was found in identifying the site of the temple by means of its ziggurat, a conspicuous conical hill called by the Arabs Bint-el-Amir, but the excavations in that mound the first season were unsatisfactory, and without much result. In a neighboring mound, however, was found a brick stamp of Naram Sin. One of the northern mounds on the eastern or temple side yielded a few Assyrian tablets, among which were two important ones of Ashur-etil-ilani. A fair supply of tablets was unearthed in the southern mound on the eastern side, principally of the Hammurabi dynasty, and of the kings following Nebuchadnezzar, from Nabonidus to Artaxerxes. The western half of the city yielded nothing of any importance, unless we except Hebrew bowls, which were found in numbers. Pottery, coffins, and minor objects were discovered everywhere in great quantities.

Early in April, 1889, when we had excavated but two months, an end was put to our work by the treachery of the Arabs, growing out of the conduct of one of the Commissioner's Turkish guards in shooting an Arab who was trying to steal by night the mules of the guard. Our camp was burned, we were robbed, and a blood-feud was established against us. So closed the first year. Mr. Haynes, having been appointed Consul, remained at Baghdad with Mr. Noorian; the rest of us returned by the route by which we had come.

In spite of this seeming failure, and the great obstacles opposed to our return, the Committee of the Babylonian Exploration Fund resolved to continue excavations at Niffer, and sent me back with instructions to do so if it was in any way possible; otherwise I was to make arrangements to excavate at some other site, probably Mugheir=Ur of the Chaldees. In the meantime a cholera epidemic was ravaging Irak.

I left America in August, proceeding at once to Constantinople. There I was delayed six weeks, because the Governor-General of Baghdad determined that I should not return to Niffer, for fear of unpleas-

ant consequences for which he might be held responsible. Hamdy Bey, the Director of the Imperial Museum, labored hard to assist me to return. I was promised permission to excavate at Mugheir as an additional locality, but a confusion of the maps as to the pashalik in which it was situated frustrated the fulfilment of this promise.

This time I went by way of Beirout, where I was joined by Dr. Selim Aftimus, a graduate of the Protestant Syrian College, who accompanied me as physician, and in order to make botanical collections. Traveling by way of Damascus and Palmyra, we struck the Euphrates at Deir. Kiepert's map for this region is based on the maps of the English Euphrates expedition under Chesney, which again are based upon report, not upon survey or personal observation. Chesney represented a sort of wadi as running from Rakka, the first station after Palmyra, to Deir, thus forming a natural road to that place. No such wadi exists, and the ancient road does not seem to have reached the Euphrates at that point. The old Roman road can be traced to the hot springs of Sukhne, two stations beyond Palmyra, and several mile-stones are still in place. From this point one road led to the north through Reşafa, reaching the Euphrates at Rakka. The ancient road to Babylonia is more difficult to determine. Sixteen hours beyond Sukhne on the present road to Deir is a well and station called Kaḇaḇib. The well is ancient, and there are remains of an ancient aqueduct and reservoir. A road evidently passed through this point. But from here the road seems to have led, not to Deir, but to Meyadin, one day's journey south of Deir. This route is still used by the Arabs, and the Saracen castle of Reḥaba marks the point at which it debouches on the Euphrates valley. This was the ancient route to Circesium and the valley of the Khabour. A day's journey below Reḥaba on the Euphrates is an old Palmyrene ruin, afterwards repaired by Salaḥ-uddin, and hence known as Salaḥiyeh. This marks, I think, the point at which a direct road from Sukhne debouches on the Euphrates, corresponding to the northern route by Reşafa. By such a road caravans to Babylonia would have saved three days over the present road by Deir, or two days over the road by Reḥaba.

On the journey down I noticed on the hills north of Arak and Sukhne a few buṭm trees; and on the return journey further inquiry elicited the fact that they were the outposts of an extensive forest. In 1890 Dr. Post of Beirout penetrated this region, and found such a forest in existence to the north of Palmyra.

I reached Baghdad December 16th, 1889. A change of governors at this time facilitated the execution of our plans, and by the beginning of January we were at Niffer. Local authorities did, however, oppose our return to that place, and it was only by the use of some stratagem, and in direct disobedience to the commands of the mutasserif of Hillah, that we succeeded in accomplishing our purpose. Once there, we felt able to hold our own by treaties with the tribes, although the government notified us that it would not be responsible for our safety. A more serious difficulty was the lack of water, for the Euphrates had entirely deserted its bed, and left the Affek marshes by Niffer absolutely

dry. For a long time we were obliged to subsist on a scanty supply of bad water from wells dug in the dry canal beds. The drought also seriously affected our food supplies and our transport. Then followed a deluge of rain, the like of which had not been known within the memory of man. This did much damage to our trenches, and enforced a direct loss of two weeks' time. The season was unhealthy. On the day of our arrival Dr. Aftimus was taken with typhoid fever, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he was transported alive to Baghdad by Mr. Noorian, who was absent two weeks on this duty. Mr. Haynes, also, who had taken a furlough from the consulate to accompany me, was obliged by his health to leave a month before we closed work.

We worked under high pressure, with a force of 400 men, since it was absolutely essential to obtain tangible results rapidly. We continued the excavations until the middle of May, and it is my opinion that with proper care excavations can be conducted in Babylonia through the whole summer. We naturally found ourselves hampered by the disaster of the previous year, which had whetted the taste for plunder among the surrounding Arabs: and the tribes to the north never relinquished their claim against us for blood, on account of the thief killed by the Turkish *zaptiyeh*. The ravages of cholera, however, had worked in our favor, by giving us the reputation of powerful and dangerous magicians.

Our principal work was done on the temple. This was enclosed by a wall of unbaked brick, still standing to a height of 19 metres; it is 15 metres thick at the bottom, and 9 metres at the top. It was intended to be 200 metres square, but by an error in the eastern angle two sides were somewhat longer. Within this wall, on the southeast side, was another wall, and beyond this another, so that one advanced by terraces to the ziggurat, which was three stories in height, with remains of a brick structure on top. The ziggurat was somewhat irregular in structure, buttressed on all four sides, of unbaked brick. The buttresses were built against and largely covered an earlier plain rectangular structure, which was faced in the lower stories with baked brick with the stamp of Kurigalzu king of Babylon. This mass of solid material was 24 metres in height. On the northeast, southeast, and southwest sides were suites of chambers, on the northwest great corridors for the most part. The walls were often stuccoed. The whole was roughly oriented (12 points off the true compass directions), with the corners to the cardinal points. No inscribed cylinders were found in the corners of the ziggurat. The oldest restoration or construction, as shown by the inscriptions discovered, was that of Sargon of Agane, the latest that of Esarhaddon of Assyria. Fragments of diorite statues were found, similar to those of Tello. Numerous inscriptions, chiefly identical, were found of a hitherto unknown king of the Akkadian dynasty, Urmush or Erimush or Alu-Sharshid. Outside of the great wall on the southeast was a small shrine erected by Amar-Sin, king of Ur. Beyond this was a line of booths or small chambers on the edge of the canal. The stock of one of these was found intact, consisting of votive inscriptions on feldspar, malachite, lapis lazuli, agate, ivory.

glass, and magnesite from Eubœa. The glass was made to represent lapis lazuli and turquoise, and was colored with cobalt and copper. The inscriptions were of the Cossæan dynasty, and belonged to Burnaburiash, Kurigalzu, Tukulti-Bel, and one or two more hitherto unknown kings. Small clay figurines of Bel, Ishtar, musicians, boars, lions, camels, horses, elephants, and the like, as well as immense numbers of phalli of all forms, conventional and gross, were found on all the mounds. A few very ancient tablets were found on the temple hill.

On the western side of the canal we unearthed an interesting palace of great size. Close to this was discovered a large deposit of tablets of the Cossæan dynasty, containing chiefly temple accounts. Further south on the same hill we found an immense deposit of tablets, going back as far as Amar-Sin, king of Ur, whose seal appears ten times on the cover of one tablet. The deposits of tablets on the western hill were at a depth of 10 to 13 metres below the proper surface of the hills. The upper stratum on that side of the canal belonged to the earlier years of the Caliphate.

An examination of the hills in the neighborhood of Niffer, such as Abu Jowan and Drehem, showed them to be sepulchral. An examination of Zibliyeh, just visible from Niffer to the north, proved this to be the ruin of a Parthian tower, apparently erected for the defense and control of a canal center.

Leaving Niffer toward the end of May, accompanied by Mr. Noorian, I journeyed to the south, supplementing a shorter trip made in the previous year. Delehem, a conspicuous mound, and hence regarded as of great importance, proved very disappointing. It is apparently sepulchral. Bismya, on the other hand, turned out to be the ruins of an old Babylonian city of great size. It lay on the Shatt-en-Nil. Serasoubli, given on Kiepert's map, I could not find. Hammam, reported to be a ziggurat, and identified by Hommel with the important city of Nisin, was found on examination to be a tower of defense at a canal center. I think it more probable that we should look for Nisin at Bismya or Yokha. The latter is one of the most ancient and important cities of that country. Close to this lie the ruin-mounds of Ferwa and Abu Adham, not found on any map. At the latter of these I discovered an ancient building with a fine colonnade of brick columns. An hour away lies Umm-el-Akarib, a very ancient necropolis. This is the Moulagareb of de Sarzec, and was incorrectly described by him as an ancient city. Dr. Ward detected the real nature of these remains. This whole complex of ruins shows the same influences as the not far distant Tello. It also lies on the Shatt-en-Nil.

Tel Ede, which some travelers described as a ziggurat, proved to be a sand hill, or rather a huge mass of soft sandstone, disintegrating on the surface into fine sand. Nuffayji, a few hours distant, close to Warka, seems to be a hill, or rather a series of hills, of the same sort. The Shatt-en-Nil I found to rejoin the Euphrates at Warka, where its bed is still navigable.

I twice visited Tello, and examined the excavations with some care. Astonishing results have here been obtained from very slight excava-



tions. The amount of earth removed is very small, and the trenches are comparatively very shallow. Excepting in a well and one other small excavation, no depth has been reached, and much of the hill seems yet untouched, not to speak of the vast extent of surrounding low hills. It seems probable that more remains to be discovered.

Abu-Shahreïn = Erîdu, erroneously placed by Delitzsch (in *Wo lag das Paradies*) on the eastern side of the Euphrates, I identified with a ruin-mound now known as Nowawis, visible from the summit of the ziggurat of Ur (Mugheir) west of south, on the very edge of the Arabian plateau. The name Abu-Shahreïn, 'father of two months,' seems to have dropped out of use. Lying on the surface at Mugheir I found several inscribed stones of Amar-Sin and Ur-Gur, more or less defaced by the labors of superstitious Arabs. Mugheir is beginning to be used as a quarry for bricks, several piles of which covered with bitumen were heaped up ready for transportation. Opposite it on the Euphrates lies the flourishing town of Nasriyeh, the capital of a sanjak, but not yet entered on European maps. I presume that Mugheir contributed much of the material for the construction of this city.

Samawa, located in Kiepert's map on Shatt 'Ateshan, is really situated on both banks of the Euphrates, about an hour below the mouth of that canal. Many of the names given on Kiepert's map along the course of the 'Ateshan canal and on the Bahr-i-Nejef I could not find, while some are incorrectly given—as, for example, Umm-er-Ratt, for Umm-er-Roghlat, 'mother of the marsh-grass.' The "ruins of 'Asaja" turned out to be a pebble hill. There has also been much change in the canals, lakes, and marshes of this region. The deep eastern part of the Bahr-i-Nejef, the ancient Assyrium Stagnum, which was a lake in a depression in the Arabian plateau, has been drained, and is now being turned into gardens for the town of Nejef. They are watered by a small stream carried underground from the Saldeh canal beneath the city of Nejef. Much of the Abu Nejm marsh has been drained. The great Rumahiyeh canal is dry. Umm-el-Baghour, marked as a mere station on Kiepert's map, has robbed Diwaniyeh of a large part of its population and importance. A change of another description is the disappearance of the ruins of Kufa, described by former travelers as very important. Kufa has been built into Nejef, and at the present moment the inhabitants of Nejef are engaged in digging up the very foundation walls for building purposes, so that shortly no vestige of the old Arab capital will remain. As far as I could learn, the only inscriptions found in these destructive excavations have been Kufic coins. A week later, visiting once more the site of Babylon, I found there a similar activity, for the government had contracted with the heads of neighboring villages to furnish bricks from the ruins to construct a new dam to control the Hindiyyeh canal. Hamdy Bey has labored to prevent such vandalism, but Babylon is remote from Constantinople.

Such, in a general way, was the work of the expedition, with some of its results. In justice to the Turkish government, it ought to be said that to excavate at Niffer is as though one undertook excavations in

this country in some region occupied by wild Indian tribes. Full protection cannot be afforded. Hamdy Bey, Director of the Imperial Museum at Stamboul, showed throughout a full appreciation of the obstacles encountered and risks run in our work, and in consideration of the peculiar dangers and hardships of the expedition, our losses, and the great cost of the work, the Sultan made a special gift to the University of Pennsylvania of a portion of the objects found.

2. The work of the Popes for the advancement of Oriental learning anterior to the Propaganda ; by Rev. Prof. H. Hyvernat, of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

Professor Hyvernat gave a brief and popular historical sketch of what had been done by the Catholic church, under the patronage of the popes, for Oriental learning, down to the time of the institution, in 1622, of the *Congregatio de propaganda fide*, usually called the Propaganda.

The object had in view by the church was the purely practical one of propagating the gospel and extending the sway of Christianity. At first the Oriental languages were learned by the missionaries only at the scenes of their labors ; later it was found advisable to cultivate them within the confines of Christendom.

The first works mentioned were an Arabic version of the Scriptures, made in the ninth century by Juan, archbishop of Seville ; and, in the twelfth century, a translation of the Koran, made at the instance of Peter, abbot of Cluny. Also Humbert de Romans, superior of the Dominicans at the end of the thirteenth century, made his monks add Arabic and other tongues of unbelievers to their Greek and Hebrew. But the greatest promoter of Oriental studies of that period was doubtless the celebrated Raymond Lully. He caused the establishment in 1275 of a convent in Majorca for teaching Arabic and training missionaries for work among the Mohammedans ; and in 1311, at his instigation, Clement V., at the council of Vienne, issued a decree for the erection of schools of Oriental languages in the four university cities of Paris, Oxford, Salamanca, and Bologna, and in the pontifical Palatine school. In the fifteenth century, as noted by Burckhardt in his *Renaissance in Italy*, began, under difficulties, a more serious study of Hebrew. Giannozzo Manetti, of Florence, was encouraged by Nicholas V. to translate the Psalms from the original ; and he made a collection of Hebrew manuscripts which is still preserved in the Vatican library. Sixtus IV. (1471-84), in adding to that library, had in his service *scriptori* for Hebrew as well as for Greek and Latin.

Doubtless the favor shown by Nicholas V. and other popes to the Jews expelled from Spain contributed to the early diffusion of Hebrew printing in Italy : this began in 1475 at Reggio, and for many years supplied the other countries of Europe with Hebrew books. In 1488 the first complete edition of the Hebrew Bible appeared, and in 1518 Felix Pretensis, Hebrew professor at Rome, dedicated to Leo X. the first Rabbinical Bible, issued by the Bomberg press at Venice ; further,

in 1520 the same pope approved the *Biblia Polyglotta Complutensis*, completed by Cardinal Ximenes in 1517. A polyglot Psalter, by the Dominican Giustiniani, was published at Genoa in 1518, and is one of the very earliest examples of the printing of Arabic.

The Venetians, owing to their exceptional facilities, were leaders in the revival of Arabic studies, and translated with success the chief medical works of the Arabians. But the first Arabic press was planned by Julius II., and begun at his cost; and it was formally dedicated by Leo X., in 1514. Thenceforward the popes permitted the patriarch of the Maronites to report to Rome in Arabic.

Certain Abyssinian priests who came to Rome at the beginning of the sixteenth century taught the Ethiopic to John Potken of Cologne, who in 1518 produced at Rome an Ethiopic Psalter, and Song of Solomon; and in 1548 the Ethiopic New Testament was printed there by two Abyssinian priests.

In 1515, three Maronite legates came to Rome, and during their stay there of nearly a year they taught Syriac to Theseus Ambrosius of Viterbo. To him we owe the first Syriac grammar, published at Pavia in 1539. He was also the teacher of Widmanstadt. Thirteen years later came a Jacobite priest, Moses of Mardin, bringing a specimen manuscript of the Syriac New Testament to be printed. He went to Vienna to see Widmanstadt, and the latter, with the help of Postel, a Frenchman, caused the first Syriac movable types to be prepared; and they brought out the New Testament at Vienna in 1555, at the cost of the emperor Ferdinand.

In 1563, a patriarch of Echmiadzin sent his secretary Abgar to Pius IV., and the latter caused a set of Armenian characters to be designed and cast under the direction of Abgar. From Rome Abgar proceeded to Venice, and there in 1565 he produced the Psalms, the first Armenian printed book. As a result of this beginning, several Armenian printing-offices were established in Rome, Milan, Lemberg, Paris, New Julfa, etc.

Though the popes had long given privileges and subsidies to printing establishments, Paul III., to have one of his own, established that of the Apostolic Chamber, and Pius IV. supplied it with sundry fonts of Oriental type, while Gregory XIII. added others. Sixtus V. founded yet another pontifical office, called the Vatican press. The Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Chaldaic, and Armenian works printed at these various offices, intended for the use of the missions, have become extremely rare, and in part lost altogether.

Other Oriental printing offices were set up by the cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici, under the direction of the distinguished scholar J. B. Raimondi of Cremona; and by the famous Savari de Brèves; from the latter proceeded an Arabic version of Bellarmin's catechism, and an exquisite Arabic Psalter; it was a little later transferred to Paris.

A pontifical institution which contributed more than all others combined to the development of Oriental learning, by the great number of scholars which it produced, was the Maronite College. As this has flourished especially since the establishment of the Propaganda, only

its origin concerns us here. It grew out of the sending of two Jesuit missionaries to the Maronite patriarch by Gregory XIII. in 1578, and the coming in return of two Maronite students to pursue their theological studies at Rome. Thereupon Gregory founded a hospice for pilgrims of their nation, and a college for the training of missionaries. It was erected in 1584; and soon Victor Shalak and Gabriel Sionita began the long series of Maronite savants which counts such names as those of Faustus Naïron, Abraham Echellensis, Mubarak (better known as Benedetti), and finally the immortal authors of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, and of other works from the pens of the Assemanis.

On the other hand, the Maronite church thus came to be the first in the Orient to possess a printing establishment. This was located in the convent of St. Anthony at Khuzeyah, in the Bshereh, not far from the convent of Canobin, where the patriarch resides. In 1585 went forth from it the Karshunic edition of the Psalms, believed to be the first Christian book printed in Turkey (it was reprinted in 1610, and more recently by Lagarde, from a rare specimen of the edition of 1610 preserved in the Library of Nuremberg).

Professor Hyvernât also announced that he had just received, through the Dominican missionaries at Van and Mr. Davey, English consul, a new Armenian cuneiform inscription. It contains ten lines, fairly preserved. It is engraved on a stele which is now in the Korshûnli mosque of Van. It is dedicated to the god Khaldi by Menuos, a contemporary of king Romman-Nisor III. (811-883 B. C.).

3. Concerning a standard language, or the best representative, of the Bantu family: a criticism of Rev. J. Torrend's estimate of the Tonga language; by Rev. Lewis Grout, of West Brattleboro, Vt.

Being of late engaged in revising my *Grammar of the Zulu Language* for a new edition, I have been much interested in every new work bearing either upon this or upon any other member of the great family to which the Zulu belongs. As among these new works, I have before me *A Comparative Grammar of the South African Bantu Languages*, etc., by J. Torrend, S. J., of the Zambezi Mission—a work of nearly 400 large pages, published by Trübner & Co., London, 1891. The book, in its outer material form and execution, is gotten up in fine style, leaving nothing in respect to paper, type, printing, or binding to be desired. But in respect to Bantu scholarship, or as a linguistic authority on the subject of which it treats, I am sorry to say that it is far from being what it ought to be, or might have been. One of the author's greatest mistakes, a primary, fundamental error, lies in his alleged choice of a standard with which to make his comparisons. On opening his book. I was struck at once with surprise to find that he had not only ignored the Zulu, or "Zulu-Kafir," as it is sometimes called, together with all the other better specimens of the Bantu family, but had actually named one of the poorest of all—a language most defective, ill-defined, mixed, and lacking in classic character (as the Tonga, by all good Bantu schol-

ars, is known to be, if they know aught about it)—as “the standard language” (p. xxvii), “so as to borrow examples from it for all general laws throughout the work” (p. 1). And again (p. 1), “Tonga is the one which, on the whole, best represents the peculiar features of the whole group” of the Bantu family. And this, his taking, or alleging that he takes, the Tonga as a “standard,” is all the more surprising from its being plain that his knowledge of the Tonga must be very limited and uncertain; since he tells us that nothing of importance has ever been published on that language, and that all he knows about it is what he has “learned from three Zambezi boys,” far from their home, about whose identity as real Tongas, or as speaking the Tonga vernacular, it is evident there was much good reason to doubt. Thus, in the Introduction (p. xxvi) he says: “I learned Tonga from three Zambezi boys, whom I shall mention hereafter,” etc. Speaking of the sources of his information he says: “This, again, [the Tonga] is an important cluster, on which nothing worth notice has yet been published. I take Tonga as the standard language throughout this work. I learned what I know of it in 1884 from three natives who had come down to the Cape Colony from the interior,” etc. One of these, he says, belonged to those Karanga who crossed over to the north of the Zambezi when Mosilikazi drove them out from Matabele-land: “He pretended to speak pure Tonga like the other two, saying, all the subjects of Wange have learned to speak this language since they crossed the Zambezi, though they all know Karanga also.” The second of these boys belonged to the Lea tribe. “His own native language was Lea,” though he spoke the Tonga also. The third was one of the independent Tonga. His pronunciation was clear and distinct, though, “unfortunately, he was too young to give much information, being at the time only thirteen or fourteen years of age” (p. xxvii). Indeed, Mr. Torrend admits, in his Appendix (p. 288), that his “informants were not the best I (he) could have wished for,” and adds that the great reason for his being “encouraged” to give some of their sentences as “specimens of the Tonga” was that “the thought is shaped otherwise than it would be in English”!

I have referred above to the character and condition of the Tongas, and of the language they speak, as having no fixed national character. For these and other reasons, it is easy to believe that they can hardly fail to be rooted out, absorbed, displaced, at an early date, by their stronger and better cognates. Indeed, there can hardly be a doubt that the present better elements of their language are such as have come in, and are coming in, through the superior, masterful, molding influences by which they have been and are still surrounded, especially from the Zulus in the South and among themselves.

In an able article on Africa, in Funk & Wagnall's new *Encyclopedia of Missions* (i. 17, 18), we find the Tongas put down, not as an independent tribe, a nation, or a united and compact people of any considerable size or particular note, but as fragmentary, servile, dependent, and dwelling in districts belonging to others, especially in Gaza-land, the late Umzila's kingdom. Thus, in speaking of that “land” and its inhabitants, this work refers to the name Tonga as “applied in a collec-

tive sense to the tribes originally inhabiting the land, and who were conquered by the northern Zulus, or Landins, under Umzila ;" and it says : "The Zulu language is spoken by a great majority of the people, and it seems to be the policy of the king to enforce the teaching of that language throughout his dominions."

The Swiss missionary, Berthoud, speaking of the Magwamba, who may number "several hundred thousand," whose native land extends from Zulu land to Sofala, perhaps to the Zambezi, and inland some 300 miles from the ocean, says this large tribe has been sometimes called Amatonga or Batonga : that is, Tongas ; but "that name is somewhat improper, because it has been given not only to Gwamba people, but also to different tribes which are not of the same blood" (*Grammatical Note on the Gwamba Language*, pp. 1, 2).

A Scotch missionary of the Livingstonia mission, speaking of the "Languages of Nyasa-Land," says : "The Tonga language is spoken by those belonging to the tribe of the same name who are enslaved by the Ngoni ; also by the remaining Tongas who live in the vicinity of Bandawe," . . . where Nyanja, the school language, "is quickly displacing Tonga, without any detriment to the people" (*Missionary Review of the World*, 1891, p. 812).

The relative importance of the Tonga people and language, in the opinion of the best Bantu scholars, as compared with the Zulu, not to say most other Bantu tribes and languages, is indicated in the fact that Dr. Cust's formal account of the Tongas is finished in eight lines (*Modern Languages*, etc., p. 329) ; or, if we include his account of the "Toka, *alias* Tonga, in the central basin of the Zambezi," we have nine lines more (ib. p. 322) ; while that of the Zulu fills more than two pages (ib. pp. 299-301). Nor is the Doctor otherwise than quite right where he says (p. 308) that, when the Zulus would speak "contemptuously" of any people, they are accustomed to call them "Tongas," a term they use "for all inferior races."

From the fact that Mr. Torrend is not mentioned in Dr. Cust's work, published in 1888, it would seem that he must have gone out since that date, perhaps about that time. And, from the fact that he learned all he ever knew of the Tonga language in the Cape Colony, it would seem that he had never been in the Zambezi region, which he speaks of as the home of the Tongas, whose language he takes as a standard ; and yet, on the title-page of his Grammar, he puts himself down as "of the Zambezi mission."

Mr. Torrend says he "equally considers the several groups of Tonga people in different parts of South Africa to represent the aborigines with respect to their neighbors ;" but he really takes "the Tonga of the middle Zambezi," as between "the Chambezi, the Zambezi, and the Loangwe," for all comparative purposes throughout his work (Int., p. xxvii, and p. 1). Dr. Livingstone and others who follow the Tshuana pronunciation, changing *ng* into *k*, generally say Batoka instead of Batonga. The great reason Mr. Torrend gives for considering that people "the purest representative of the original Bantu" is that, being "well protected in their peninsula by the Kafuefue on one side and the Zambezi

on the other, they may easily have guarded themselves against invaders, as they do in our own days." And so he puts great stress not only on their being, as he claims, insulated and consequently pure, but on their being, and always having been, a free, unbroken, independent race. Thus: "They alone, it seems, have never been tributary to any empire: they say that they have never had any but independent chieftains. . . . Neither slavery nor anything like higher and lower class is known amongst them" (p. xxvii). But, as the author of these remarks knows nothing of the language of that people, as he tells us, save what he got from three of their "boys" in Cape Colony, it would seem that he must have got his opinions of their history, condition, and character from those same three boys, and not from his ever having been there among them, to see for himself, nor from a competent and reliable authority of any kind.

The testimony of Dr. Livingstone and of others who have been there, traveling and living among the people, and making them, their history, condition, and language, a study from personal observation, differs widely from that of our author. In Livingstone's *Travels and Researches in South Africa*, including a sketch of sixteen years' residence in the interior, during which time he went twice across the continent, and passed through the entire length of the region occupied by the Tongas, or the Batoka as he calls them, we find frequent references to them. He had many of them with him as carriers on his journey to the west coast and back. He spent much time in the country they occupied. He wrote a vocabulary of their language, also of other languages in that region, studied the people in their relations, past and present, to other tribes, and put on record a multitude of facts, the sum of which is in striking contrast with the opinions quoted above from this "Comparative Grammar."

Instead of regarding the language as a model, "a standard," of a pure, simple, classic character, he speaks of it as broken, mixed, corrupt, "a dialect of other negro languages in the great valley" of the Zambezi: and he refers at once to "many of the Batoka" as "living under the Makololo," which indicates their dependent and servile condition (Harper's edition of *Livingstone's Travels*, 1858, p. 594). When Livingstone was at Linyanti, the capital of the Makololo, he learned that most of their foes "were the tribute imposed on the smiths of those subject tribes," the Batoka and Banyeti (p. 215). Two years later, traveling through the country occupied by the Batoka, Livingstone received "a tribute of maize-corn and ground-nuts, which would have gone to Linyanti," had not the Makololo chief ordered the Batoka to give it to him (p. 580). When the Makololo first came up from the South, to the borders of the land occupied by the Batoka, the latter went out "with an immense army to eat them up, and make trophies of their skulls," but, instead of succeeding, they were "conquered, and so many of their cattle captured that no note could be made of their herds of sheep and goats." From this, the Makololo moved on till they "overran all the highlands toward the Kafue, and settled in what is called a pastoral country" of great beauty and fertility (pp. 100, 566). When

the Batoka in the islands were found guilty of ferrying the enemies of the Makololo across the Zambezi, the latter "made a rapid descent upon them, and swept them all out of their island fastnesses" (p. 102). Again, we read of the "great herds captured from the Batoka" by the Makololo. Nor is it long before we find the Doctor in a beautiful section without inhabitants, because "the Batoka had all taken refuge in the hills." Passing on and coming to a series of villages, he spoke to the people of "peace on earth, and good will to men;" to which they replied: "We are tired of flight, give us rest and sleep." "No wonder," says the Doctor, "that they eagerly seized the idea of peace. Their country has been visited by successive scourges during the last half-century, and they are now 'a nation scattered and peeled.'" Years before, continues the Doctor, "a chief called Pingola came in from the northeast, and went across the country with a devouring sweep. Then came Sebituane, chief of the Makololo, and after him the Matabele of Mosilikazi; and their successive inroads have reduced the Batoka to a state in which they naturally rejoice at the prospect of deliverance and peace" (pp. 592, 593).

Two or three decades later, the hunter F. C. Selous passed through the country occupied by the Batoka, or Batonga, as he calls them, and found them the same broken, "scattered and peeled" people that all their fathers were. Crossing the Zambezi at Wankie's Town, he turned eastward. Nor is it long before he speaks of strife between the Batonga and the Shakundas. Then he says: "We passed a great many Batonga kraals, deserted by their owners, who had been driven over the river" by their foes. Further on: "We slept near some Batonga kraals that had been burnt by the Shakundas. The Induna, head-man, told us that all their towns and corn-bins had been burnt, they themselves shot down, their wives and children killed or carried off into slavery. . . They now appeared to be living in the bush, with the remnants of their flocks and herds, the best way they could" (*A Hunter's Wanderings*, p. 292).

The general appearance and character of the Batoka, as described by Livingstone, are such as belong to the inferior and servile, rather than the free and noble, even among the uncivilized. He says his Batoka carriers, of whom he had many, "were much more degraded than the Barotse" (p. 591). "The custom of knocking out the upper front teeth, which all the Batoka tribes follow, gives them an uncouth, old-man-like appearance. Their laugh is hideous. Yet they are all so attached to it that even Sebituane (the Makololo chief) was unable to eradicate the practice" (p. 571). Again: "The Batoka of these parts are very degraded." And yet again: "The Batoka of the Zambezi are generally very dark in color, and very degraded and negro-like in appearance" (p. 592).

These facts, with many others of the same kind, might be urged with great force in favor of mission-work among the people referred to, were that our present purpose. But they are here cited in the interests of historic truth, Bantu scholarship, sound linguistic science, with an eye to aiding in the best of preparation for the best of mission-work in



South Africa, and to show, as they do most undeniably show, how groundless is the claim made by the author of this "Comparative Grammar," that the Batoka or Batonga are, and ever have been, a pure, unbroken, independent people; "have never had any but independent chieftains;" "have never been tributary" to others; that, being "well protected in their peninsula," they "may have easily guarded themselves against invaders;" and so constitute "the purest representative of the original Bantu," "well represent the proper features of the larger number of the Bantu languages," "best represent the peculiar features of the whole group," and deserve to be taken as the "standard, so as to borrow examples from it for all general laws throughout the work" (pp. xxvii and 1).

4. On Delbrück's Vedic Syntax; by Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale University.

This work\* appeared nearly four years ago, and it may seem a little late to give at the present time a review of it; but I have been prevented hitherto from carrying out a constant intention to do so; and meanwhile, so far as I know, no one has submitted the work to a penetrating examination and criticism. What follows is a selection of points of more general interest out of a much fuller discussion, which will be published elsewhere.†

That the volume is an extremely valuable contribution to its subject, being unusually able, careful and accurate, full of sound knowledge, conscientiously wrought and skilfully presented, does not need to be stated; the author's reputation, founded on earnest and successful labors, is a sufficient warrant of that. The work is one which every student of the Vedic writings, especially of the Brāhmaṇa division of them, should have always at hand for consultation.

Considering that this is its character—not a book to be read through and laid upon the shelf, but one to be turned to for frequent help—it is much to be regretted that the author has shown himself so little thoughtful for the convenience of his public. The volume is extremely difficult to find anything in—difficult to a degree that greatly interferes with its usefulness. One is astonished—it is hardly too much to say incensed—at discovering no running titles to the pages to facilitate one's search. There are, indeed, headings to paragraphs; but, besides that it is a vexatious waste of time to look into the body of the page for information as to what is under discussion, many of the paragraphs cover several successive pages, even up to twenty-six. Such omission, far too common in German books, ought to be made a hanging offense. Indexes, also, though not altogether wanting, are (ten pages in large type) quite insufficient. The author of a book so fitted out cannot complain if his views on points of detail pass unnoticed. The list of pas-

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\* *Altindische Syntax*, von B. Delbrück. (Syntactische Forschungen V.) Halle, 1888. roy. 8vo. pp. xxi, 634.

† In the *American Journal of Philology*.

sages from the Brāhmaṇas translated or referred to is all that could be desired, and will prove of high value to students of that class of works ; but we are disappointed at not being furnished with such a list for Rig-Veda and Atharva-Veda as well. It seems to be the author's modesty that deprives us of this ; he does not claim to be in any such sense an authority in the exegesis of the Veda as of the Brāhmaṇa ; but his self-depreciation will be generally pronounced misplaced ; his moderation, sound judgment, and critical faculty make his understanding of a difficult Vedic passage well worth consulting by any Vedic scholar, be he who he may.

One of the laudable manifestations of the author's good sense is seen in his frequent abnegation of a Vedic passage as being too obscure or difficult to suit his purpose. He wastes his space in no long-drawn discussions of insoluble puzzles ; coolness, directness, and absence of display are characteristics of his work from one end to the other.

An important point of theoretical grammar in reference to which Delbrück seems to me to lay himself open to unfavorable criticism is his classification and treatment of infinitives and participles as verb-forms. "Verbum infinitum" is the heading under which (p. 387) he handles them, and by which (49) he first mentions them ; and his whole discussion of them is from that point of view, as if it were the qualities of noun and adjective in part displayed by them that required to be specially accounted for. I do not know that he anywhere intimates that an infinitive is not just as good a "verb" as the 3d singular present indicative. This takes us back to the ante-Boppian period of grammar, when it was as yet undemonstrated that an infinitive is merely an oblique case of a verbal noun. Perhaps the false classification is no more than a concession to the force of classical habit in Germany, where, as elsewhere, the authors of text-books appear to be unable to give up the old modes of statement, though now antiquated. But, if so, the concession is a complete one ; we find not a hint that there is a better and truer way of looking at the facts involved. And a Vedic Syntax is precisely the place where the true view should be not only set forth but insisted on. The grammatical distinction of noun and verb is the oldest and most fundamental in Indo-European language-history. The cleft between them goes to the very bottom, and is insuperable, like the cleft between subject and predicate, which it represents. Excepting the verb, all the other parts of speech have grown out of the noun ; and a noun can still be a pronoun, an adjective, an adverb, a preposition, a conjunction ; but it cannot be a verb, nor can a verb be anything but a verb. That certain nouns and adjectives should attach themselves to the fortunes of verbs, should have the same range of meanings, the same combinations with prefixes, the same constructions with dependent cases (in respect to which there is no ultimate difference of principle between noun and verb, but only a developed difference of linguistic habit)—all this is natural enough, and gives good reason for the designations "verbal noun" and "verbal adjective ;" but it does not justify our calling a noun or an adjective by the name "verb." A group of verbal adjectives, the so-called partici-

ples, have pretty clearly had the character ever since the period of Indo-European unity, and in most Indo-European languages they are held distinctly apart, in meaning and construction, from the general mass of adjectives; but in Sanskrit, which certainly in this respect represents an older condition of things, the line between ordinary adjective and participle is but uncertainly drawn, and transfers across it take place before our eyes during the historic period of the language. As for the infinitive, I think it extremely questionable whether any such outside appendage to the verb-system is of pro-ethnic age; the category is too obviously in the full career of development in earliest Sanskrit to allow the assumption. And here, even more strikingly than in the case of the participles, there is no distinct line to be drawn between infinitive and ordinary noun. The infinitive has nearly all the oblique case-forms of the noun, each used in its proper case-constructions; it includes a considerable variety of verbal derivatives, and a number of other derivatives approach it closely in construction; certain others (we may note especially the formations in *-ana*, in *-in*, and in *-tar*) follow not less nearly the verbal senses, and take as freely the verbal prefixes; and the list of the nouns that take an accusative object overruns considerably the borders of the so-called infinitive class. It seems to me utterly inadmissible to apply the title "verb" to words that have cases and genders, and that are not predicative. What is a verb, then? One can but wonder what definition the author of this work would give. I have long been accustomed to maintain that any one who does not see that a noun is a word that designates and a verb a word that asserts, and who is not able to hold on to this distinction as an absolute and universal one (within the limits of our family of languages), has no real bottom to his grammatical science. And I have seldom been more surprised than to find Delbrück accepting and perpetuating the exploded category of the "*verbum infinitivum*." It is worth noting, however, that he does not commit the crowning absurdity, as seen from the point of view of sound grammatical theory, of calling the infinitive a "mode" of the verb.

Though treating them under the same general head with the rest, the author almost allows that the gerundives (or future passive participles) are nothing but verbal adjectives—one quite fails to see why, if the other participles are anything else, since they too possess the essential characteristics of participles. But it is, in my view, a serious omission on his part not to point out their altogether modern formation, as not primary but secondary derivatives (perfectly obvious in the case of those in *-ta*, *-tava*, and *-aniya*, wholly probable for the others); for this helps to the proper estimate of their syntactical character. It is yet harder to understand why he apologizes for reckoning "the adjective in *-ta*" (what we call the past passive participle) to the participles, since it differs in no important respect from the others; it does not, to be sure, take an object-noun as complement, but that is nothing essential. He (382) defines its character thus: "it is associated with a noun in order to indicate that on it [the noun] the action of the verb is exhibited." This is one of those explanations that do not explain of which

the work offers here and there a number of instances. So the present participle exhibit the action of the verb *in* a noun; and the distinction between *in* and *on* is just that between active and passive; so that the definition means merely that the "adjective in *-ta*" is a passive and not an active participle.

All this does not directly concern the specific subject of the book, but rather the general grammatical theories of the author; yet it has a good right to be noticed, because the theoretical error is detrimental to the correct practical representation of the grammatical phenomena of the language. There is another of the same class, of minor importance, to which we may direct a moment's attention: it is the doctrine that an interjection (3) or a vocative (38) constitutes a sentence by itself. This seems to imply a peculiar and indefensible conception of what a sentence is. Surely, speaking grammatically, it is a combination of a subject with a predicate to make an assertion, a union of parts of speech into a significant whole; or, when incomplete, it is the suggestion of such a combination, susceptible of and calling for a filling out to normal form. Is that true, in any proper sense, of an interjection or a vocative? I think decidedly not; these are words that stand outside the structure of the sentences with which they are (often) associated, not as being other sentences, but because they are essentially non-sentence-making utterances.

We may go on now to take up other matters of a general and theoretical character.

With regard to the interesting subject of the original character and office of the cases in declension, Professor Delbrück is in this work notably non-committal, dropping out of sight some of the opinions hitherto maintained by him. We should be glad to accept this as a favorable indication, that he is on the way to more tenable views. He is not willing even frankly to define the ablative as the *from*-case, but (106) takes in regard to it this curiously problematic position: "It is now generally assumed, in accordance with Indian [that is, doubtless, Hindu native] grammar, that into the ablative enters that idea of the noun forth from which the action of the verb follows." Of course, then, it could not be expected that he would define the genitive as the especially adnominal or adjectival case, though to most students of historical syntax that seems as incontestable as the *from*-character of the ablative; he simply says nothing about the matter. As for the accusative, upon its definition also he does not spend a word; he does not even (which seems to me a reprehensible omission) state that many scholars are perfectly satisfied with it as being primarily the *to*-case. On the other hand, we are at least spared the suggestion that it is a "grammatical" case, and never had a local character at all; and we might even flatter ourselves that the author had given up altogether that category of cases, were it not that the distinction of "local" and "grammatical" is once (140) mentioned and acknowledged, he admitting his present inclination (no more than that) to agree with Gaedicke in classing the dative as "grammatical." But this is really equivalent to saying that we are unable to discover the original office of the dative;

and the statement might much better have been made in that form. For to postulate a "grammatical" value at the very beginning is to deny the whole known history of language, which shows that all forms begin with something material, apprehensible by the senses, palpable. If the intellectual values of terms are antecedent to the sensual; if the tense- and mode-values of *have* and *will* and *would* and their like precede their other values; if the *-dom* of *wisdom* and the *wise* of *likewise* and the *head* of *godhead* were suffixes before they were independent nouns—then, and not otherwise, was a case originally "grammatical." Such an explanation simply betrays a false philosophy of language. There was a time when Delbrück favored the view that the dative first indicated a "physical inclination toward something;" that is a genuine attempt at explanation; none better, so far as I know, has been suggested; and this is perhaps even to be accepted as satisfactory. The chief objection is that a *to*-case and a *toward*-case might seem too near akin, a needless repetition; but, after all, this is no more strange than the presence among the prepositional prefixes of so many words as we find all signifying 'to' with differing shades of application: thus, in Sanskrit, *ā*, *abhi*, *upa*, *api*, *acha*—even *prati*.

It appears also very strange to me that no endeavor is made to connect with one another the two uses of the locative, as signifying place where and place whither. It can hardly be because the author sees any particular difficulty in a transition as simple and easy as that which turns our *he went there* into an equivalent of and substitute for *he went thither*; but even if he could not accept this explanation, it was, I think, his duty at least to notice and report it as accepted by others. Every one must, of course, draw his own line between the things that shall be explained and those that shall be passed without explanation; but our author's line seems sometimes a very crooked one, leaving on either side things we should never have expected to find there.

One of the explanations actually given which, in my view, might well have been spared is that of Sanskrit verbal accent—of the fact that the Sanskrit verb in an independent clause, unless standing at the head of the clause, is regularly accentless, while, on the other hand, the verb in a dependent clause is always accented. Already more than twenty years ago (1871), in the first part of his *Syntactische Forschungen* (pp. 96-98), the author treated of this subject, setting up respecting it a theory which I was never able to find either convincing or edifying. It ran briefly thus: the dependent clause in Sanskrit is oftenest one of necessary condition, and oftenest precedes the clause on which it depends. In such a case, the practice of our own languages shows that the verb of the dependent clause has the superior emphasis. This is to be inferred from such an example as the following: *was man nicht NÜTZT, IST eine schwere Last*, 'what one uses not is a heavy burden'—where *IST* (*is*) is unemphatic as compared with *NÜTZT* (*uses*). Now here, it is plain, the author deceives himself by failing to observe that his dependent verb is one which, owing to the content of the word, and not at all to the form of the sentence, is the emphatic

predicated element, while his independent verb is the mere copula, unemphatic for that reason and for no other. If his line had read instead thus : *was uns nicht nützlich* IST, BELASTET *uns*, 'what is useless to us *burdens* us,' the relation of the two verbs in respect to emphasis would be seen to be reversed ; the independent one would be obviously better entitled to the accent ! And so, for aught I can see, in every other like case ; the emphasis of the verb depends on the relation of its significant content to the sum of significance of the sentence, and not in the least on its occurrence in a clause of the one kind or of the other. The author goes on to maintain that, on the basis of such sentences as the one instanced, the Hindu learned men set up a rule that the verb of the dependent clause was to be accented, and, by contrast to it, the verb of the independent clause left accentless, and then proceeded to extend the rule rigorously to all cases, whether applicable or not applicable. Now, altogether apart from the imaginary character of the foundation claimed for the rule, it seems to me that scholars in general will decline to admit that the phenomena of verbal accentuation as we read them in the manuscripts are the product of theories which ancient Hindu savants framed and carried out, "regardless," instead of being the faithful record, as they observed and understood it, of their actual utterance. To admit this would certainly take away most of the interest now belonging to the investigation of Sanskrit accent ; and I can see no good reason for the admission, but abundance of reason against it. The whole aspect of the phenomena is to me that of a historic verity, which those who handed it down to us did not themselves understand, or, for the most part, even try to understand—much less try to regulate on such shadowy principles as our author thinks to recognize.

In his later work, which we are now criticizing, he neither repeats nor explicitly rejects his former explanation, but gives, rather, a new and essentially different one, though one not less unsatisfactory than its predecessor. He takes up the subject from the other end, dealing first with the unaccented verb of the independent clause. Its accentlessness, he says (50), is "merely the external sign of the fact that the verb appears as a relatively dependent member of the sentence, attaching itself to a noun, a pronoun, a preposition, in such a way as to limit these ideas." This statement seems little short of absurd ; and no theory built up on such a foundation can possibly be anything but a failure. The sentence consists of subject and predicate ; and one of these is just as primary and just as secondary as the other. A subject, noun or pronoun, is even more meaningless without a verb to tell what it is there for than is a verb without a subject, since a subject can be on the whole much more easily inferred for it from the circumstances. But not only a preceding subject, even a preceding object, or adverb, or prefix, takes away the accent from the verb in the Sanskrit sentence ; and that the verb is a "relatively dependent" word as compared with these its own modifiers, that it is "attached to a preposition" in order to limit the meaning of the preposition, is a view which, in my opinion, no reasonable person can fairly be expected to accept on our author's authority. He adds that "the verb has only in exceptional

cases a primary value for the sentence," and that then it is moved back, toward the beginning of the sentence. That is hardly a satisfactory account of the difference between *āsīd rājā* 'fuit rex,' and *rājā sit* 'rex fuit.' A certain order of the clause having become established as normal, any deviation from it is made a means of the different distribution of emphasis, to the members moved either backward or forward. But the Sanskrit verb, however it may change position, gets no accent unless it be placed at the very head; nor do the other members, though moved to the end, lose their accent. That the sentence is naturally a *diminuendo*, beginning strong, to attract the attention of the listener, and then toning gradually down to the end, as our author goes on to claim, might at best be allowed a certain measure of truth in a first direct address, but seems wholly out of place as applied to continuous discourse, as for instance a hymn, or a piece of exposition.

As regards the accented verb of the dependent clause, a double explanation, viewed as a single one in two parts, is furnished us. First, if the dependent clause precede the other, the *diminuendo* of the whole sentence has not become complete when the dependent verb is reached, and hence that verb has not become entirely toneless. And then this non-tonelessness, originally a result only of the position of the clause, is historically generalized into a means of distinction of all dependent clauses, which express an incomplete sense, or involve a suspension of sense as compared with the main clause. Thus, we see, a verb in general is not accented because it is dependent; but this dependent member, if it belong to a clause which is a dependent member, attains independency and gets an accent! A result, too, quite the reverse of that in German, where the dependent verb, instead of being made emphatic, takes its position at the very end, which signifies tonelessness!

The whole explanation, both in its earlier and in its later form, appears to me not so much ingenious as artificial and forced, and totally wanting in plausibility. As its author abandoned the 1871 form, so we may feel sure that he will abandon this of 1888. It is better to acknowledge that the law of verbal accentuation in Sanskrit is thus far an unexplained puzzle than to try to content our minds with any such unsatisfactory solutions as are offered us in these volumes.

Another distinction of general importance, with regard to which, however, the author's views have remained unchanged since the first part of the *Syntactische Forschungen* was published, and which, as it formed the subject of that part, is widely familiar to students of syntax, is that of the subjunctive and optative, as expressing, the former an action *willed*, the latter an action *wished*. To this also I have never been able to give my assent: 1. because I cannot find any well-marked difference of sense of the kind between the two modes, but only such a preponderance, on the whole, of the sense of wishing on the side of the optative as might easily come about by gradual differentiation of usage between two originally equivalent formations; 2. because there is yet another mode, the imperative, to which, if to anything, the expression of an action *willed* properly belongs; 3. because the proposed explanation takes no heed of one marked formal distinction between the two

modes—namely, that the subjunctive has primary personal endings, but the optative secondary; and no explanation that does not account for this feature along with the rest can have any right to be regarded as more than conjectural and provisional; while it looks very far from probable that such a difference has anything to do with a distinction between willing and wishing.

Professor Delbrück denies to the 2d pl. and the 2d and 3d du. of the imperative any true imperative character, because they agree in form with the augmentless imperfect persons, or the “injunctive”, as he joins with Brugman in calling them. I cannot think this justifiable. The unmistakable occurrence of a 2d and 3d sing. and a 3d pl. of real imperative formation, and the occurrence in the other allied languages of a 2d pl. to match the 2d sing., seem to me sufficient to make the assumption overwhelmingly probable that the accordance in form between imperative and “injunctive” in the persons in question (at least in the pl., for we may leave out of consideration the du., as of minor consequence) is simply accidental, a result of the leveling forces of linguistic change. If we had only the evidence of English to infer from, we might think that the preterit and participle of our New conjugation (as *loved* and *loved*, or *sent* and *sent*, and so on), or our possessives sing. and pl. (*horse's* and *horses'* and the like), were identical; but the belief, even in the absence of all evidence to prove the contrary, would be a crude and hasty one, to be rejected by all prudent scholars.

Few things in the theory of tenses are more difficult than to define satisfactorily the difference between preterit and perfect, between *I did* and *I have done*. The ordinary description of the latter, as signifying “completed” action, is of no value, and the word *completed* ought to be banished out of grammars; all past action is completed action, or it would not be past. But in English (as in German, French, and so on) we are guided to a better definition of the perfect by the etymology of the form; it means literally ‘I possess at present the result of a past doing,’ and so contains a mixture of present and past; it designates a state of things as now existing which involves as a condition the past doing or occurrence of something. Then this expression of the present consequence of past action assumes more or less the character of an expression for the past action itself, and so enters into a rivalry with other preterit tenses; and they compromise on a division of the territory among them. This division is not always made on a systematic and consistent plan, and the line is differently drawn in different languages. For example, as between English and French and German there are marked, though minor, discordances, the perfect of the one being by no means always correctly rendered by the perfect of another, as the adult learner of any of them knows to his cost. In some South-German dialects, the perfect has mainly driven out the preterit as general expression of past action; the Swabian peasant does not say *i' that*, but *i' hob g'tha*. The use of this tense in regard to which there is something nearest to an agreement among the different languages is that of designating the proximate past, of defining the action as having happened or been done within the limits of the still current, the present, space of



time—though even here there remains plenty of room for minor variations.

Now this composite perfect-sense, as is generally well known since our author himself brought it clearly to light in the second part of these *Syntactische Forschungen* (1876), is represented in Vedic Sanskrit, of both *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*, by the so-called aorist. It is not too much to say that the rendering 'I have done' etc. fits the Vedic aorist throughout; the perfect tenses of English, French, and German do not agree in value any more closely with one another than this Sanskrit tense with them all. The constraint of meter, and the pervading obscurities of meaning and construction, in the hymns make its distinctive character less obvious and undeniable in *mantra* than in *brāhmaṇa*; and there are even good Vedic scholars who (much to the detriment of their versions) either neglect the distinction or make it a principle never to use 'have' in rendering an aorist. But there is no real difference between the aorist of *mantra* and that of *brāhmaṇa*; and the distinction laid down by our author in his former work, and here (280) reported rather than repeated—namely, that the aorist in *mantra* denotes what has just taken place, while in *brāhmaṇa* it is the tense of personal experience—seems to me of no account; it is a difference in the circumstances of use, and not in the value of the tense itself. Especially does this appear when it is taken into account (what the author in his comparative treatment of the tenses failed to discover: see these Proceedings for May, 1891; J.A.O.S. vol. xv., p. lxxxv ff.\*) that the imperfect is as much as the aorist the tense of personal narration in *brāhmaṇa*, the two being related to one another in such use as our preterit and perfect are related.

The author notes that there are exceptional cases, in both divisions of the Vedic literature, which do not fall under the definitions given (certainly they are not more numerous than is the case with our modern 'have' perfects); and he seeks after a wider definition which shall include all. This seems to me a mistaken quest, like that which should seek a formula inclusive of all the various uses of the accusative case, and which can only issue in some such worthless bit of indefiniteness as that the accusative is "a complement or nearer definition of the verbal idea." So here, in like manner, we get as result the following: "the aorist informs us that an action has come to light" (*dass ein Vorgang [or Handlung] in die Erscheinung getreten ist*). This is valuable solely and alone in virtue of the verb-tense, "has come," which is used in it: just so an imperfect informs us that an action *came* to light, and a future that it *will come* to light. The "coming to light" of an action (like the "occurrence" or *Eintreten* of an action, the phrase which, after the example of others, he conjures with in the fourth part of the *Synt. Forsch.*) is really nothing more than an equivalent for predication, and something positive has to be added in order to make it

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\* The paper appears in a fuller form in the *Transactions of the Amer. Philol. Assoc'n* for 1892.

descriptive of a tense. The author expresses, with good reason, his dissatisfaction with the phrase, nor does he attempt to lay it at the basis of the illustration that follows. A tense should be defined and illustrated according to its leading and prevailing sense, and not according to its rare and exceptional applications, unless some one of these can be shown to have been historically older, and the others derived from it—and the “occurrence” or “coming to light” of the action can never have that value.

While the Vedic aorist is thus in the sum of its uses equivalent to our auxiliary perfect with *have*, it must, of course, have had a different history of development of meaning, since it is the combination of present auxiliary with past participle that gives to our tense its peculiar union of past and present time. And I see nothing in the way of our assuming that the proper perfect sense came in Sanskrit out of that of proximate past, as in our modern formations the latter out of the former; the two are so related that either naturally gives rise to the other. As for the prior transition from simple indefinite past action (as in the Greek aorist) to proximate past, that is not at all, it appears to me, beyond the reach of the differentiating and adapting action of a language that has a certain excess of expression for past time (impf., pf., and aor. tenses). Perhaps the Greek imperfect of continuous action got its characteristic quality in no other way. Or, if continuousness be proved to be the original character of the proper imperfect, then its loss in the Sanskrit imperfect (which certainly, from the earliest period, shows not a trace of it), and the shift of the former indefinite past or aorist to the designation of proximate past action, may have been two parts of the same process.

One is a little surprised to find the formation of compound words among the matters discussed in this work on syntax; the subject is not ordinarily deemed a syntactical one. There is, indeed, something to be said in favor of the inclusion, since, but for their composition, the compounded words would have to be put together into syntactical phrases, equivalent and yet not precisely equivalent. But then, upon similar ground, the subject of derivation also ought not to be omitted; a derivative, especially a secondary one, is a sort of abbreviated phrase, the equivalent of two or more words having syntactical relations. The author is not able to go far enough into the investigation of compounds (since he probably felt that it has no real right here) to bring to light anything that is specially new, not already to be read in the grammars. He points out (62) that the “possessive” (*bahuvrīhi*) compounds are believed to have been appositive nouns before they assumed an adjectival character. This is doubtless true; and in the same way, as I presume, came into being in our family of languages the whole category of adjectives as distinguished from substantives. But both these are prehistoric questions, altogether antedating the whole period of Sanskrit syntax proper. What stands decidedly nearer to the latter is the question how these adjectivized substantives came to be so almost exclusively possessive in character; and then, what traces there are left in the language of their former possession of a character other than pos-

sessive. These are the points which seem to me both the most interesting and the most important to discuss in the theory of Sanskrit *bahuvrihi* ('much-rice') compounds (they are briefly treated in my grammar, § 1294); and I confess myself to have been a good deal disappointed at reading on and finding that the author not only failed to cast upon them any new light, but even did not acknowledge their existence. There is an inviting opportunity for some one still to write an instructive paper on that queer fabrication of the Hindu grammarians, the *dvigu* class of compounds (*dvi-gu*, 'two-cow', not as 'having two cows', like an ordinary "possessive", but as 'equal to, or worth, or bought for, two cows'). It ought to be possible to extract from the native grammars and the commentaries on them something more than the scanty array of material, gathered out of the literature of the language, which I have put together in my grammar (§ 1294b).

There is also another subject with regard to which the author of the work under discussion seems to me yet more clearly to have turned aside from its proper subject, and without any sufficient motive or rewarding result. It is that of the comparison of adjectives. What under this head belongs to a Syntax is obviously the sense attaching to those derivative adjectives which we call the comparative and superlative, and their constructions (by the way, no explanation is given us of why the ablative is the case that follows a comparative). That there are two different sets of suffixes of comparison, applied (with minor irregularities) to different classes of primitives, is a matter that no more concerns syntax, so long as the value of the two formations is the same in practical use, than the different modes of forming the genitive case, or the first person plural, or the aorist. Yet the author spends several pages (188 ff.) upon a detailed account of the formations with *-iyas* and *-iṣṭha* on the one side and those with *-tara* and *-tama* on the other. If, indeed, there were something strikingly new in his exposition of the subject, if the relation of the two formations had been hitherto misunderstood and needed to be set right, there would be more excuse for his thus dragging a matter of pure inflection or derivation into the midst of his syntactical discussions; but so far is this from being the case that the whole passage might be taken for an extract from my grammar, so close is the agreement both in the views held and in the manner of combining and putting them forward. I do not in the least charge Professor Delbrück with having borrowed from me without acknowledgment; such an accusation would be absurd; he has undoubtedly by his own study arrived at conclusions according with mine (which are of very old standing; the substance of them may be found in one of my earliest communications to the Society, away back in 1855: J.A.O.S., vol. v., pp. 210-11); and I take satisfaction in the accordance. But I cannot but think it in a high degree curious that he should have felt himself called upon to treat the subject at all, and that he should then have overlooked the already published views of others (he is in general entirely conscientious about making acknowledgments), and presented himself in the character of one who brings out something quite new.

It is unnecessary to say that the versions given by our author of the illustrative passages which he quotes in abundance on every page are extremely good, and especially those from the Brāhmaṇas. In dealing with the latter, no one has shown in the same measure as he the ability to combine accuracy and readableness. If he occasionally renders the same word or phrase in the same passage differently in different parts of the volume, the variation only represents fairly the uncertainty that clings to much of the language of these works. A real oversight is a rare and accidental occurrence. There is such a one on p. 498 (from MS. iii. 2. 5), where the second *iti*-clause is wrongly connected; the sentence means 'he should take [the grain] from its direction, saying "I have taken from them food and refreshment."' So also (like Müller before him and Böhtlingk after him), in a Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka passage (ÇB. xiv. iv. 2. 18 : p. 253), he connects the first *evam* wrongly with what follows it, instead of taking it as by itself the whole apodosis. This value of *evam* is noticed by him on p. 584, but not successfully explained; it is simply an abbreviated clause, and has no special analogy with the use of *iti*.

An example of another kind, from the Rig-Veda, may be noticed, because our author repeats in regard to it an error which is committed by the translators and the dictionary- and chrestomathy-makers in general (though the minor Pet. lex. has corrected it). It is the word *ayoddhār*, occurring in the spirited Indra-hymn i. 32, in verse 6, and rendered 'coward', as if literally 'non-fighter'. But this interpretation, according to ordinary rule, would imply the accent *āyoddhar*, while *ayoddhār* is the accentuation belonging to a possessive compound, and the word should mean 'not having a fighter:' that is (compare *indraçatru* etc.), 'not meeting with any one who could fight him,' or 'unequaled in fight.' The accent, however, could not be relied on to settle the matter absolutely, if the connection also did not most plainly require the normal sense. To call the demon Vṛtra a 'coward' because he dared to challenge the god Indra to combat is evidently the height of injustice; the action exhibits, rather, a fool-hardy courage—which is precisely what the verse (*durmadās*) attributes to him.

I may add that I was unfortunately unable to make any use of this work in correcting my Sanskrit grammar for the second edition, as it did not come to my hands until the printing of that edition was completed, and I was revising the Index.

5. Announcement as to a second volume of the Roth-Whitney edition of the Atharva-Veda; by Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale University.

When, in 1856-7, the text of the Atharva-Veda was published by Professor Roth and myself, it was styled a "first volume", and a second volume, of notes, indexes, etc., was promised. The promise was made in good faith, and with every intention of prompt fulfilment; but circumstances have deferred the latter, even till now. The bulk of the work was to have fallen to Professor Roth, not only because the bulk

of the work on the first volume had fallen to me, but also because his superior learning and ability pointed him out as the one to undertake it. It was his absorption in the great labor of the Petersburg Lexicon that for a long series of years kept his hands from the Atharva-Veda—except so far as his working up of its material, and definition of its vocabulary, was a help of the first order toward the understanding of it, a kind of fragmentary translation. He has also made important contributions of other kinds to its elucidation : most of all, by his incitement to inquiry after an Atharva-Veda in Cashmere, and the resulting discovery of the so-called Pāippalāda text, now well known to all Vedic scholars as one of the most important finds in Sanskrit literature of the last half-century, and of which the credit belongs in a peculiar manner to him. I have also done something in the same direction, by publishing in the Society's Journal in 1862 (Journal, vol. vii.) the Atharva-Veda Prāṭicākhya, text, translation, notes, etc.; and in 1881 the Index Verborum—which latter afforded me the opportunity to give the *pada*-readings complete, and to report in a general way the corrections made by us in the text at the time of its first issue. There may be mentioned also the index of pratikas, which was published by Weber in his *Indische Studien*, vol. iv., in 1857, from the slips written by me, although another (Professor Ludwig) had the tedious labor of preparing them for the press.

I have never lost from view the completion of the plan of publication as originally formed. In 1875 I spent the summer in Germany, chiefly engaged in further collating, at Munich and at Tübingen, the additional manuscript material which had come to Europe since our text was printed ; and I should probably have soon taken up the work seriously save for having been engaged while in Germany to prepare a Sanskrit grammar, which fully occupied the leisure of several following years. At last, in 1885-6, I had fairly started upon the execution of the plan, when failure of health reduced my working capacity to a minimum, and rendered ultimate success very questionable. The task, however, has never been laid wholly aside, and it is now so far advanced that, barring further loss of power, I may hope to finish it in a couple of years or so ; and it is therefore proper and desirable that a public announcement be made of my intention.

My plan includes, in the first place, critical notes upon the text, giving the various readings of the manuscripts, and not alone of those collated by myself in Europe, but also of the apparatus used by Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit in the great edition with commentary (except certain parts, of which the commentary has not been found) which he has been for years engaged in printing in India. Of this extremely well-edited and valuable work I have, by the kindness of the editor, long had in my hands the larger half : and doubtless the whole will be issued in season for me to avail myself of it throughout. Not only his many manuscripts and *śrotriya*s (the living equivalents, and in some respects the superiors, of manuscripts) give valuable aid, but the commentary (which, of course, claims to be "Sāyaṇa's") also has very numerous various readings, all worthy to be reported, though seldom

*Bloomfield, Announcement of a Vedic Concordance. clxxiii*

offering anything better than the text of the manuscripts. Second, the readings of the Pāippalāda version, in those parts of the Veda (much the larger half) for which there is a corresponding Pāippalāda text; these were furnished me, some years ago, by Professor Roth, in whose exclusive possession the Pāippalāda manuscript is held. Further, notice of the corresponding passages in all the other Vedic texts, whether Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa, or Sūtra, with report of their various readings. Further, the data of the Anukramaṇi respecting authorship, divinity, and meter of each verse. Also, references to the ancillary literature, especially to the Kāuṣika and Vāitāna Sūtras (both of which have been competently edited, the latter with a translation added), with account of the use made in them of the hymns and parts of hymns, so far as this appears to cast any light upon their meaning. Also, extracts from the printed commentary, wherever this seems worth while, as either really aiding the understanding of the text, or showing the absence of any helpful tradition. Finally, a simple literal translation; this was not originally promised for the second volume, but is added especially in order to help "float" the rest of the material. An introduction and indexes will give such further auxiliary matter as appears to be called for.

The design of the volume will be to put together as much as possible of the material that is to help toward the study and final comprehension of this Veda.

6. Announcement of a Vedic Concordance, being a collection of the Pādas of the hymns and sacrificial formulas of the literature of the Vedas; by Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Those who have devoted themselves within recent years to the interpretation of the Vedas have become impressed with a growing sense of the difficulty of the task. As yet Vedic science is truly in its very beginnings. The complete translations of the Rig-Veda are still useful for general orientation, but their trustworthiness on any given question is of the most minimal degree. We may claim fairly that Vedic interpretation is still in the stage of decipherment; each more difficult word needs to be tested anew in the light of all its occurrences; each idea carefully confronted with every other before its true bearing is understood. Such processes before long exhaust the material in a literature of limited scope, but the Vedas are very extensive; 'a knowledge of all the Vedas'—*sarvavidyā*, as the Hindus call it—is given to no one.

Precisely at this point, we conceive, lies the chief difficulty. The larger hermeneutic efforts in Vedic philology have been hampered by a restriction, voluntary or involuntary on the part of the interpreter, of the materials which he undertook to investigate. Those who have undertaken the more special lines of investigations, such as the character of a single divinity, the nature of a legend, the meaning of a difficult word, have also been hampered by their failure to control the materials bearing upon their inquiry. It is astonishing to see how

great has been the waste of intellectual resource, how much ingenuity has been frittered away, over questions, simply because the inquirer carried on his search with only a part of the materials instead of the whole. Especially, the students of the Vedic hymns have been in general too much inclined to separate the lyric hymns of prayer from the remainder of the Vedic tradition, the ceremonial practices, and the large stock of legendary material which is woven into the texture of the liturgical writings.

Every Vedic text is an integral part of the Veda as a whole; its treatment should be neither self-centered nor chauvinistic; we may not understand it without understanding the whole. The sense of the *mantras* is largely dependent upon the ceremonial; and conversely the ceremonial, the nature and origin of the ritualistic practices, the customs of private and public life, are in India so eminently religious, they stand so near to the gods, they are, so to say, so eminently polytheocratic, that their sense and essence will become revealed only in the light of the entire religious life.

If these remarks are true, if this need of making the *sarvavidyā*, the knowledge of the Vedas in their entirety, an ideal less and less far removed from realization, it will be necessary to construct certain preliminary aids which shall serve as connective tissue between the various parts. The point is evidently this: to control, if possible, the entire line of statements in the Veda bearing upon a certain divinity, upon a certain practice, upon a certain custom, upon a certain word, upon a certain conception of any sort whatever. There are in the main four distinct kinds of labor to be performed in order to approximate to this ideal: 1. Complete indexes of words for every Vedic text; 2. Preliminary translations of all the texts; 3. An index of subjects and ideas contained in the Vedic literature; 4. A concordance of the *mantras*.

The last of these aids I have undertaken to construct, with the aid of pupils and other friends: namely, a concordance, as complete as possible, of the *pādas* of the *mantras*, and the sacrificial formulas of the entire Vedic literature. The *mantras*, as is well known, occur in separate collections, as well as in texts which arrange successively in their proper order the ceremonies, and the songs of praise and liturgical formulas employed in connection with them. Thus the schools of the Rig-Veda, the Atharva-Veda, the Sāma-Veda, and the White Yajur-Veda have constructed separate collections of the *mantras*, which appear worked up entirely or in part in the ceremonial books of each of these Vedas. The schools of the Black Yajur-Veda on the other hand do not possess separate collections of *mantras*; in their traditional books *mantra* and ceremonial alternate with one another. All of the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra texts, moreover, quote *mantras* and formulas, very largely those representing the collections of their particular school, but in a noteworthy measure also those which do not occur in their own school. The latter are either found in the collection of some other school, or, to a not inconsiderable extent, are original in those Brāhmaṇa or Sūtra texts. The collection of the Rig-Veda alone comprises more than one thousand hymns, ten thousand stanzas, and not far from

40,000 verse-lines, or pādas. The Atharva-Veda contains more than half that quantity. The number of verse-lines and formulas of the entire Vedic tradition may be estimated roughly at about one fourth of a million of passages, or more.

Now this entire tradition of the hymns and formulas may be described as a floating one. The lyric and formulary material of the Vedic period is in a large measure common traditional property. The collection of *mantras* in one Veda, or in one Vedic school, do not present materials totally different from those of any other school. The various schools repeat to a large extent the same stock of material, with or without variation, standing at times so near to a sister school as to be differentiated from it only by a few insignificant variants and addenda, while in other cases the material varies greatly. Thus, the Atharvan schools present materials very largely though not entirely different from the Rig-Veda schools.

The purpose of this work is to give a compact history of each lyric line and each liturgic formula in the entire literature. The reader of a certain Vedic text shall be able in the case of each *mantra* or formula which he encounters to tell at a glance every other occurrence and employment of the same in the remaining body of texts. The value of this is primarily three-fold. First, as has been hinted above, the individual lines do not occur in precisely the same form, but in forms varying more or less in arrangement and choice of words and grammatical form. Now it is important to have all variants; frequently the reading of one school is thus shown to be manifestly inferior to that of another, or even totally corrupt and untenable. Secondly, the order and connection of the verses differs very greatly in the different schools. It is therefore of the utmost importance to establish by proper comparison which combination of verses is the original one, and which is secondary. Thirdly, the collection will give the key to every employment of each line in the ceremonial practices. Of recent years I have laid special stress upon the importance of this knowledge, and in my Vedic studies I have been able to exhibit a noteworthy variety of instances which illustrate that subtle blending of the song and the ceremony which makes a full knowledge of both necessary for the understanding of either.

I need scarcely say, in conclusion, that all suggestions or contributions will be gratefully acknowledged, and utilized as far as possible.

7. *English day and Sanskrit (d)ahan*; by Professor Edward Washburn Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr, Pa.

The English word *day*, Gothic *dags*, may be referred through the form *\*dhagho*, *\*dhogho* to the Sanskrit root *dah* 'burn' (Fick), as Sanskrit *div* gives from the radical idea of shining the local word for day. Yet *day* is not directly comparable with *dhan*, Avestan *azan*, except on the supposition that the Indo-Iranian forms have lost the dental. On the further supposition that *agnis* = *ignis* is from the same root, we should have the loss of dental established as pre-Aryan; but to compare



with this extraordinary loss there would be only a still more doubtful *dçru* = *dáçruv*. I consider both comparisons as unproved but not impossible equations, even were the phonetic violations unique; for, as *herz* and *hr'd* are irregular yet difficult to dissociate, so there are certainly other correspondences which must always appear fortuitous, but which it is harder to treat as false than as anomalous.

Granting then the *a priori* possibility of \**ddhan*, it remains to be seen whether any indication of the loss of *d* in the early literature can be found. It must be assumed that *dhan* and *azan* are one. The loss must, therefore, have taken place before the Indo-Iranians separated. For our earliest literature we should then expect only a faint trace of the already vanished dental. This might be found in the position of the word in respect of its syntactical neighbors. On noting that *dhan* generally follows *d* in the Rig-Veda this idea suggested itself to me; and, although I am not certain that anything is proved by the examination, yet as it is not uninteresting in some respects, and the same thought might induce another to look into the matter, the statistics may perhaps be worthy of a place in the Proceedings.

The word *dhan* appears to be more antique in the Rig-Veda than its synonym *divd*, for in adverbial phrases it is out-numbered by the latter, and in the common reduplicated iterative adverb we find used a stem which on comparison with the Avestan form would seem to be later.\* The compound *dhar-ahar* stands with one exception at the head of a *pāda*, and if the form of the stem is late it offers but negative evidence against an original \**dahan*. The only explosive that precedes *dhan* in the Rig-Veda text is *d*. Thus: *māsam ād dhaḥ*, vii. 66. 11; *tād dhaḥ*, vii. 103. 7; *tād dhaḥ*, iii. 48. 2; *yād dhan*, iv. 16. 11; *yād dhā*, iv. 30. 3; *yād dhne*, ix. 92. 5; *nū cid dhnām*, vi. 39. 3; *idā cid dhnah*, iv. 10. 5; *idā cid dhnah*, viii. 22. 11; *tāv idā cid dhānām*, viii. 22. 13; *asanod dhāni*, iii. 34. 10; *tāntā dhāni*, vii. 76. 3; *sakṛ'd dhnah*, x. 95. 16; *viçvē'd dhāni*, vii. 25. 4; [*idā 'hnaḥ*, iv. 33. 11].

It will be observed that this list contains expressions chiefly stereotyped (as if colloquial phrases like *today* in English), and is drawn for the most part from the older books. The Atharvan gives few examples: *ābhajad: dhaḥ*, xix. 50. 7; *sa vā dhno 'jāyata: tasmād dhar ajāyata*, xiii. 4. 29; *çapathīād: ahorātré*, xi. 6. 7; *āsīd: dhnām*, vii. 80. 4; *yād dhar-ahar*, xvi. 7. 11.

Of vowels preceding (in the Rig-Veda), none except *a* or *ā* makes euphonic combination with the initial. This contraction with *a* is, apart from two instances, confined to the latest (first and tenth) books. To this part of the work is also confined the combination *ā (āi) + a*; while *ā = āu* is contracted in only one passage in the first book. The initial is never lost after *e* or *o* (= *as*), but this lack of elision is common

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\* The expression *dhar-ahar* occurs but six times (three of these in books one and ten) while *divd-dive* is used forty-seven times, according to Collitz's count (*Abh. Or. Cong.* 1881, p. 288); the (later) *dina* occurs only in composition, *madhyāndina* etc.

in other cases. After *s* preceded by other vowels than *a* there is of course no phonetic difference whether the initial be a vowel or consonant sonant. After *r*, *āhan* occurs only in formulæ, and after nasals rarely save where the residuum is *nn* (participles and locatives), where the second *n* anyway represents the loss of a consonant. The sounds preceding *āhan* are, so far as the great majority goes, only such as give negative evidence on the point in hand. Except for *āhar-āhar* and other forms which may possibly be late and are at all events few in number, the evidence of other cases scarcely contradicts the suggested hypothesis, granting its admissibility at all.

Thus, following *a*, *ā* without contraction I find *āhan* (*dāha*, *dhar*) eight times; with contraction iii. 32. 9 [iv. 33. 11], but elsewhere only in the first and tenth books, and there six times; *āhan* etc. after *ā* = *āu*, only i. 117. 12; after *i*, *ī*, always without vowel-change, six times; after *u* do., four times; after *e*, twenty-seven times, always without elision (comprising the *sudīnatvé abhipitvé* phrases); after *āi* (*ā*), twice, in the tenth book; after *ō* = *as*, always without elision, fourteen times; after *īr* = *is*, eight times; after *īr* and *ā* (= *ās*), thrice each; *ōr*, ii. 32. 2. Formal is *trīr dhan*, *dhnah*, five times (often separated); after *prātār* twice; *āhar-āhar*, always leading the pāda or verse (except in i. 123. 9), six times. Compare *ahnāhnā* once, the form *pūrvāhne* only x. 34. 11; the later *madhyāhna* is here (vii. 41. 4) *mādhya dhnām*, once; *tirodhnayam*, eight times. After other consonants, with preceding long vowel, *n* and *m* thrice each; after *n* with preceding short (= *nn*), locative four times, participle five; *m* with short vowel, seven times. Add *ahanyā* without contraction of preceding *ā*, i. 190. 3 (the form quoted by Fick as *rathāhnya* is late, Brahmanic); *grāvabhir ahanyēbbhiḥ*, v. 48. 3; and *grhām-grham ahanā*, i. 123. 4. The cases after (*is*) *īr* are v. 62. 2; vii. 87. 1; viii. 48. 7; after (*is*) *īr* (*īr* \**d*), all in books one, nine, and ten (unless after a pāda, viii. 26. 12), except in two instances, iv. 53. 7 and v. 49. 3, the latter after cæsura, as are two cases in the first book. Except after a pāda (viii. 24. 24), four of the cases of *am* \**d* would be in books one, nine, ten; but the remaining three occur at the close of a triṣṭubh, ii. 21. 6, *sudīnatvām dhnām*; iii. 32. 14, *īndram dhnah*; vii. 5. 5, *ketūm dhnām*. The word often begins a pāda, only once a hymn, vi. 9. 1. In *ō* \**d* and other cases AV. is like RV. (thus, after *i*, *u*, *e*); but while, as in RV. x. 18. 5, AV. twice has *yāthā dh*, in other *ā* + *a*-cases it generally contracts. Exceptions are xviii. 1. 7 = RV. x. 10. 6, and once after cæsura iv. 18. 1. Thus AV. = RV. (loc. cit.) in *prathamāsya dhnah*, but AV. vii. 52. 2; viii. 5. 6, 18; ix. 2. 10; x. 2. 16; xvi. 4. 4; xix. 20. 4, *a* + *a* = *ā*, contracted. The only case of contraction in the RV. outside of books one and ten is (with the exception of *idāhnah* in the list above at iv. 33. 11) in *nāha*, iii. 32. 9, with which on the other hand AV. has to contrast *nā dhaḥ* once only, xi. 4. 21 (*nā rātrī nā dhaḥ syāt*). *Canādhah* and *mādnah* are common to the AV. and the tenth book of RV.

The contrast instead of correlation of *id id* in vii. 76. 3-4 of the list given above deserves notice. It is not unique, but rare in the extreme, considering the frequency of correlation such as i. 61. 1-2; iv. 24. 4-5; viii. 6. 21-22; 13. 27-18; 16. 5-6, etc. (I have no statistics, and speak from

impression only, but I believe I am right in asserting that cases like vii. 76. 3-4 and ii. 11. 3 will not often be found).

The cause of the loss of the dental may lie in the fact that the sound was originally more lingual than dental, such as may perhaps be assumed for *dakru lacruma*, (*jihvā*) *dingua lingua*, *solium sad. nidus nīdā*.

I have noted one case where something similar may have happened to the participial form (*dāhan* = *āhan*) of the root *dah*. The hymn i. 69 is composed of five-syllable *pādas* (ten syllables to the whole verse), with the exception of verse seven, into which has come an extra syllable. Such *triṣṭubh* lines are not uncommon in this metre. The usual theory is that the hymn was written throughout in eleven-syllable verses and afterwards reduced, a hypothesis not antecedently probable. Apart from the question of original form, however, other reasons exist for believing in the intrusion in this passage of an extra syllable, and this is one which affects the word *dhant*. The hymn reads in the portion here considered (vss. 7-8) as follows :

*Nākiṣ ṭa etā  
vratā minanti  
nṛ'bhyo yād ebhyaḥ  
ṣuṣṭim cakārtha.  
tāt tū te dānso  
yād dhant samānāir  
nṛ'bhir yād yuktō  
vivē rāpāṁsi*

which we may translate, preserving the extra syllable in the sixth line as here given :

No man impaireth  
Thy holy statutes,  
When these the heroes  
Thou givest ear to ;  
And this thy glory  
That with equals smit'st thou,  
That joined with heroes  
Thou shame hast banished.

In the original it is, however, almost impossible to avoid connecting *samānāiḥ* with *nṛ'bhiḥ*, and if this is done we have two *yād* clauses with *yuktāḥ*, and must connect *āhan* with *vivēḥ*, as does Grassmann, a construction syntactically harsh and dubious. The clauses evidently differ from a *yād . . yād vā* clause. *Sāyaṇa* gives to one *yād* the force of *yādi* and to the other that of *yāsmāt*, but correctly takes *samānāiḥ* with *nṛ'bhiḥ*, as would seem to be necessary from the passages i. 165. 7, *bhūri cakārtha yūjyebhir asmé samānēbhir vṛṣabha pāṇsyebhiḥ*. The verb *āhan* may be applied to Agni (to whom is addressed the hymn), although the verb for Agni is usually *dah*, for Indra *han*, as in iv. 28. 3, *dhann indro ādahad agniḥ . . dāsyūn*. Compare i. 132. 2, *dhann indro yāthā vidé*; v. 34. 5, *jināti véd amuyā hānti vā*; x. 22. 7, *indru . . ṣūṣṇam yād dhann amānuṣam*, etc. ; of Agni more rarely, as

in viii. 43. 26, *ghnán . . dāhan . . dīdīhi*; viii. 84. 9, *hānti yāḥ*; yet even here the application is rather to the king than to the god. Compare iv. 12. 2.

In the verse above, if we substitute for *yād dāhan* the word *dāhan* (measured as in 10b, *dūro vyṛ'ṇvan*) we have the verb peculiarly Agni's (ii. 4. 7; iii. 18. 1. etc.); one *yād* clause instead of two, as is usual in parallel expressions (compare iii. 32. 9, *tāva tān mahitvān sadyo yāj jātō dpībo ha sōmam*), and a sentence syntactically unobjectionable, meaning 'this is thy glory—that consuming, with equal heroes joined, thou hast banished shame' (the last words are doubtful, possibly 'done thy work'). Perhaps the change was begun by some one who thought that *yād* should follow *dānsah* at once (as in ii. 21. 4 etc.) and changed *dāhan* to *yād dāhan*. But in the first place recession of the particle is illustrated by i. 80. 10 (an independent clause), and by v. 85. 5, where in a relative clause *yāḥ* answers to our *yād* (*māyām . . prāvocam : mānēneva tasthivās antārikṣe vi yō mamē prthivīm sūryena*). Moreover, a perfect parallel to the later position of *yād* is found in iv. 39. 1, *mahāt tād vo devyāsya pravācanah dyām ṛbhavaḥ prthivīm yāc ca pūṣyatha*.

I think *yād dāhan* may have caused the form *dhan* to be introduced into the text, just as, without assuming more than to have shown the possibility of \**dahan*, this most archaic form of *dhan* may have been preserved from a pre-Indic period by such half formal inherited colloquial combinations as those in which it occurs in the list above. I imagine that the corruption of an original *yād dāhne* etc. to *yād dhne* gave rise to a belief in *dhan* as the noun-form, which obtained, yet not so entirely but that some traces of the original consonant are still discernible in the frequency of colloquial combination with the dental. The change would be like that in *better* to *bet-er*, the unguarded everyday pronunciation among us.

Note on the *Ūrvā* (of Yama?) and *Vara* of Yima : The ordinary meaning of *ūrvā* is an enclosed place, generally for cattle (rain-clouds), as in i. 72. 8; x. 108. 8, 6, etc. The word as used in vii. 76. 5 is, however, of quite different application : 'The righteous seers of old were co-revelers with the gods; in a common enclosure (*ūrvā*) all came together, are of one mind, nor mutually strive; they diminish not the laws of the gods, but go ever with the good, unwearied.' The radical meaning connects *ūrvā* with the *vara* or paradise of Yima, and something of the sort seems meant in this description of a happy enclosure or meeting ground of the blessed dead, who in accordance with the ordinary conception should be in Yama's realm. It is possible that in iv. 2. 16-18\* this *ūrvā*-paradise of the fathers may be confused with the common *gavya*. In i. 35. 6, Yama's realm is *virāṣāḥ*, a 'hero-holding' place, here located as a 'heaven.'

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\* *ādā yāthā naḥ pitrāḥ pārāsaḥ pratnāso agna ṛtām dṣuṣāṇḍh  
śucīd ayan dīdhitim ukthāḍsaḥ kṣāmā bhindānto aruṇīr āpa vran . .  
śucānto agnīm vavṛdhānta īndram ūrvām gavyam pariṣādanto agman,  
etc.*

8. Notes on Zoroaster and the Zartusht-Nāmāh ; by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College, New York City.

The paper called attention to the possible real importance of the Zartusht-Nāmāh as furnishing a certain amount of data for reliable and valuable facts connected with Zoroaster as a historical personage. This Persian work, of the thirteenth century (cf. Wilson's *Parsi Religion*, pp. 417, 477 ff.), was formerly much quoted, but has of late been generally neglected by Avestan scholars. In the light of more recent investigation it seems worthy of reconsideration.

Comparisons with the Avesta were made to show the general accuracy in names and in certain phrases ; and evidences were cited of apparent traditional reminiscence of actual scenes and situations. Emphasis was laid on the naturalness and genuineness of tone, and reasons were given for believing that the work was perhaps not so fanciful as had often been supposed. The suggestion was put forward that the presumed author's claim to having based his work on Pahlavi writings, as he states at the outset, might, after all, be not without foundation. A hint was thrown out that possibly in this Persian text there may linger some fragments of two of the lost Nasks of the Avesta—portions, for example, of the 10th and of the 13th Nask. The latter, or *Spend Nask*, is commonly said to have contained a sketch of Zoroaster's infancy and youth ; the former, or *Vishtāsp-sāstō Nask*, recorded King Gushtāsp's reign and Zoroaster's influence.

The hope was added that amid the later Persian dress keen eyes may yet discover new and pure grains of gold. Possibly one may look to Dr. West for more light from the *Zaḍ-spāram* (cf. *Pahlavi Texts, S.B.E.*, v. 187)—telling us, for instance, something also about Zoroaster's reputed teacher, Barzinkarūs (*Zartusht Nāmāh*, Wilson, p. 488), or of the Herod, Dūrānsarūn (ib. p. 486), or of the prophet's foe, Bartarūsh (ib. p. 489) who is perhaps to be identified with the traditional murderer of Zoroaster, called Brāḍarvakhsh (*Bh. Yt.* ii. 3 ; *Dd.* lxxii. 8 ; *Sad Dar ix.* 5, in West's *Pahlavi Texts S.B.E.* v. 195n. ; xviii. 218 ; xxiv. 267n. Vol. xxvii. has appeared since the above was written).

9. Brief Avestan Notes ; by Professor A. V. W. Jackson.

1. Av. *fšēnghya*, Ys. 31. 10 ; 49. 9.

The existence of an Avesta *u* or *ū* as one of the representatives of the "nasalis sonans" has been made probable by Paul Horn, in *American Journal of Philology* xi. 89-90. If his deductions be correct, a step forward is taken toward solving the etymological riddle of Av. *fšēnghya*, Ys. xxxi. 10, Ys. xlix. 9.

By the familiar phonetic laws, Av. *fšēnghya* would stand for orig. \**psan-sya*, formed like Skt. *matsya*. This root Av. *fšan* would answer to Skt. *ṣpsan*, to be found in Skt. *viṣvā-psn-ya*. The same radical is also to be sought in Skt. *ā-psu*, and in the stem Skt. *psā*, both forms—

ā and u—arising from orig. *psn*. A proportion might thus be constructed, Av. *fšan*. : Av. *fšu* :: Skt. *psn* : Skt. *psu*.\*

The meaning usually assigned to the adjective Av. *fšēñghya* is 'energetic, active, zealous'. It is rather 'nourishing, promoting, prospering', then 'thrifty, prosperous': and, when used as a noun, 'promoter.' It is especially the attribute of the farmer and cattle-raiser. For the meaning, observe also its collocation with the root Av. *su*, in Ys. xlix. 9, *fšēñghyō suyē taštō*; where *suyē taštō* is really a variation or explanatory amplification of *fšēñghyō*. Neryosang's Skt. version of the Yasna renders the word by Skt. *visphurayitar*; this latter term is the one by which he also glosses the kindred Av. *fšuyañt*. Good suggestions regarding the uses of the radical *fšu* are to be found in Darmesteter's *Haurvatat et Ameretat*, p. 76.

Presuming the above view to be approximately correct, the passages in which *fšēñghya* occurs will thus be given: Ys. xxxi. 10, *ahurem ašavanem vañhéuš fšēñghīm manāñhō* 'the righteous lord, the cultivator of the Good Mind' (i. e. cattle). Again, Ys. xlix. 9, *sraotū sās-nāō fšēñghyō suryē taštō* 'let the cultivator who is formed for thrift hearken unto my commands'. The word, therefore, though uncommon, is one of cardinal importance in the Gāthās.

## 2. Av. *saošyañtō stavān*.

In Ys. ix. 2, which describes Zoroaster's vision of Haoma, the personified spirit gives him this command:

*ā mām yāsañuha spitama  
frā mām hunvañuha hvaretēē  
aoi mām staomainē stūidhi  
yatha mā aparaciṣ saošyañtō stavān*

'Gather me, O Spitama; press me out to drink me: praise me in a song of praise, as *aparaciṣ saošyañtō stavān*.' These closing words have usually been rendered 'as the other Saoshyants praised (!) me.' The word *apara*, however, means not 'other' but 'latter, hereafter'; and the verbal form *stavān* is a subjunctive. The force of this subjunctive, referring to the future, has already been seen by Justi, *s. v. saošyañt*; he renders 'wie mich die künftigen Retter anrufen werden, but adds no comment.† The allusion in the passage is not a general but a specific one. It becomes clear in the light of the Bundahish xxx. 25, cf. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, Part i., in S.B.E. v. 126. It distinctly alludes to the solemn preparation of the sacred Hōm juice by Sōshyans and his assistants, at the time of the general resurrection, when the great Yazishn ceremony is performed. Zoroaster's celebration of the sacrament is to typify the one hereafter when the Saoshyant himself and his

\* See also note by Prof. E. W. Hopkins on Skt. *psu*, in paper read at same meeting, J.A.O.S. xv. 266.

† Darmesteter's translation *Le Zend-Avesta*, vol. i. *ad loc.* (since appeared) rightly also takes it thus.

glorious company of attendants shall come and shall offer their praise at the restoration of the world through the draught of the White Hōm.

This is but one of the many instances in which a careful study of the later Pahlavi writings will clear up an obscure passage, or make its import real and tangible instead of vague and illusory.

10. On the writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast (Daniel v. 25) ; by Mr. John D. Prince, of New York City.

Every one is familiar with the story of the feast of Belshazzar and of the mysterious writing on the wall, which appeared as a warning to the Babylonian monarch. The enigmatical sentence in which this admonition was clothed has always been looked upon as one of the most obscure of the many difficult scriptural passages which have excited the interest and baffled the ingenuity of scholars. Indeed, up to the present decade no satisfactory explanation of the warning has been proposed.

There are two difficulties presented by the Biblical record : 1. The true meaning of the sentence ; 2. Why the writing was unintelligible to the hierogrammatists, while it became clear when Daniel announced the true interpretation. The ancient writers, such as Josephus and Jerome,\* regarded the three words מִנָּא תִּקֵּל and פָּרַס as substantives, while among the more modern commentators† the tendency has been to consider them as verbal forms : viz., participles passive, of מָנָא 'count,' תִּקֵּל 'weigh,' and פָּרַס 'divide' respectively, translating the sentence accordingly : 'it is counted, it is weighed, and it is divided.' But, while it is possible to regard מִנָּא as a passive participle, the form of the other two words, תִּקֵּל and פָּרַס, has always presented a difficulty.

Recently a new light has been thrown on the passage by the distinguished French archaeologist Clermont-Ganneau, who in 1886 published an article entitled "Mene, Tekel, Upharsin, and the Feast of Belshazzar,"‡ wherein he set forth the theory that the mysterious sentence contains the names of Babylonian weights, accordingly fixing the meaning of מִנָּא and פָּרַס as 'mina' and 'half-mina.' About the meaning of תִּקֵּל he seemed doubtful, inclining however to the idea that it is a part of the verb תִּקֵּל 'weigh.'

This attempt of Ganneau was followed by an admirable paper, published in the first volume of the *Journal of Assyriology* by the great

\* Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, x. 11. 3. He translated the words by Ἀριθμός, Σταθμός, Κλάσμα ; and Jerome, by *numerus, appensio, divisio*.

† Cf. among others Lengerke, *Daniel* (1835), pp. 261-262 ; Hitzig, *Daniel* (1850), p. 84, etc.

‡ *Journal Asiatique*, Série viii., i. 36 ff. (English translation in *Hebraica* iii. 87-102.)

Strassburg Orientalist Theodor Nöldeke.\* Nöldeke clearly saw in תִּקְל the shekel, and explained the three words as substantives in the absolute state: viz., מִנָּא 'mina,' emphatic form מִנִּיא; תִּקְל 'shekel,' emphatic state תִּקְלָא; and פִּרְס 'half-mina,' emphatic state פִּרְסָא. He therefore suggested the translation 'a mina, a mina, a shekel, and half-minas,' regarding מִנָּא מִנָּא as a repetition of the same word.

Still a third attempt to explain the enigmatical sentence was made in 1887 by the well-known Syriac scholar Georg Hoffmann of Kiel,† who differed from Nöldeke only in suggesting that תִּקְל 'shekel' might be in apposition to מִנָּא. He accordingly explained the second element of the sentence as 'a mina in shekel pieces.'

The discovery of Ganneau and its critical scrutiny by Nöldeke have established the fact beyond doubt that מִנָּא, תִּקְל, and פִּרְסִין of v. 25 are names of weights. It does not seem necessary however to regard מִנָּא מִנָּא as a repetition of the same word, with both Nöldeke and Hoffmann. As Nöldeke himself has noticed, but did not adopt in his interpretation, it is perfectly proper to regard the form מִנָּא as a passive participle Pe'al from מִנָּא 'count,' as it is well known that Aramaic verbs *tertiaie* 'form their passive participles in this manner. In this way the mysterious sentence may be translated as follows: 'There have been counted a mina, a shekel, and half-minas'—regarding the first מִנָּא as the verbal form on which the following words depend.

This translation, which was suggested by Professor Haupt,‡ would seem to receive additional support from consideration of the peculiar application of these names of weights to the circumstances under which the writing appeared. Among a number of rather fanciful explanations, Ganneau recalls the Talmudic metaphorical usage of מִנָּה and פִּרְס, 'mina' and 'half-mina.' In the Talmudic writings we find occasionally the inferior son of a worthy father called "a half-mina, son of a mina" (פִּרְס בֶּן מִנָּה); a son superior to his father "a mina, son of a half-mina" (מִנָּה בֶּן פִּרְס); and a son equal to his father "a mina, son of a mina" (מִנָּה בֶּן מִנָּה).§ In rather a vague manner, charac-

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\* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, i. 414–418.

† *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ii. 45–48.

‡ See the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 58, p. 104; and the *Annual Report*, p. 18.

§ Cf. Ta'anith 21b:

מוטב יבא מנה בן פרס אצל מנה בן מנה ואל יבא מנה בן מנה אצל מנה בן פרס

'It is good that a mina son of a half-mina come to a mina son of a mina; but not that a mina son of a mina should come to a mina son of a half-mina.'



teristic of his whole paper, Ganneau suggests that the Biblical author may have intended some such allusion in his use of the mysterious sentence, and hints, without any definite explanation, that a parallel may have been meant between Nebuchadnezzar the father and Belshazzar the son.

Nöldeke, with his usual skeptical caution, attempted nothing beyond the mere grammatical explanation of the words; but Hoffmann, adopting the view advanced by a number of the older commentators, considered that פרסין 'two half-minas' referred to a division of the empire between the Mede Darius and the Persian Cyrus.

Professor Haupt, following up the idea of Ganneau regarding the symbolical meaning of the words, explained the mina, which is the largest Babylonian weight, as an allusion to the great king Nebuchadnezzar; the shekel, one sixtieth as valuable, as the symbol of Belshazzar, whom the author of Daniel considered the unworthy successor of the founder of the Babylonian empire; and the two half-minas as referring to the division of the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar between the Medes and Persians.

If the sentence be understood in this way, as indicating a comparison between persons, it becomes clear that מִנָּה מִנָּה can hardly be considered a repetition of the same word, as there would be no point in thus repeating the symbol for Nebuchadnezzar. Nebuchadnezzar might well be called the mina, as he was not only practically the founder of the Babylonian empire, but really the most brilliant representative of the Neo-Babylonian period. The author of Daniel throughout the fifth chapter is perfectly justified in contrasting him with the insignificant last king, the "shekel." The two chief points in the later Babylonian history are the rise and development of the empire under Nebuchadnezzar and its final decline under Belshazzar's father Nabonidus. So that the sacred writer, in making Nebuchadnezzar the father of the last king, although inaccurate in these minor details, nevertheless faithfully reflects the historical facts of the period.

Why the author of Daniel makes the Medes play a prominent part in the fall of Babylon, and hold the city under Darius the Mede until he was succeeded by the Persian Cyrus, has never been satisfactorily explained. As is now generally admitted, there is no room in history for Darius the Mede. The Persian Cyrus was the immediate successor of the last Babylonian king. The key to the solution of the difficulty has been conjectured by Professor Haupt to be that the author's introduction of a Median king is due to a confusion with the story of the fall of Babylon's Assyrian rival, Nineveh: which, as is well known, was conquered and destroyed by the Medes.

The mysterious sentence therefore implies a scathing comparison of the unworthy last king of Babylon with his great predecessor, and a prophecy of the speedy downfall of the native Babylonian dynasty, and the division of the empire between the Medes and the Persians.

But why was it that the learned scribes whom the king summoned to decipher the inscription were totally unable to read and interpret the sentence? To explain this difficulty, a great number of conjectures have been advanced by various commentators, which can of course be but briefly alluded to within the limits of this paper. For example, Lüderwald, in his critical examination of the first six chapters of Daniel, published in 1787,\* following Calvin, considered the portent as a vision of the king alone, which no one save Daniel, who was supernaturally gifted, could interpret. Nothing however in the text of chapter v. seems to support such a view. The evident terror not only of the king but also of his lords, and the statement in verse 8 that the wise men could neither read nor interpret the writing, seem to show that the author had no intention of representing the portent as merely a freak of the king's brain.

Some of the Talmudists thought that the words were written according to the cabalistic alphabet *אתבש*,† i. e. one in which the first letter has as its equivalent the last. It may be well to note in connection with this, from the Ethiopic correspondence of Job Ludolf, published by Flemming in the second volume of Delitzsch and Haupt's *Contributions to Assyriology*,‡ that a similar cryptographic method of writing, involving the interchange of letters, was known to the Abyssinians.

It is hardly worth while to discuss the idea advanced by some of the ancient commentators, that the characters of the mysterious sentence were arranged in three lines, as a sort of table, and were to be read vertically and not horizontally.§ Thube and others, about the end of the last century.|| held that the writing might have been in such strange characters as to prevent its decipherment by the hierogrammatists; and the Göttingen Professor of Biblical Philology, the late Ernst Bertholdt, suggested¶ that it may have been written in some complicated flourished handwriting. It is interesting to note in this connection that so great a scholar as Johann D. Michaelis of Göttingen

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\* Lüderwald, *Die sechs ersten Capitel Daniels nach historischen Gründen geprüft und berichtet* (1787). See Bertholdt, *Daniel aus dem Hebräisch-Aramäischen neu übersetzt und erklärt* (Erlangen, 1806), p. 346.

† Cf. Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, col. 248 ff., and see Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, under *יִשְׁת-אֶרֶן-אֱמֹלֶרֶן*: cited by Ganneau, op. cit. (*Hebraica*, iii. 88). *אֱמֹלֶרֶן*, however, is not possible by "Athbash," but is obtained by a quite different device. For various opinions of the older commentators regarding the mysterious sentence, see Bertholdt, op. cit., p. 350.

‡ *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii. 110.

§ Mentioned by Ganneau, op. cit. (*Hebraica*, iii. 88).

¶ See Bertholdt, op. cit., p. 351.

¶¶ Op. cit., p. 379.

originated the following wild but amusing theory.\* The expression **פֶּס יָד**, which means of course simply the hand in distinction from the arm (the idea being that nothing but the writing hand was visible), he translated by the "inner surface of the hand." He fancied that the hand must have appeared to the king as if writing from the other side of the wall, which by some supernatural means had become transparent. The writing appeared therefore reversed, as if in a mirror, a fact which no one noticed until Daniel was summoned, who promptly deciphered it. Some scholars, on the other hand, held the view that the inscription might have been written in a foreign language unknown to the wise men.† Finally, some recent critics, evidently under Assyriological influence, have inclined to the opinion that the words presented themselves to the king in the Babylonian ideographic character.‡

Had the warning been written in a foreign language, the probability is that it would have been immediately recognized at so cosmopolitan a court as the Babylonian, which had come into contact with many foreign nations. Then, too, had the writing appeared in a strange idiom, the effect of the interpretation would have been to a great extent lost on the king. But as soon as the explanation had been given Belshazzar understood it perfectly.

It is certainly most natural to suppose that the inscription was written in the Babylonian language, and in the cuneiform script, a view which is strengthened by the fact that the sentence can be reproduced in Babylonian with surprisingly little change. Thus, regarding the first **מָנָא** as the passive participle of **מָנָא** 'count,' the corresponding form in Assyrian would have been *manī*. The second **מִנָּא** 'mina' would be equivalent to the Assyrian *manû* 'mina,' usually written ideographically *ma-na*. Then **שֶׁקֶל** 'shekel,' the third word of the sentence, by regular mutation of the **ת** and **שׁ**, corresponds to Assyrian *šiqu*. The word is almost invariably written ideographically **טו**; but, as Dr. Lehmann has remarked in one of his metrological papers read before the Anthropological Society of Berlin,§ the form *šiqu* is now established as the proper pronunciation. Finally, **פָּרְסִין** 'half-minas,' pl. of **פָּרְסָא**, the last word, would have its equivalent in the Assyrian *parse*, pl. of *parsu*, meaning a 'part.'

Combining then these words as in the Aramaic of Daniel, the Babylonian original can be restored as follows: *manī manû* (or ideographically *ma-na*) *šiqu u parse* 'there have been counted a mina, a

\* See Michaelis, *Daniel*, p. 49-50.

† See Bertholdt, op. cit., p. 348; and Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*, p. 366.

‡ So for instance Andreä, *Beweis des Glaubens* (1888), pp. 263-264; and Lagarde, *Mitteilungen*, iv. 364.

§ See Dr. C. F. Lehmann in *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, June 20, 1891, p. 518, note 1.

shekel, and parts (i. e. half-minas). 'Counted' means of course in this connection 'the following has been fixed by fate.' We may compare the use of מנה in Isaiah lxv. 12, "and I will allot you to the sword" (וּמְנִיתִי אֶתְכֶם לַחֶרֶב); Psalm cxlvii. 4, "He fixes the number of the stars" (מוֹנֶה מִסְפָּר לַכּוֹכָבִים).

If we assume thus that the mysterious inscription appeared in Babylonian, and in cuneiform characters, it is easy to explain the inability of the king and his lords, and even of the skilled scribes, to read the writing. It is safe to say that an ideographic rendering of these names of weights would have baffled the ingenuity of the most expert scholars of the Babylonian court. Of course it cannot be denied, as Lagarde has pointed out,\* that the ideographic values of these four words, 'count, mina, shekel, and part,' were signs with which any educated Babylonian was familiar. If however we suppose that the ideograms were written close together without any division between the individual words (a style of writing often met with in the cuneiform inscriptions): thus—



it would be as hard to understand as a rebus, and might puzzle the most skilful decipherer.

The difficulty would have been still more increased if the ideograms had been grouped in some unusual way, separating the natural connection of the component elements: for example, thus—



If the signs had been written in this manner, the first combination, §ID-MA, would have some fifteen different meanings; the second group, NA-TU-U, would signify 'is fit or suitable;' while the third and last, BAR. BAR, is capable of explanation in a variety of ways. Of course, as soon as one is told the meaning of the combinations, the sentence at once becomes clear.

The above more or less conjectural explanations have been offered under the assumption that the account given in the fifth chapter of Daniel is to a certain extent historical. Although it is now generally recognized by scholars who have studied the Old Testament from a critical point of view that the book of Daniel cannot have been written before the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, about 164 B. C., and is therefore not a contemporary record, it still seems possible that the narrative of the fifth chapter may contain an echo of historical fact. It may be well therefore to conclude this paper with the question whether the

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\* *Mitteilungen*, iv. 364.

account of the miraculous appearance of a warning writing during the progress of a feast on the eve of the capture of Babylon must be considered as a pure invention of the author.

We may ask in the first place whether it is absolutely necessary to consider the portent a miracle, and whether it is not possible that the inscription was produced by human means.

Two theories have been advanced as to a possible non-miraculous production of the writing: some scholars have held that it might have been made by loyal servants of the king; others have regarded it as the work of conspirators.

The former supposition, which was advanced for instance by Bertholdt,\* does not seem tenable, as loyal servants would hardly have chosen such a disrespectful sentence with which to warn their master. It must be remembered, of course, that the symbolical meaning of the phrase was not known when this suggestion was offered.

The second theory, that it might have been produced by conspirators† against the royal house, has more inherent probability. Judging from the historical accounts of the period, a powerful conspiracy must have been concerned in the destruction of Babylon.

We are told in the two cuneiform documents relating to the fall of the city, the Annals of Nabonidus and the Cyrus Cylinder,‡ that Cyrus with his Persians took both Sippar and Babylon "without battle." It is hardly to be imagined that this could have been the case unless the invader had had auxiliaries among the Babylonians. Nabonidus, the last king, had wilfully neglected not only the defenses of the capital, but also the festival of the god Marduk, which took place annually in Babylon, choosing to live in Tema rather than at the seat of his government. In addition to this, the king had infringed on the jurisdiction of Marduk, by introducing into Babylon a number of strange deities to serve as its defense.§ It is not impossible therefore that the priests of Marduk in Babylon were hostile to the government, and instrumental in bringing about the final blow.

As to the general disposition of the priesthood towards the royal family, we may read between the lines of an inscription of Nabonidus regarding his son Belšaruçur (Belshazzar), in which the king is made to pray that the prince "may not incline to sin."|| Remembering that the inscriptions were prepared by a priestly class, this remark, taken

\* Bertholdt, op. cit., p. 353.

† It should be remarked that Bertholdt (op. cit.) mentioned this supposition also as a possible conjecture.

‡ For the latest transliteration and translation of these texts, see Hagen, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii. 205 ff.

§ Cyrus Cylinder, l. 10 and 33-34; Annals of Nabonidus, c. iii., l. 9-10.

|| Cf. I.R. 68, c. ii. 22 ff.; also Abel-Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 43—translated in Schrader's *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii., pt. 2, pp. 85-97.

*Prince, writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast. clxxxix*

in connection with the conduct of Belshazzar as it appears in the Book of Daniel, seems to have a peculiar significance.

Besides the general discontent of the native Babylonian party, it may be supposed that the large Jewish element which had been transplanted by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon, and which could hardly be expected to feel well-disposed towards the Babylonian dynasty, probably played a considerable part in the final conspiracy. In fact, we know from the prophecies of Isaiah (xliv. 28; xlv. 1 ff.) that the Jews in Babylon considered Cyrus the "shepherd of God," and looked forward to his coming as the Anointed of Jehovah.

It seems therefore to be a probable fact that a conspiracy existed at that time; and, if this be so, it is by no means implausible to assume that such a warning as that described in Daniel v. was caused by the agency of conspirators.

The tone of the chapter appears to indicate, however, beyond doubt that the Biblical writer considered the portent as a miracle sent from God to warn the impious king of his impending punishment; and he accordingly makes use of the account as a diatribe against Antiochus Epiphanes.

That a festival actually took place on the eve of the capture of Babylon is not at all improbable. Although we have no parallel record of such an event in the inscriptions, it certainly seems rather significant that both Herodotus and Xenophon allude to a feast about this time.\*

In spite of the various inaccuracies found in the narrative of Daniel, it still appears clear that a historical basis underlies his dramatic account of the feast of Belshazzar. The preservation of the name of Belshazzar, not found elsewhere in the Old Testament, and now confirmed by the cuneiform inscriptions, the approximately correct statement regarding his death,† and the striking agreement just mentioned of the record of Herodotus with the Biblical account, would seem to show that the story of the appearance of the mysterious sentence may not altogether lack a historical element.

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\* According to Herodotus, i. 188 ff., Babylon after a siege of some length was captured, when the attention of the besieged was distracted during a festival, by drawing off the water of the Euphrates and entering the city by way of the river bed. Cf. also Xenophon, Cyr. vii. 5. 15.

† Cf. the annals of Nabonidus, iii., l. 23. The passage is badly mutilated, and it is impossible to decide definitely so important a historical question until a duplicate of the text be found which shall supply the missing signs. According to the latest collation of the text (that of Hagen), the words *mār šarri* 'son of the king' are clearly to be detected before the verb 'he died:' see *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii. 247. The passage must therefore be translated 'the son of the king died,' and is probably to be considered as a record of the death of Belshazzar (Belšaruṣur).

11. Remarks introductory to a comparative study on the translations of the Deluge-tablets, with special reference to Dr. P. Jensen's *Kosmologie*; by Rev. W. Muss-Arnolt, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The Babylonian account of the Deluge, being Tablet XI. of the great so-called Nimrod-Epos, was first brought to light and translated by the late George Smith of the British Museum in his *Chaldean Account of the Deluge* (London, 1872).

This document has been from the very beginning a center of attraction for cuneiform scholars, owing to its importance for the interpretation of the Biblical account of the deluge; and much zeal and earnest labor have been bestowed upon the restoration of the original text and its interpretation.

The cuneiform text was published in the fourth volume of the *Rawlinson Inscriptions*, pp. 50 and 51, of which a new and much improved edition has appeared in 1891, giving on pp. 43 and 44 the Deluge-tablets with numerous variant readings. Fr. Delitzsch published the whole of tablet XI. in the third edition of his *Lesestücke* (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 99-109; and last year Professor Haupt gave us, for the first time, a complete critical text, in the first fascicle of Part II. of his edition of the Nimrod-Epos.\* In this second part we find on pp. 79-92 additional fragments to the first ten plates, published by Haupt in 1884; p. 63 contains a "hymn to Izdubar," translated for the first time by Dr. Alfred Jeremias in his treatise *Izdubar-Nimrod* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 3-6; pp. 95-132, registering all the existing fragments of the Deluge account, are followed by a new complete edition of that text (pp. 133-150), with all the variant readings, and additional remarks beneath the text.†

Translations of the whole account of the Deluge (i. e. lines 1-185), or of parts thereof, have been made since the days of George Smith by nearly all the leading Assyriologists, e. g. by Fox Talbot in the *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* (London, iv. 49 ff., 129 ff.). M. Jules Oppert published one in the Appendix to M. E. Ledrain's *Histoire d'Israël* (1882), i. 422-434, and another in his *Le poème chaldéen du déluge* (Paris, 1885); François Lenormant, in the fifth appendix to his *Les origines de l'histoire* (Paris, 1880, pp. 631 ff.); and Haupt contributed a new rendering of selections in his Habilitationsschrift *Der keilinschriftliche Sintflutbericht* (Leipzig, 1881), and a translation of the whole account to the German edition of E. Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (2d edition, Giessen, 1888 [= KAT<sup>2</sup>], pp. 55-64).

The first philological commentary was also written by Dr. Haupt, in 1883, for Schrader's KAT<sup>2</sup> (pp. 65-79, with a glossary on pp. 492-521). Since then the same writer has contributed in various journals articles toward the interpretation of this most difficult cuneiform document.

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\* Vol. iii. of the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, edited by F. Delitzsch and Paul Haupt, Leipzig, 1884 and '91.

† A more detailed announcement of this edition is given by Dr. I. M. Casanowicz of the Johns Hopkins University in Circular 98 of that University.

Recently, the Deluge has been translated by Dr. Peter Jensen, of Strassburg, in his *Kosmologie der Babylonier, Studien und Materialien* (Strassburg, 1890; pp. 546, O.), and by Dr. Alfred Jeremias, in his *Izdubar-Nimrod*. Jensen's *Kosmologie* has been highly praised by most of the younger Assyriologists and Semitic scholars,\* and unfavorably criticised, more or less, by Schrader and Sayce.† Sayce's review, on the whole, is simply a retort to some unpleasant remarks of Jensen on pp. 48 and 269 of his book. Speaking of Jensen's treatment of the Deluge account, Sayce believes "that, on the whole, the general sense of the more difficult texts, which relate to religious, mythological, or kindred subjects, has been long ago made out; any one who will compare the translations given by Dr. Jensen of the Creation and Deluge tablets with the translations published more than fifteen years since by George Smith will see that in all essential points they seldom vary much from one another. Except in supplying the broken portions of the text, there is little of really material consequence to be added to the existing translations of that particular document." That these words are simply assertions on the part of Mr. Sayce, any observant reader can see by comparing the different specimens of translations of passages of the Nimrod-Epos given by Dr. C. Adler in the *Johns Hopkins Circular*, No. 55 (Jan., 1887), and by Professor Haupt in his quotations of the several renderings of the opening lines of the Deluge-story in No. 69 (Feb., 1889) of the same circulars.

On page xiv of his preface, Jensen remarks that his book was intended also for readers who are not Assyriologists. But, as a matter of fact, it will be found disappointing by such a reader. For it presumes an intimate knowledge of the language of the cuneiform tablets, and every page bristles with Sumerian and Assyrian words and cuneiform characters. Jensen declares war, on the same page, against the fashionable craze of using abbreviations of all kinds; but on the very first page of his book, line 9, the unsuspecting reader is confronted by the enigmatic abbreviation "iv. R. 63, 12 b."‡ How can any reader but an Assyriologist be expected to know the meaning of such abbreviations, used by one who so emphatically protested against their use, without even supplying a key to their understanding? What is, no doubt, sadly missed by many readers of Jensen's interesting and highly instructive book is an introductory chapter containing a survey of the cuneiform documents mentioned in the body of the work, their character, source, and approximate date of composition.

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\* C. Bezold, in the *London Academy*, May 31, 1890, p. 575; K. Budde of Strassburg, in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1890, No. 7, cols. 170-175; Zimmern, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, v. 114-120; W. N(owack), in *Litterar. Centralblatt* (Leipzig, 1890), No. 15.

† E. Schrader, in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1890, No. 42, cols. 535-7; Sayce, in the *Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature*, i. 185-140.

‡ Fourth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, edited by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, plate 68, column b, line 12.



The book is known, now, to all Assyriologists and to a great many Old Testament scholars.

It is divided into three main parts :

I. The universe as a whole (pp. 1-260). This is the most valuable part of the whole work, from which we may gain a fair idea, from the documents which have come down to us, of the conception of the universe formed by the ordinary Babylonian.

The earth was round and immovable, a lofty mountain (*Xar-sag* [*gal*] *kurkurra* and *E-Kur* = *bīt šadē* 'mountain house'), and rested on the abyss of waters (*apsū*). But we may well ask here at once how such a conception could have arisen among the inhabitants of the alluvial plain of Babylonia? and the passages invoked by Jensen in support of his view admit also of a different interpretation. Above the earth stretched the arch of the sky, the heaven of god Anu, resting on the foundation of heaven (*ešid šamē*); above this firmament, again, is the 'inner part of heaven' (*kirib šamē*), the abode of the gods, called also *E-ba(b)bara* = *bīt šamē* 'sun-lit house,' because here the sun shone continually. Above the visible heaven there were the 'upper waters,' a heavenly ocean. At both north poles, that of the ecliptic as well as that of the equator, sat the astronomical *Anu* and *Bel* (*Dagān*); below, in the furthest south, perhaps in the constellation of Arago, the astronomical *Ea*. The sky was divided by 'ways' or 'paths' of the movable stars, one of them being the *Anu*-path = ecliptic; another the *Bel*-path = the tropic of Cancer; and a third the *Ea*-path = the tropic of Capricorn. On either side of the world, to the east and the west, there were doors, through which the sun passed on his daily circuit; but it does not follow that either the Babylonian poet or his contemporaries believed in their existence, as little as we believe the earth to be fixed and stationary because we may say that the sun rises or sets. In the sky there are four classes of heavenly bodies: 1. The stars *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the fixed stars; 2. The *bibbu*-stars, i. e. the moving, retreating sheep = the planets; 3. The raven-stars = the comets; and 4. The meteors. Of special importance among the fixed stars are the *Māši*-stars, i. e. the stars of the ecliptic and the zodiacal signs. The 'island of the blessed' is located by Jensen on the southern horizon of the Persian gulf, and arguments are adduced against the identification of the Babylonian 'mountain of the world' with the 'mount of the congregation' of the gods alluded to in Isaiah xiv. 13. Beneath the earth lay Hades, the realm of the dead, its entrance toward the west; an old myth (iv. Rawl. 31) asserts that it is surrounded by seven walls and approached by seven gates.

In the pre-Semitic period of Chaldæa, the earth was divided into seven parallel zones (*tub(p)uqāti*), encircling one another and divided by dykes or mounds; this conception was modified by the Semitic invaders, who substituted for it the division of the earth into four equal quadrants (*kibrāti*).

II. The second part (pp. 263-364) treats of the Babylonian legends concerning the origin and development of the world. The same subject has lately been discussed by Professor Barton in the first part of volume xv. of the Journal of this Society.

III. The third part (pp. 364-446) is devoted to a new treatment of the Deluge-account. I mentioned in the beginning that some of the older Assyriologists have spoken rather derogatively of this portion of the book. Thus Sayce, who adds to the criticism quoted above "It is true that certain words and expressions still remain obscure in the account of the deluge; but, as regards these, though some of them may be cleared up hereafter, we can never hope to obtain full certainty as to the rest." Similar in character are Schrader's remarks. On the other hand, Budde, Bezold, and others cannot find words sufficient to praise this masterly treatment, especially of the account of the Deluge. Bezold even says "It widely differs from any other of the numerous attempts at an interpretation of these texts (i. e. Creation- and Deluge-tablets), and, we may add, annihilates them all. It is, however, unfortunate that Jensen did not make use of the important contributions towards the right readings of the Deluge text in the *Expositor* (September, 1888, p. 236 ff.), which were available a long time before the Leipzig *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* were finally presented to the world."

The "important contributions" referred to by Bezold are imbedded in a review, signed E. (Evans?), of the second part of Friederich Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*. They are corrections to lines 52, 103, 121, and 279 of the deluge text: in all, four! These Bezold prefers, as more important, to the hundred and more additions to and corrections of the text which were published by Dr. Haupt in an article in the first volume of the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, a preprint of which was issued early in 1888 and sent to Jensen, even before the September number of the *Expositor* appeared.

Budde tells us that Jensen's treatment of the Deluge text is the best since the commentary of Haupt (1883). Lacunæ, he says, are supplied by Jensen, untenable or unwarranted explanations dropped, and better ones offered in their place. Such is true to a great extent; but Budde does not mention that most of the supplied lacunæ are based on Haupt's collation of the Izdubar-legends; that most of the new explanations offered go back to Stan. Guyard's *Notes de lexicographie assyrienne* (Paris, 1883), Zimmern's *Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, 1885), and Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, parts 1 and 2; Budde apparently overlooks—and, as a non-Assyriologist, could hardly be expected to know—the fact that Zimmern has contributed a large share to this new translation and commentary; that Jensen's improvements are confined to l. 13, *abûbu* = 'Flutsturm' not 'Sturmflut,' which ultimately is due to Prætorius; l. 20, *ugur bîta, bini elippa* 'erect a house (ark), build a ship,' explaining *ugur* as imperative of *nagaru* 'build,' against the former *ugur bîta* 'destroy (thy) house;' ll. 88-86, *mu'ir kukki* 'he who sends the raingushes,' explaining *mu'ir* as the participle of *u'ir* 'he sent' (Piel to *a'aru*), as against the old reading *izzak* (written *MU-ir kukki*, translated 'he said: *kuku*' or '*kuku* said.' *Kâkku* 'raingush' is derived by Jensen from *kanâku* 'press down, beat,' a formation quite unique according to the laws of Assyrian grammar. Delitzsch in Part III. of his *Wörterbuch* has shown that we must read *mu'ir qûqi* (קִּי) 'he who sends darkness;' but, if so, then Jensen's translation of line 88 (86) *mu'ir kukki ina ilâti ušaznanu šamâtu*

*kebāti* 'when he who sends rain pours down a heavy rain in the evening' has to be abandoned for the better rendering 'when he who sends darkness in the evening causes a heavy destructive rain to pour down.' Line 121 is based on Haupt's collation (see also *Nimrod-epos*, pl. 140, l. 128); another good interpretation of Jensen's is that of *šamē ša Anim* 'the heaven of Anu' (l. 108) by 'sky.' These are the chief improvements, in this translation and commentary, upon the work of former interpreters.

On the other hand, a number of Assyrian words and sentences are left untranslated which could have been translated correctly. I note especially ll. 55, *karxitu*; 59, *kirbitu*; 64, *sussulu* (amphora, jug); 75, *gini* (where we must read *gi-ir*, *Nimrod-Epos*, pl. 137, 79, and note 21); 109, *ilani kima kalbi qunnunu*, which evidently means 'the gods crouched down like dogs;' and 146, where it is said of the raven sent out by Atraxasis *iqrib išaxxi itarri issaxra*; Jensen translates 'he came near . . . croaked ( $\sqrt{\text{ךך}}$ ), but did not return again' (cf. St. Guyard, l. c. § 77).

About a year later than Jensen's *Kosmologie* appeared Alfred Jeremias's unassuming little book called *Izdubar-Nimrod, eine altbabylonische Heldensage, dargestellt nach den Keilschrift-fragmenten* (Leipzig, 1891; pp. 78). This treatise can safely be recommended to all Semitic students and young Assyriologists as a cautious guide for the understanding of the great Nimrod-Epos. On pp. 32-36 Jeremias publishes a new rendering of the Deluge-account; and, if Bezold could say of Jensen's translation that it "annihilated all previous attempts," we can, from a close comparison of the two renderings, say now that that of Jeremias annihilates that of Jensen.

Of the 167 lines of the Deluge text translated by Jensen, Jeremias omits 25 lines (ll. 54-77 and 103-104), owing to the imperfect condition of the cuneiform text, thus leaving only 142 lines common to both, of which 41 lines differ wholly or in part from Jensen's translation, in some instances changing essentially the situation. Wherever Jeremias differs from Jensen, he follows mostly the reading and translation proposed by Haupt in his *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, i. 94-152 and 320-22; *Nimrod-Epos*, pl. 133-142.

The following are the lines in which Jeremias differs from his predecessor: 12, 14, 16, 17-18, 20b, 25-6, 55-6, 90, 94, 98b, 100, 101, 102, 113-115, 119 (where *ilani ašru ašbi* is translated by Jensen 'the gods where they sat', while Jeremias renders 'there the gods sat bowed down':  $\text{ישר}$ ), 120 (where it is said of the gods *katmā šaptašunu*, Jensen 'covered were their lips,' while Jeremias much better gives 'their lips were pressed together,' doubtless a sign of fear and terror), 122-125 (where the whole arrangement of the sentences differs considerably), 128, 130 (*uktammisma*, Jensen 'I bowed down,' Jeremias 'dazzled I sank backward'), 132, 133, 135, 142, 146 (where Jeremias reads 'the raven which Atraxasis sent out *ik-kal išaxxi itarri izzaxra*: ate, settled down, i. e. descended to feed, either on the carcasses or on the slimy mud. . . and did not return', omitting, however, the translation of *itarri*, which evi-

dently means 'flew away': Ifteal of arû (𐎶𐎵𐎶), 147, 154, 156, 168, 169 (*kiki*), 171, 172 ff. (*ammaku*, Jensen 'wherefore', Jeremias 'instead of'), 181a, and 188.

This rapid survey will, I hope, convince every reader of the two books that Jensen has by no means spoken the last word in the interpretation of the Deluge. It will be the aim of the principal part of this paper—to be published in the *Hebraica*—to trace the historic development of the interpretation of the Deluge-tablets since they were first translated by George Smith; to show how much every new translator, since then, owes to his predecessor, and what additions to our knowledge of the true text, its interpretation, and its correct translation have been made by the different contributors. This will be followed by a new interpretation of some passages of the document in question hitherto misunderstood.

12. The different classes of Babylonian spirits; by George Reisner, of Harvard University.

In the following abstract are given only the conclusions thus far reached. In the paper itself I expect to state facts and arguments.

I. The material from which the following conclusions are drawn is to be found mainly in Rawlinson iv. 1–20. The texts given there present a number of different kinds of spirits having in general the same characteristics. They are subject to certain laws, and yield to the influence of spoken words and of ceremonies. They are manifested in the causing and the curing of diseases, in accidents—in fact, in any uncomprehended physical phenomenon. Each kind of spirit seems to be a group or species, whose members are indistinguishable as individuals. The meanings of the names are very obscure, and, when they do appear, give little material for classification: as, for example, *rabisu*, 'croucher'; *ahhazu*, 'seizer'; *utukku*, 'tearer (?)'. Moreover, the characteristics indicated by the names agree only in a general way with those stated in the texts.

II. The most evident basis of classification of the different groups of spirits is that of their relation to man. From this point of view there are three main classes: 1. Those which are well-disposed towards men; 2. Those which are well- or ill-disposed according to circumstances; 3. Those which are ill-disposed. The words "good" and "evil" must be understood in a purely physical sense. It is true that evil spirits are said to be hostile to the gods, but it is only in causing material, not moral, injury to men, or even to gods.

- |                    |           |              |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------|
| 1. The great gods, | 2. Shidu, | 3. Rabişu,   |
| Igigi,             | Lamassu,  | Lamaştum,    |
| Anunnaki,          | Utukku,   | Labaşu,      |
| Guzahnish,         | Alu,      | Ahhazu,      |
| etc.               | Ikimmu,   | Lilu-Lilitu, |
|                    | Gallu,    | Namtaru,     |
|                    | Ilu,      | Asakku.      |

The classes of spirits thus made out are not separated by any sharp line, but merge into one another so that it is difficult to tell just where one class leaves off and the next begins. And the result is a series of groups, varying gradually from the lowest evil spirits to the great gods themselves.

III. The most fundamental classification would be one on the basis of the origin or real nature of the spirits; but here the material is scanty. There are some general differences, however, pointing to three classes:

1. Spirits which seem to be the disembodiments of the supernatural powers supposed to reside in certain physical phenomena—especially in the various winds. They cause mainly fevers and plagues. And they are described in a way strikingly like the descriptions given of the Arabic desert-jinn, the *zoba'ah*.

2. Spirits which seem to be the disembodiments of the supernatural powers supposed to reside in certain animals. They cause diseases and accidents. They are to be compared with the Hebrew *se'irim* and the Arabic *jinn*. All are characterized by partially or wholly animal forms, by the habitation of waste places, and by the lack of individuality. One member of this class, the *shidu*, appears in the Old Test., seemingly borrowed by the Hebrews: cf. Deut. xxxi. 17, Ps. cvi. 37. Both passages are post-exilic; and the term is used to characterize heathen gods, as Moslems use the word *jinn* and Christians the word *devil*. Further, the *shidi*, which were represented by the winged bulls of stone that stood at the gates of Assyrian and Babylonian palaces, were very likely to make a deep impression on the Hebrews.

3. Spirits of men and women who have died violent but bloodless deaths. They are especially connected with night visitations, and include apparently the *lilu*, *lilitu*, and *ardat lili* ('maid of the *lilu*'). The Hebrew *Lilith* is a partial borrowing of this *lilu-lilitu* species of spirit.

13. A peculiar use of *ilani* in the tablets from El-Amarna; by Professor George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr, Pa.

In several of the tablets from El-Amarna, as published by Winckler and Abel in the *Königliche Museen zu Berlin—Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen*, the following sentence occurs: *ana šarri bili-ya, ilani-PL-ya ILU šamši-ya, sarri, bili-ya* etc., which must evidently be rendered 'Unto the king, my lord, my god, my sun-god, the king, my lord,' etc., making *ilani-PL*, the plural form, really a singular in force. This is for Assyrian a very peculiar usage. The sentence, however, is of too frequent occurrence for us to suppose that there is any mistake about it; and, while this peculiar use of *ilani* is mostly confined to the address to the king at the beginning of these letters, I have noted it in a few other connections as well. The passages in which it is found are as follows: No. 38, l. 31; No. 41, ll. 31, 39; No. 90, ll. 2, 6; No. 99, l. 1; No. 100, l. 2; No. 101, l. 2; No. 107, ll. 2, 7; No. 108, ll. 2, 6; No. 109, ll. 1, 7; No. 110, ll. 1, 7; No. 116, l. 3; No. 117, l. 5; No. 118, l. 2; No. 119, l. 2; No. 120, l. 2; No. 121, l. 2; No. 122, l. 1; No. 123, l. 2;

No. 124, l. 1; No. 126, l. 2; No. 137, l. 6; No. 138, ll. 2, 8; No. 145, ll. 2, 10; No. 147, l. 2; No. 148, l. 2; No. 153, ll. 1, 6; No. 156, ll. 2, 7; No. 187, l. 4; No. 190, l. 2; No. 200, l. 2; No. 201, l. 6.

It will be seen, therefore, that *ilani*-PL with the force of a singular occurs more than forty times. That it really is a singular is shown not only by the fact that it is in apposition with a singular noun, but by a variant, *sarri*, *bili-ya ili-ya* ILU *šamši-ya* etc., where *ilu* occurs in place of *ilani*-PL (see No. 193, l. 10, and No. 198, l. 3).

There is in the Assyrian royal annals a usage which at first sight approaches quite closely to the one noted above. *Ilani rabuti* or *ilani* is often used in a collective sense, in such a way that the idea of plurality is almost lost, and the real unity of volition presupposed on the part of the gods rises to such a pitch that they seem to be spoken of almost as one being. This latter use of *ilani* is confined to no one period. It occurs in Assurnasirpal I., cir. 1800 B. C. (*paliḥ ilani*-PL *rabuti*-PL, Z. A. vol. v., p. 79, l. 21); in Tiglath-pileser I., cir. 1100 B. C. (*ina tukulti ša ilani*-PL, *rabuti*-PL, I. R. 12. 45-46; *ma-mi-it ilani*-PL-ya *rabuti*-PL, I. R. 13. 14; *ili ilani*-PL *rabuti*-PL *i-ṭi-bu-ma*, I. R. 15. 53); in Assurnasirpal II., 885-880 B. C. (*pa-liḥ ilani*-PL *rabuti*-PL, I. R. 17. 18; *ina pi-i ilani*-PL *rabuti*-PL, I. R. 17. 36; *kar-di ka-šu-uš ilani*-PL *rabuti*-PL, I. R. 26. 127-128); in Shamshi-raman, 825-812 B. C. (*ša ul-tu ul-la-a ilani*-PL *ib-bu-u*, I. R. 29. 30); in Tiglath-pileser III., 745-727 B. C. (*zar-šu-ut* [?] *ilani*-PL *rabuti*-PL, II. R. 67. 81); in Sargon, 722-705 B. C. (*im-bu-in-ni ilani*-PL *rabuti*-PL, Cyl. Ins. l. 49; *ša ki-i la lib-bi ilani*-PL *šar-ra-ut Babili*-KI *i-pu-šu-ma*, Bull. Ins. l. 31\*); in Esarhaddon, 681-668 B. C. (*ša-lam ilani*-PL *rabuti*-PL *ud-diš*, I. R. 49, Col. iv., 25); in Assurbanipal, 668-626 B. C. (*ina ki-bit ilani*-PL *rabuti*-PL, V. R. 1. 35, also 8. 27; *la iṣ-šu-ru ma-mit ilani*-PL *rabuti*-PL, V. R. 1. 119, also 8. 67; *ri-ši-i-ti a-na ilani*-PL-ya *aš-ruḫ*, V. R. 7. 1; *ilani*-PL *rabuti*-PL *ma-la ina mu-šar-i an-ni-i šaṭ-ru kima ya-a-ti-ma liš-ru-ku-uš da-na-nu u li-i-tu*, V. R. 10. 114, 115); and in Nebuchadrezzar, 604-561 B. C. (*ša a-na al-ka-ka-a-at ilani*-PL *rabuti*-PL *na-da-a u-zu-na-a-šu*, I. R. 51, No. 1, ll. 4-5; *sa-at-tu-uk ilani*-PL *rabuti*-PL *uš-pa-ar-ši-ṭi-ḫ*, I. R. 54, Col. ii. 38).

In such passages as the above, *ilani* seems not to have been used as a real singular, unless Esarhaddon's *ša-lam ilani* can be regarded as such a use. Here, however, the *ša-lam* may be deemed a collective. Indeed, it would seem that in such passages the plural conception of *ilani* was never wholly wanting. In the case of one of our above quotations (I. R. 1. 35) Assurbanipal goes on in the immediate context to name the twelve gods of his pantheon. Again, in V. R. 8. 27, we have the expression already noted, *ina ki-bit ilani rabuti*, but in l. 30 *ina ki-bit Aššur Ištar u ilani rabuti*, which reveals the plural idea in the former expression. Every Assyrian scholar will readily recall numerous instances in which *ilani rabuti* is in apposition to a king's whole pantheon.

Negative statements are always precarious, but, in looking through the Assyrian literature, I have found but one case outside the El-

\* See Lyon's *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, or Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*.

† Or *zi*.

Amarna tablets where *ilani* can absolutely be regarded as a singular. This is in an inscription of Nabonidus, found at the temple of Sin at Ur, and published in I. R. 68, and in Abel and Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 48.

Col. i., ll. 28, 29, of this inscription read *a-na ilu Sin bil ilani-PL ša šami-i u irši-tim*, "šarri *ilani-PL ilani-PL sa ilani-PL*. Here the last *ilani* but one is in apposition with *Sin*, a singular noun, unless it be (as Peiser has suggested: *Keil. Bibliothek*, iii. 94 n.) a repetition made by mistake. The next nearest approach to such a usage is Esarhaddon's *ša-lam ilani*, and in that case there were undoubtedly many images of the different gods. While it is possible that the Nabonidus usage and that of the El-Amarna tablets are connected, and represent some obscure Babylonian peculiarity not otherwise preserved to us, it seems to me more likely that they are in no wise connected, and that the Assyrian spoken in Syria reveals to us in this peculiarity the traces of an influence from outside. Was this influence Phœnician? Fortunately there is some evidence in the scanty remains of Phœnician literature that this influence came possibly in slight degree from Phœnicia. There are not only several instances in the Phœnician inscriptions where אֱלִים, the plural of אֵל, approaches a singular meaning like *ilani* in the royal annals of Assyria (e. g. נֶלֶב אֱלִים 'the sacred barber,' C. I. S. 257. 4; 258. 4-5; 259. 3; מֶקֶם אֱלִים, C. I. S. 377. 5-6; and אִמַּת אֱלִים, 378. 8), but in one instance we have אֱלִים used as a veritable singular. See C. I. S. 119. 2. The inscription runs as follows:

אֲנִי אִסְפַּת בַּת אִשְׁמֻנְשִׁילֵם צִדְנָת. אִשׁ יִטְנָא לִי  
יִתְנַבֵּל בֶּן אִשְׁמֻנְצִלַח רִבְכָּהֲנָם אֱלִים נֶרְגַּל.

i. e. 'I am Asepta, daughter of Eshmunshillel, a Sidonian. Which Yatanbel, son of Eshmunshillekh, the chief priest of the god Nergal, erected for me'.

Here we have Nergal in apposition with אֱלִים, proving אֱלִים to be really a singular.\* Although this inscription comes from the neighborhood of Athens, it was written in memory of a Sidonian woman, and presumably by a Sidonian. Now of our El-Amarna letters which contain *ilani* as a singular, and the location of which we can determine, one (No. 90) comes from Sidon, and another (No. 99) from some town in its vicinity. It looks therefore as if we had traces in the region of Sidon of the use of אֱלִים as a singular. Of the remaining El-Amarna letters containing this peculiar usage, and the local origin of which we can determine, four come from Askelon,† two from Lakish,‡ and one from the vicinity of Ajalon, since it contains a mention of that town.§ We are led therefore to suspect that Palestinian influence had more to do with this use of *ilani* than Phœnician influence had. This suspicion moreover is strengthened when we find what

\* So Movers, Schröder, Renan, Levy, and Block, though Dérenbourg and Halévy attempt a different rendering.

† Nos. 118, 119, 121, 122.

‡ Nos. 123, 124.

§ No. 137.

A. J. Delattre has already pointed out (P. S. B. A., xiii. 319): that our letter from Sidon was written by the same man who wrote one of the letters from Lakish. This fact gives additional ground for the conjecture that the Canaanitish usage of אֱלֹהִים as a singular is largely if not altogether responsible for this peculiar use of *ilani* in the tablets from El-Amarna. This may seem at first sight a bold conjecture, but it is not without parallel in these tablets. No one can read them without noting what Dr. Zimmern has already pointed out :\* namely, the noteworthy influence of the Canaanitish language upon Assyrian forms. Some instances of this are the following : *ip-ša-ti* for *ip-ša-ku* (102.5), *pa-ta-ar* for *pa-ti-ir* (102.8), *ḥa-pa-ru* for *ip-i-ru* (203.8), *ḡunu* for *ḡinu* (169.10), *susu* for *sisu* (169.23), and *zuru* for *katu* (103.27 ; 104.14, 34 ; 102.12). With these it would seem that we may probably include אֱלֹהִים : not that this divine name itself is actually found in the Assyrian, but that its influence led to the use of *ilani* as a singular. If our conjecture is correct, we have evidence in the El-Amarna tablets of a most interesting nature to the Old Testament critic : evidence that in Canaan, in the 15th century B. C., אֱלֹהִים was already used as a singular ; evidence too that this usage extended to Phœnicia, where we find some slight trace of it centuries later. This is the divine name adopted by the prophetic Elohist in the Pentateuch. Critics agree in ascribing these writings to a date anterior to 750 B. C.† It has been considered a difficulty in Pentateuchal analysis, as I remember to have heard Professor Toy once say, that, while Elohim seems to have been the name applied by the Elohist writer to God at the above named date (which critics consider early), no trace can be found in the Old Testament of Elohim as the name of a specific deity, or of Elohim as an element of proper names. It is thought that in the ordinary course of development the use of Elohim as a proper name would have preceded the use of Elohim as a generic designation of the absolute Deity, and would have led up to it. Our El-Amarna tablets, however, seem to teach us that this usage antedates the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, and that, if any such development took place, it occurred long before Old Testament times.

14. On an Ethiopic MS. of the Octateuch in the Library of Haverford College, Pa. ; by Professor Geo. A. Barton.

This MS. is known in the Haverford Library Catalogue of MSS. as Hav. 23. It is briefly described in *A Catalogue of Manuscripts (chiefly Oriental) in the Library of Haverford College*, by Robert W. Rogers, published in the *Haverford College Studies*, No. 4, p. 28 ff.

As is there stated, the MS. is one brought by Professor J. Rendel Harris from the East in 1889. It is one of several purchased in Egypt,

\* See Dr. Zimmern's Articles in *Zeit. Deut. Palästina-Vereins*, Band xiii., Heft 3 ; and in *ZA.* Band vi., Heft 3.

† See Driver's *Introduction*, p. 116 ; Kuenen's *Hexateuch*, p. 248.



Palestine, and Lebanon, but we are not told of the channel through which this MS. came from Abyssinia into Professor Harris's hands. Quoting Tischendorf's "In the dust of an Eastern Monastery," Professor Harris assures us "that these MSS. have had their share of the dust of Holy Lands and Holy Cities, but that their sanctity is locally anonymous."\*

Hav. 23 is a manuscript of fine vellum, which Professor Rogers has correctly described as "containing 182 leaves,  $12 \times 16\frac{1}{4}$  inches, bound in original Oriental binding of boards, covered with leather, stamped with various geometric designs and with crosses. . . . The vellum is in perfect preservation, and the inks bright and clear. Marginal notes, glosses, and corrections in later hands are found in many places throughout the volume." The writing is in three columns. The contents of the MS. are as follows :—

Genesis,	fol.	1 ff.
Exodus,	"	42 "
Leviticus,	"	75 "
Numbers,	"	100 "
Deuteronomy,	"	128 "
Joshua,	"	148 "
Judges,	"	166b ff.
Ruth,	"	180 "
A prayer,	"	182.

It should be mentioned, however, that on two fly leaves at the beginning of the volume there are written in a very bad modern hand some Biblical extracts. The divisions between the verses are in the main body of the MS. marked by a combination of black and red dots, but in some portions the red dots are omitted. At the beginning of Genesis, Exodus, and Joshua the first ten lines across the page are written in alternate pairs in red and black ink. At the beginning of Leviticus and Numbers the same alternation extending across the page occurs, but is continued through six lines only, while at the beginning of Deuteronomy, Judges, and Ruth five lines of alternate red and black are found in the first column only. This is due partly to the fact that Judges and Ruth begin in the third column of the page, and partly to the different hands, of which I will speak presently. Different sections here and there written by the two older hands begin with two or three lines in red ink. In the middle books of the MS. the phrase "And the Lord spoke to Moses and said—" is most frequently selected as a red letter sentence. The numerals are also generally, but by no means exclusively, written in red ink by these scribes. In the parts of the book of Joshua written by the oldest hand of all, spaces are frequently left for the insertion in red ink of the numerals and of the phrase "And the Lord said" etc. Evidently, as the scribe wrote, his red ink gave out, and, although he left places for its future use, his work was never completed.

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\* *Haverford College Studies*, No. 4, p. 28n.

With reference to the different hands which have worked on the volume, I find myself unable to concur in the statement of Professor Rogers. He says: "From fol. 1 to 127 the writing is large and handsome, in three columns, containing from 29 to 31 lines each, a few pages only being apparently written in another hand. . . . From fol. 128 to fol. 134 the writing is somewhat smaller, not so neat, with 42 lines to the column. After these the large hand begins again, and continues to 163. Fols. 164-169 are written in yet another hand, fine and neat, with 42 lines to the column. And from that to the end of the book the large hand is found again." It seems to me that four hands have worked on the Octateuch proper, while a fifth has added the prayer at the end of the book. I would call these four writers A. B. C. and D. The writing clearly indicates the individuality of each. A. writes in large, clear uncials, with 29 to 31 lines to the page. His writing is plain and neat; his letters are not so angular as in the earliest Ethiopic MSS., but still the old angular forms are partially preserved, especially in the tops of the letters *Yaman*, *Dent*, and *Ṣadai*, and in the angular form of the vowels in the syllables *to* and *ko*. A. wrote fols. 1-114 and 149-163. B. writes in a slightly smaller hand, with 31 to 35 lines to the page, and more carelessly than A. In B.'s writing the various forms of *Sat* (*sa*, *ṣ*, *sā*, *sō*) are hard to distinguish, while his letters *Yaman*, *Dent*, *Ṣadai*, etc., are not quite so angular as those of A. B. wrote fols. 115-127, 135-147, and 170-192. The writing of C. is still smaller, not very neat, more careless, and less angular than that of B., and contains 42 lines to the column. C. wrote fols. 128-134. The writing of D. is distinguished from that of C. mainly by the fineness and delicacy of the hand and the neatness of the writing. He also has 42 lines to the page. D. wrote fols. 164-169. The writing of these four hands seems tolerably distinct, though that of no one of them is absolutely uniform throughout. Whose writing is? For example, on fol. 35a, at the top of col. 3, the scribe A. took a new pen, which for some distance affected slightly the character of his writing.

As to the age of the MS. it is difficult to speak. The appearance of the book would indicate a considerable antiquity, but the late Professor Wright of Cambridge has warned us that in the case of Ethiopic MSS. such appearance is delusive.\* Again, to one familiar with Greek uncial MSS. of the New Testament, the fact that our MS. is written in three columns would point to an early date, as all the known Greek uncials, except *Ν* and B, of the fourth century, are written in two columns only (see Gregory's *Prolegomena*, p. 337 ff.). This indication, however, cannot be applied to Ethiopic MSS., as the number of columns in Abyssinia seems not to have been fixed by custom for any particular age, but always to have depended on the convenience of the scribe or the size of the MS. For example, in Wright's *Catalogue of Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 6, a MS. of the XVIIIth cent. is described (Orient 482) which is written in 3 cols.; on p. 7, another written in 3 cols. is described (Orient 483) which bears the date

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\* See *Catalogue of Ethiopic Manuscripts*, p. ix.

of 1721; and many others similarly written and from about the same time are described in subsequent pages of the same work. As there is, so far as I have been able to find, no date given in the MS., we are thrown back upon the palæographic characteristics of the book as our only data for the determination of its age. From a comparison of the different hands mentioned above with the dated facsimiles in Wright's *Catalogue* already referred to, noting particularly the angular or curved character of the writing, its confusion or lack of confusion of *sa*, *ṣ*, *sā*, and *sō*, its degree of neatness, I should assign the following dates to the different hands: A., the end of the XVIIth or beginning of the XVIIIth cent.; B., the last half of the XVIIIth cent.; C. and D., the first part of the present century.

In order to form some idea of the character of the text, I have collated the following chapters selected at random, using Dillmann's *Octateuchus Æthiopicus* as a standard of comparison: Genesis i., ii., xxiv., l.; Exodus i., xii., xxv.; Leviticus i., xii., xxiv.; Numbers ii., xvii., xxxvi.; Deuteronomy i., xvii.; Joshua xiv.; and Judges vi. In the passages collated, I have noted 434 variants. These variants are in the main different from any noted in the Apparatus Criticus of Dillmann's *Octateuchus*. Of them only 18 agree with Dillmann's codex C., 12 with codex G., 10 with codex F., and 8 with codex H. These four are the only MSS. Dillmann used. Among them, again, 264 are clearly wrong, and 107 seem to me to be equally good with the readings of Dillmann's text; while, as renderings of the LXX text, 63 seem to me preferable to Dillmann's readings. Of the variants which I regard as clearly mistakes or corruptions of the text, several are omissions due to homœoteleuton, while a larger number have arisen from the omission of single words. A few are owing to such transpositions of letters and mistakes of spelling as all scribes are liable to make. Of those readings which I should regard as alternates to Dillmann's, the majority are different Ethiopic transliterations of the Septuagint proper names, the addition or omission of the particle *nī*, or a variation in the gender of a noun which could be used as either masculine or feminine. Such variation appears of course from the consequent variations of the pronouns and verbs used in construction with the noun. Occasionally a Greek word is rendered in our MS. by a synonym of the word employed in Dillmann's text. Of the 63 readings I have noted which seem to me preferable to Dillmann's, many are simply varying transliterations of proper names, and nearly all are variants in minor points only. The comparison of Dillmann's text with our MS. leaves an impression of the general integrity of that text, on the one hand, and on the other indicates that our MS. has some value, though probably not great, as a means for the textual criticism of the Octateuch. Occasionally our MS. sustains one of Dillmann's emendations of the text, though quite as often it does not.

In Exodus xxxvi., xxxvii., and xxxviii., our MS. follows the LXX version, and not the recension which has been corrected to conform to the Hebrew text, and of which codex C. (Dill.) is an example.

15. An account of two Arabic manuscripts in the Semitic Museum at Cambridge, Mass.; by Mr. John Orne, of Cambridge, Mass.

1. A work on medicine, by Ali bin al Abbas.

This manuscript is 13 inches long, 9 inches wide, 2 inches thick, and contains 610 pages, not numbered. It is bound in black leather, the covers tooled on the margins and stamped with gilt floral and foliage designs in the corners and panels. The inside of one cover and a few leaves are worm-eaten; the rest of the manuscript is in good condition. The date of its writing is not given. A label on the inside of the first cover contains the name of M. Sylvestre de Sacy, No. 74, showing its former illustrious ownership—a circumstance which will enhance its interest in the estimation of Semitic students.

The manuscript is well but not elegantly written, on vellum paper, in Neskhi characters, 24 lines to the page. The first page and the upper part of the second contain, besides the name of the author and the title of the work, the table of contents of the 25 chapters of Part I. The name of the author and the numbers of the chapters are in red; the subjects of the various chapters, in black. The same condition holds in regard to the table of contents of the remaining parts; while in the body of the manuscript these conditions are reversed, the numbers of the chapters being in black while the subjects of them and of the smaller divisions are in red. The manuscript is written in black, without ornamentation. The vowels are not written. The diacritical points are sometimes wanting, sometimes defective, and sometimes misplaced. The *thay* (ث) is written with but two points instead of three; the two points of *tay* (ت) are often arranged vertically. The *zā* (ظ) is written as *dād* (ض); *dal* (د) and *zal* (ذ) are generally written alike.

A translation of the first page is as follows: 'In the name of Allah, the merciful, the compassionate, who is endowed with power over all things.

Part first, volume first, of *Kāmīl aṣ-ṣanā'at at-ṭabī'et, al ma'rūf bū melekī* [i. e. 'Book of the perfections of the art of medicine, known as the Royal'], the composition of Ali bin al Abbas, the skilful physician, a pupil of Abi Mahir Musa bin Yasar al Majusi [the Magian], containing twenty-five chapters, as follows:

Chap. 1. The introduction to the work; 2. The advice of Hippocrates and other ancient physicians of eminence; 3. Eight principal matters which it is important to know before reading the whole work; 4. The divisions of the art of medicine; 5. The elements, and their appearance in the different temperaments; 6. The various temperaments; 7. The qualities possessed by the various temperaments; 8. The temperament of every man by nature; 9. The various members of the body as to temperament; 10. The temperament of the brain; 11. The temperament of the eye and all the organs of sense; 12. The temperament of the heart; 13. The temperament of the liver; 14. The

temperament of the testes ; 15. The temperament of the stomach ; 16. The temperament of the lungs ; 17. The temperament of the body as a whole ; 18. The indications of a perfect body ; 19. The causes which change the natural temperament ; 20. The changes of temperament from the influence of different countries ; 21. The changes of temperament from the influence of man ; 22. The nature of men and women ; 23. The change of temperament from the influence of habits ; 24. The indications of sickness and health in people ; 25. The four humors [i. e. blood, phlegm, yellow bile, black bile].'

The subjects treated in the ten Parts, or Books, into which each volume of the great work is divided, are given in the latter portion of Chap. 3, Part I. The sub-tables of contents of the various chapters of the remaining nine parts of vol. i., that of the first part having been already given on the title page, are found at the beginning of each Part throughout the volume.

This manuscript is but one volume of the whole work, the last page of it closing the last chapter of Part X., vol. i. It is closed by the scribe in these words: "The book is finished by the aid of Allah—he he exalted! The scribe of this book is Simeon, son of Khābāh, who wrote it for Michael al Sakraj and sons—God bestow a blessing on them. Amen!"

The author dedicated his work to the Sultan Adhad eddaulat, of the house of the Bouides, who flourished 978 A. D. The work first appeared at Aleppo in Syria. Its author died 994 A. D. It has never been translated into any language but the Latin, and it has never been printed in the original. It was an authority in medical science for many years, till the great work of Avicenna, or Ibn Sina, of Bokhara, appeared, early in the 11th century. This last work, like its predecessor, was largely made up from the Greek writers on medicine, Galen and Hippocrates and others, and contained but little original matter obtained by the investigations of its writer and other Arab physicians. Translations of additional tables of contents of parts of the work and of several chapters, including the introductory one, have been made by the writer of this paper for the use of those interested, whether students of Arabic or others ; and, with the description here presented, they have been deposited in the Semitic museum. The introductory chapter alluded to contains, besides a laudatory dedication to the reigning Caliph, a notice of each of the eminent physicians who had previously written on the subject of medicine. Their works are criticised, and, although generally commended, are found defective. But as to himself the writer of this work says: "I have described in this book of mine all that is necessary in regard to preserving the health and to curing diseases, to their natures and causes as well as the symptoms which they exhibit: such matters indeed as skilful physicians cannot do without a knowledge of. I have mentioned remedies and treatments with medicines and nutriments, trials and selections of which had been made by former physicians, and of which the good and beneficial qualities and the want of them had been previously ascertained. All others I rejected."

In two respects he says that his work is peculiar: namely, no one before had composed just such a work; and, if you compare it with those which have preceded it, you shall not find one of them that contains everything on the art of medicine, as this one does. Again, it is the first book of the kind which has been published for the people."

2. Part of a commentary on the *Sahih* of Al Bokhari.

This is a small folio volume, 8½ by 11 inches, written in African or Mogrebhi handwriting, and bound in native binding, at some time re-backed; the covers are of red leather, tooled on the margins and stamped with floral designs in the centres. It is slightly worm-eaten, but, on the whole, in excellent condition. It is vol. iii. of a commentary on the Jāmi us-Sahīh, or canonical collection of the traditions regarding Mohammed, written by Abu Abd Allah Mohammed, bin Abi Al Hosein, bin Ismael, bin Ibrahim, al Ja'afi, *Al Bokhari* (i. e. of the city of Bokhara), about the middle of the 9th century, and revered almost equally with the Koran by orthodox Moslems.

This commentary is one of the many which have been made upon the Sahih. There is reason to believe that it was written by Mohammed ash-Shakūri an Nāwi, in Egypt, A. D. 1424. The volume before us contains 275 pages, 28 lines to a page, and comprises sections xvii. and xviii. of the great work. These sections contain books and chapters on business transactions; on the right of preëmption; on rents, commissions, securities, agencies, exchange, lawsuits, attachments, partnerships, mortgages, and other matters pertaining to business; also other books and chapters on the beginning of creation, the children of Israel, the signs of prophecy, the excellent qualities of the companions of the prophet Mohammed; on the times of ignorance before Islam, the sending of the prophet, events preceding the Hegira, wars with the infidels, etc. They relate to less than one-third of the whole Book of Traditions.

16. A brief account of some Arabic mortuary tablets in the Semitic Museum at Cambridge, Mass.; by Mr. John Orne.

With a part of the fund given by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff of New York to Harvard University for the purchase of objects illustrating Semitic life, history, and art, Professor Lyon procured in Europe in the summer of 1890 some twenty-five Arabic mortuary tablets of limestone, containing inscriptions in Cufic and in other forms of monumental characters. These tablets, which came originally from Egypt, are in various states of preservation; some quite entire, with the characters clear, distinct, and complete; others in fragments, or more or less deficient from the breaking off of parts; or worn by abrasion and by the action of the atmosphere, by disintegration of the materials of the stone, or by the growth of lichens upon their surfaces.

The styles of inscription vary from simple, distinct, rounded, slender characters to the more or less ornamented, crowded, angular, thick, and heavy. All are without diacritical points; many are without spaces between the words; some are wrongly spaced within the words. Words

are occasionally divided at the ends of the lines. One tablet has an inscription on each side of it, relating to the same person, but with somewhat different expressions. The letters vary on the different tablets from half an inch to two inches in height. On the whole, considering the age of the tablets, they are in a remarkably good state of preservation, and are a valuable addition to the collection of Semitic material in the Museum. They furnish an interesting study of the various styles of sculptured Arabic, as well as of the language employed in monuments erected to the memory of the dead.

These tablets have been carefully examined by me, and the characters deciphered, so far as the condition of the stones and my knowledge of the Arabic language enabled me to do it, and I have prepared and deposited in the Museum transliterations and literal translations, for the benefit of those who shall hereafter study the monuments.

The dates, which occur on the lower parts of the tablets, are sometimes entirely effaced; in other cases they are only partially clear. But generally enough of the letters can be made out to give assurance of the words intended by the sculptor.

The tablets are all dated in the 9th century of our era. So far as they have been made out—and 15 of them are well assured—they are from 853 to 889 A. D. This period was while Egypt was under the viceroys of the Eastern Caliphs, and before the rule of the Fatimite dynasty and the building of Cairo.

All the inscriptions begin, where the first line is not missing, with the words *bismillah* etc. 'In the name of Allah, the merciful, the compassionate.' Then usually follows a portion of the Koran. The passages which most frequently occur are the so-called "Throne-verse," Sura ii. 256, beginning 'Allah! no God but him, the living, the unchangeable. Neither slumber nor sleep takes possession of him. To him belongs what is in the heavens and what is upon the earth' etc.; and Sura iii. 16, 'Allah testified that there is no God but him; and the angels and those having wisdom also testified' etc. Then follows the name of the occupant of the tomb, with his confession of faith, either simple or accompanied by some one of the Koranic confessions, such as ix. 33 or xxii. 7. Sometimes a sentiment is inscribed not taken from the Koran, but expressing the feelings or opinions of the friends of the deceased, and setting forth the excellent qualities of his heart. Then follows an invocation of the blessing of Allah upon the departed, and the statement of the time of his death, usually only the month of the year, though in a few instances the exact day is given.

Translations of two of the tablets are subjoined.

Translation of Arabic Tablet No. 143.

Line.

1. "In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate."
2. O people! "fear the day, you shall re-
3. turn in it to Allah: then shall
4. be paid every soul what it has gained;
5. and they shall not be treated unjustly." This
6. is the tomb of Fatimeh, daughter of Ibrahim,

*Winslow, Sculptures and Inscriptions of Beni Hasan. ccvii*

7. son of Ishak Al Hajari. She confessed
8. that there is no God but Allah alone ;
9. no companion to him ; and that Mohammed is his apostle,
10. Upon him be peace. She died in the month Moharram,
11. in the year 2 and 40 and 200 [i. e. 242 A. H. : = May 10–June 9, 856 A. D.].

Translation of Arabic Tablet No. 144.

- Line.
1. "In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate."
  2. "Testified Allah, that there is no God but him ; and the angels,
  3. and those having wisdom—also testified—enduring in righteousness ; no God but him,
  4. the Mighty, the Wise." This is what testified to it —
  5. — son of Yakub. — He testified "that Allah,
  6. no God but him alone, no companion to him, and that Mohammed
  7. is his servant and his apostle. He sent him with the right guidance and true religion,
  8. to show it to be above other religion, all of it, even though despise
  9. it the polytheists ;" and that life is certain ; and that
  10. death is certain ; and that the resurrection is certain ; " and that the hour
  11. is coming, no doubt about it ; and that Allah will raise up
  12. those who are in the graves." For this one there is a refuge ; and for him
  13. a resting place ; and for him the resurrection of life if Allah will.

17. The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Beni Hasan ; by Rev. W. C. Winslow, of Boston.

Dr. Winslow spoke of the value of "the archæological survey of Egypt" by the Egypt Exploration Fund, as strikingly instanced in the initial work, under Mr. Newberry, at the tombs of Beni Hasan ; the results therefrom are to appear in an exhaustive and beautifully illustrated memoir, entitled "Archæological Survey, Vol. I." Of the thirty-nine tombs, four are simply inscribed, eight are decorated ; the surface of painted wall is 12,000 square feet ; the period, as now proved by Mr. Newberry, is that of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties ; the personages for whom the decorations were made were nomarchs, governors, and petty princes, owing allegiance to the reigning Pharaoh, yet absolute in local government, and holding a miniature court. But two or three of Dr. Winslow's references find room in this abstract. Tomb 15 (as numbered by Mr. Newberry), excavated for Baqta of the Eleventh Dynasty, with depictions of wild animals, of sports and amusements, is graced on the north side with a portrait of his daughter, Neferheput, or 'Beautiful of Rudders ;' tomb 17, embellished with the feats of acrobats, has some cursive hieroglyphs, abounding in free and easy dialogue, as when the wrestler says to the thrown "If you wish to get up, say dead ;" tomb 14, yielding newly-known inscriptions, has the rare face of Set-a-pe ('the mistress of all women') ; the 222 lines of the Great



Inscription in the tomb of Ameni are now for the first time fully and accurately reproduced in facsimile. Tomb 14 furnishes perhaps the most important of Mr. Newberry's discoveries having an ethnographical value: namely, what is apparently a group of Lybians—an Egyptian officer heading a file of seven persons, of whom three are warriors and four are women. The former have blue eyes, yellow skin, reddish hair, in which is stuck a plume of ostrich feathers, and a gnarled club in the left hand. The women are fair and blue-eyed, two of them bear children in a basket attached to their shoulders, and each of the other two women carries a monkey on her back. Mr. Newberry has also found ten unknown tombs at El-Birsheh, and discovered a longer genealogical succession of an ancient Egyptian family than any yet worked out. He took to England 14,000 square feet of scenes and inscriptions pencilled at Beni Hasan and El-Birsheh.

18. A new inscription at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; by Prof. Isaac H. Hall, of New York City.

This inscription is cut on a pedestal that appears to be of Numidian marble, found somewhere in Italy during the year 1891, and presented to the Museum by Mr. Henry G. Marquand. The dimensions of the pedestal are inches  $4\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8} \times 1$ , or centimetres  $11.45 \times 11.8 \times 2.51$ . On the top is a cavity, generally rhomboidal, but with a re-entering angle at one corner; and in the opposite corner is a small drilled hole, for the fastening of a statuette. The cavity is about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch or 1.1 centimetre deep. On one of the edges is the inscription, in Greek capitals, from  $\frac{1}{8}$  to  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch, or 3 to 5 millimeters high; in two lines as follows:

ΑΘΑΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΑΘΗΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ  
ΡΟΔΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ

The style of the letters is rather late, according well with the date assigned to the man of the same name and description who, together with his father and Apollodorus, executed the famous group of Laocoon now in the Vatican. Since the group was found (in the year 1506) in the baths of Titus, where Pliny says it was placed, and presumably, at least, belongs to the time of Titus (about A. D. 79), the concordant palaeography of this inscription is a corroboration not so necessary as it is pleasant.

The pedestal is somewhat chipped about the edges, and its polish has long ago disappeared. The inscription is not very deeply cut, nor with extreme regularity, though the strokes are fine, and the whole not ill done.

19. On a scarab seal with a Cypriote inscription in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; by Professor I. H. Hall.

A few months since the Museum obtained, from the neighborhood of Smyrna, a well-cut and polished scarab seal, of brown and white chalcidony (almost sardonyx), 0.7 inch long by 0.5 wide, and 0.46 high, pierced from end to end in the usual manner. On the elliptical face, or

bottom, is the seal. This comprises the figure of a long-horned cow, with neck bent around so that she can look at a calf which she is suckling. Behind and over the hind quarters of the cow is the inscription, in Cypriote characters about a tenth of an inch high: *zo. wo. te. mi. se.*, or *Ζωφοτεμς*, doubtless a proper name, and of which the device above may be a symbol or etymological fancy. About the whole is a border line. There are a few slight chips on the surface. In front of the cow is an upright single line, tipped with a large diamond. The legend reads from left to right on the seal, from right to left on the impression. It is interesting for its containing the rather rare character for *zo.*, and the form for *wo.* identical with that on the Curium gold armlets of the Cesnola collection. The inscription is also rather "Paphian" in character, and would, *a priori*, be expected to read from left to right. Though obtained near Smyrna, I have no doubt that it is of Cypriote manufacture.



The accompanying cut is made directly from the seal itself, photographed on a block, enlarged.

20. Christopher Columbus in Oriental literature, with special reference to the *Hadisi Nev*, or *Tarikh Hind Gharby*; by Dr. Cyrus Adler, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

A brief abstract of Dr. Adler's paper is as follows:

Christopher Columbus in Oriental literature, a subject of interest equally to students of Oriental literature and of American history, has been investigated by Mr. Henry Harrisse, to whom modern scholars are primarily indebted for the scientific investigation of all subjects having reference to Columbus and the early voyagers to America. His brief yet comprehensive article on this subject (*Christoph Columbus im Orient*) appeared in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, vol. v. (1888), pp. 133-138. After enumerating the references to Columbus in Hebrew literature, Mr. Harrisse cites a Turkish work specially devoted to the new world. Its Turkish title is *Hadisi Nev* 'the new event,' to which is added an Arabic title, *Tarikh el Hind Gharby* 'history of West India.' It was printed at Constantinople by Ibrahim Effendi (the renegade). The printing was completed April 3, 1730, and the book is therefore one of the incunabula of the Ottoman press. Mr. Harrisse had access to the copy of this very rare work in the library of the *École des langues orientales vivantes* in Paris. He was of opinion that the work was composed by Hadji Khalfa.

The article of Mr. Harrisse called forth some notes by Prof. J. Gilde-meister of Bonn (l. c. pp. 303-306), who pointed out that, if the book *Hadisi Nev* were written, as stated both by Mr. Harrisse and in the Catalogue of the library of von Hammer, under the reign of Murad III., 1574-95, it could not have been composed by Hadji Khalfa, who was not born earlier than 1600.

No manuscript of the work was known to either of these writers,

nor apparently to von Hammer. While in Constantinople in 1891, the writer secured a well written and well preserved manuscript of this interesting book. It is dated in the year 77. On folio 88b the author alludes to the Turkish Admiral Khair-ed-din, surnamed Barbarossa, as having "recently died." His death took place in 956 A. H. ; so that 9 is apparently the figure to be prefixed to 77 ; the date would accordingly be 977 A. H. : i. e., 1569-70 A. D. The manuscript contains 13 colored illustrations of animals and plants of America, some of them executed with considerable fidelity. It also contains two diagrams and three colored maps. The map of the new world represents South America with fair accuracy, and is, in the opinion of Mr. HARRISSE, in some respects unique. The maps in the manuscript are, of course, much older than those in the printed work.

An inferior manuscript of the same work exists in the Library of the American Oriental Society, being very appropriately MS. No. 1. of the Society's collections. It was presented by Mr. J. P. Brown, Secretary and Dragoman of the U. S. Legation at Constantinople. Mr. Brown stated at the time, 1843 (Jr. Am. Or. Soc., vol. i., p. xxix), that "it was quite the first book ever printed at Constantinople by the Turks. I cannot learn the name of the author. . . . I am informed that the *Tarikh Hind Gharby* existed in manuscript many years before the introduction of printing, but was taken up and printed on account of its popularity as a curious and amusing book." A copy of the printed work has been recently deposited in the Smithsonian Institution by the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences of Savannah, Ga. I hope shortly to publish the maps and illustrations in my manuscript, as well as a translation of the parts relating to Columbus.

## 21. Note on William B. Hodgson ; by Dr. Cyrus Adler.

The U. S. National Museum has recently secured on deposit a part of the collection of the late William B. Hodgson, consisting of oriental books and manuscripts. The collections are now the property of the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, of Savannah, Ga.

Mr. Hodgson was one of the few Americans who gave serious attention to Oriental studies at the beginning of this century. It is an interesting fact that his studies were promoted by the government.

Already before the close of the last century the United States had a considerable commerce with the Mediterranean, and it was of the utmost importance that our negotiations with the piratical Barbary States should be carefully conducted. The Department of State accordingly decided to appoint Mr. Hodgson as attaché to the U. S. Consulate at Algiers, for the purpose of enabling him to become familiar with oriental languages. That this was the intention in Mr. Hodgson's appointment is evidenced by the following extract from a letter dated Algiers, Jan. 1st, 1826, and addressed by Mr. Hodgson to Henry Clay, then Secretary of State : "The procurement of necessary books would have presented some difficulty in the prosecution of my studies. Mr. Shaler has, however, furnished me with some elementary works, through his

friends, the Consuls, until I can be better supplied from Paris. With these I have commenced the study of Arabic, and hope to make proficiency correspondent to my own wishes and the expectations of the President." Mr. Shaler, the Consul, writing to Henry Clay with reference to Hodgson's arrival, said: "I am very much pleased to find that the government have at length determined to avail themselves of the great advantages offered by the Barbary Consulate for the instruction of young men, which must result in important benefits to the public service." Further on Mr. Shaler adds: "Perhaps it might be proper, Sir, at a later period, when Mr. Hodgson has made himself acquainted with the elements of the Turkish, to authorize me to send him into the Levant in order to acquire a familiar knowledge of it."

That Mr. Hodgson profited by his opportunities as Mr. Shaler had predicted is shown by the fact that he was selected to serve as Secretary and Dragoman to the U. S. Legation at Constantinople, and later (in 1841) was nominated as Consul to Tunis.

There can be little doubt that the policy which the United States Government pursued sixty years ago in the case of Mr. Hodgson, with the intention of preparing men for special service in the Orient, might be repeated at this day with advantage to the public service.

Hand in hand with his usefulness as a public servant went Mr. Hodgson's development in Oriental scholarship. By 1830 we find him the possessor of a very considerable collection of Oriental manuscripts, the titles of which are recorded in "A Catalogue of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian manuscripts, the private collection of Wm. B. Hodgson, Washington; printed by Duff Green, 1830." A copy of this catalogue—now extremely rare—exists in the library of the American Oriental Society, having been presented by Hon. John Pickering, who himself received it from Wm. Shaler. In 1832, Mr. Hodgson published a memoir on the Berber language, and in the following year he translated parts of the New Testament into that language. He was one of the original members of the American Oriental Society, and in 1844 published "Notes on Northern Africa, the Sahara, and the Soudan." The hall of the Georgia Historical Society is named in his honor Hodgson Hall.

22. Bibliography of the works of Paul de Lagarde; by Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil, of Columbia College, New York City.

Paul Anton de Lagarde (earlier known as Paul Böttcher) was undoubtedly the most remarkable writer on Semitic studies that the learned world has ever seen. There is hardly a spot in the vast field which he has not touched with his stupendous learning. He has also treated of numerous other and very different subjects. The reason why so much that Lagarde has written remains unread is that it has often been placed in articles and books treating of widely different subjects. I have therefore prepared the following bibliography, which will give a fair picture of the work he has done, and will enable the student to find easily the different contributions relating to the same subject. It will be supple-

mented by a complete index to Lagarde's writings which, I understand, we are to expect from the competent hand of Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt.

The arrangement of the bibliography has occasioned some little difficulty. I have ordered the different numbers according to subject-matter; and within this arrangement I have tried to follow another one according to date of publication. Where no title was given, I have constructed one, but bracketed it. Where a work has been twice published, the date and place of second publication follow immediately upon those of first. The attentive student will find a number of duplicates. That was unavoidable, as many of Lagarde's works were published both separately and as parts of *collectanea*. The greater number of the works mentioned I have in my own library, or have been able to consult personally. I have received aid in this from one of my students, Mr. Caspar Levias. Dr. Muss-Arnolt has very kindly furnished me with a number of references which I was unable to find in New York. Lagarde himself, in the third volume of his *Mittheilungen* (No. 241), has given a list of his principal works\*, and I have had before me a privately printed "Werke von Paul de Lagarde" by [Prof.] E[berhard] N[estle], bearing date 11.i.92., which Prof. Nestle was kind enough to send me. I am afraid that some of the latest publications of Lagarde have escaped me; but no library in New York had the current numbers of the A.K.G.W.G.

I have used only a few abbreviations, the most important of which are as follows:

N.K.G.W.G. = *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*;

A.K.G.W.G. = *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*;

G.G.A. = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*;

G.A. = *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* von Paul de Lagarde;

Z.D.M.G. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

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\* Cf. also *Symmicta* i. pp. 227-231; ii. p. 223; and *Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum pars prior*, pp. 542-544.

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A. 1. *Rudimenta mythologiæ Semiticæ supplementa lexici Aramaici* scripsit Paulus Boetticher. Berolini (Thorne), 1848. pp. 60.

2. *Arica* scripsit Paulus Boetticher. Hallæ (Lippert), 1851. pp. 115.

3. *Wurzelforschungen von Paul Boetticher*. Halle (Lippert), 1852. pp. 48. [see G.A., p. vii.]

4. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*. Leipzig (Brockhaus), 1866. pp. xl, 304.

5. *Symmicta*. vol. i., 1877, pp. iv, 232. vol. ii. 1880, pp. viii, 234. Göttingen (Dieterich). [cf. No. 292.]

6. *Orientalia*. Erstes Heft. Die koptischen Handschriften der Göttinger Bibliothek; Bruchstücke der koptischen Uebersetzung des alten Testaments. Göttingen (Dieterich), pp. 104. Zweites Heft. Erklärung hebräischer Wörter; Ueber den Hebräer Ephraim von Edessa. *ibid.* pp. 64. [A.K.G.W.G. Bd. xxiv. 1879; xxvi. 1880.]

7. *Semitica*. Kritische Anmerkungen zum Buche Isaias (Erstes Stück, pp. 1-32). Erklärung chaldäischer Wörter (Erstes Stück, pp. 33-77). 1878, vol. i. pp. 71 (A.K.G.W.G. Bd. xxiii.). 1879, vol. ii. pp. 48 (*ibid.* Bd. xxvi.). Göttingen (Dieterich).

8. *Mittheilungen*. vol. i. 1884, pp. 384. vol. ii. 1887, pp. 388. [cf. No. 296.] vol. iii. 1889, pp. 376. vol. iv. 1890. Göttingen (Dieterich).

9. *Kleine Mittheilungen*. N.K.G.W.G. 17 March 1886; No. 4, pp. 121-168. [Mittheilungen ii. pp. 1-48.]

10. *Kleine Mittheilungen*. N.K.G.W.G. 2 June 1886; No. 8, pp. 261-277. [Mittheilungen ii. pp. 65-81.]

11. *Kleinigkeiten*. N.K.G.W.G. 29 May 1889; No. 11, pp. 293-322. [Mittheilungen iii. pp. 201-229.]

12. Nachträge zu früheren Mittheilungen. N.K.G.W.G. 22 Jan. 1890; No. 1, pp. 1-21.

13. Kleine Mittheilungen. N.K.G.W.G. 19 Nov. 1890; No. 13, pp. 418-433.

14. Purim: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Religion. [A.K.G.W.G. Bd. xxxiv.] Göttingen (Dieterich), 1897. pp. 58. [cf. No. 296.]

15. On the classification of Semitic Roots (published originally in England, 1853?). *Symmicta* i. 121. [cf. G.A. p. vii.]

16. Aus Prolegomena zu einer vergleichenden Grammatik des Hebräischen, Arabischen und Aramäischen. Mittheilungen ii. pp. 353-367.

17. Ueber die *W*-haltigen Wörter. *Semitica* i. pp. 144-151.

18. Eine alte Charakteristik von zehn Sprachen. Anhang to Agathangelus etc: [see No. 53]. pp. 150-155.

19. Uebersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina. [A.K.G.W.G. Bd. xxxv.] Göttingen (Dieterich), 1889. pp. 240.

20. Register [von A. Rahlfs] und Nachträge zu der Uebersicht. [A.K.G.W.G. Bd. xxxvii.] Göttingen (Dieterich), 1891. pp. 76.

21. Ueber die semitischen Namen des Feigenbaums und der Feige. N.K.G.W.G. 8 Dec. 1881; No. 15, pp. 368-396. [Mittheilungen i. 58-75.]

22. Kastanie und Oelbaum. N.K.G.W.G. 29 May 1889; No. 11, pp. 299-319. [Mittheilungen iii. pp. 206-226.]

23. Lexikalisches: i. Aralez; ii. Malsin; iii. Chagrin; iv. Mas[s]ora; v. Noch einmal *לך*. N.K.G.W.G. 3 March 1882; No. 7, pp. 164-192. [Mittheilungen i. pp. 88-106.] Nachtrag: 9. ii. 1884. [ibid. pp. 107-111.]

24. Vita Adæ et Evæ. N.K.G.W.G. 14 May 1879; No. 9, pp. 239-242. [Symmicta ii. pp. 4-7.]

25. Astarte. N.K.G.W.G. 3 Dec. 1881; No. 15, pp. 396-400. [Mittheilungen i. pp. 75-81.]

26. Sixtus = Xystus. N.K.G.W.G. 18 June 1882. p. 408. [Mittheilungen i. p. 134.]

27. Cider, angeblich eine Erfindung der Manichäer. Mittheilungen iii. pp. 47, 48.

28. Aus dem deutschen Gelehrtenleben: Aktenstücke und Glossen. Göttingen (Dieterich), 1880. pp. 120.

29. Ein Beitrag zur Naturgeschichte der Semitisten. Mittheilungen iii. pp. 80-85.

30. Der achte Orientalistencongress. Mittheilungen iii. pp. 324-334.

**B.** 31. De Novo Testamento ad versionum orientalium fidem edendo. Programm des Kölnischen Real-Gymnasiums. Berlin (Nauck'sche Buchdruckerei), 1857. pp. 20. [Gesammelte Abhandlungen, pp. 85-119.]

32. Anmerkungen zur griechischen Uebersetzung der Proverbien. Leipzig (Brockhaus), 1863. pp. 96.

33. Anmerkungen zur griechischen Uebersetzung der Proverbien. 1863. (Reproduction of Preface to No. 32, with an additional note on the archetype of the Hebrew Bible, dated 17. i. 1884.) Mittheilungen i. pp. 19-26 (see also p. 381).

34. Genesis græce, e fide editionis sixtinæ addita scripturæ discrepantia e libris manu scriptis a se ipso conlatis et editionibus Complutensi et Aldina adcuratissime enotata edita. Lipsiæ, 1868. pp. xxiv, 211.

35. Vorbemerkungen zu meiner Ausgabe der Septuaginta. Symmicta ii. pp. 137-148.

36. Ankündigung einer neuen Ausgabe der griechischen Uebersetzung des alten Testaments. Göttingen, 1882. pp. 64. [cf. No. 291.]

37. Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum pars prior græce Paulo de Lagarde studio et sumptibus edita. G.G.A. 1883; No. 40, pp. 175, 176. Göttingen (Dieterich), 1883. pp. xvi, 544.

38. Die pars prior der LXX Lucians ed. P. de Lagarde betreffend. Göttingen, 9 Mai 1884. (Intended originally to be pp. 242, 243 of Mittheilungen i. but sent out separately.) Reprinted, Mittheilungen iii. pp. 239, 240.

39. Nachtrag zur Vorrede der Librorum Veteris Testamenti etc. (No. 37). Mittheilungen i. pp. 200-206.

40. Die Pariser Blätter des Codex Sarravianus. Semitica ii. pp. 1-48. [A.K.G.W.G. Bd. xxv.]

41. Noch einmal meine Ausgabe der Septuaginta. a. Erklärung des Professor Paul de Lagarde zu Göttingen über eine von ihm beabsichtigte Ausgabe der Septuaginta; b. Vierter Bogen der im Januar 1885 ausgegebenen Probe einer neuen Ausgabe der lateinischen Uebersetzungen des alten Testaments (intended as 4th sheet of No. 77; but withheld). Mittheilungen ii. pp. 229-256.

42. Novæ psalterii græci editionis specimen. 1887, pp. 40. Reprinted from A.K.G.W.G. Bd. xxxiii. 1886. [cf. No. 266.]

43. Novæ psalterii græci editionis specimen. Corollarium. Mittheilungen ii. p. 188.

44 a. Septuaginta Studien. (Text of A and  $\beta$  to Judges with critical apparatus, pp. 1-72; the chronology of Clemens of Alexandria, pp. 73-92, incomplete.) A.K.G.W.G. Bd. xxxvii. 1891. pp. 92.

44. Reliquiæ juris ecclesiastici antiquissimæ græce edidit A. P. de Lagarde. Leipzig (Teubner), 1856. pp. lvi, 96.

45. Hippolyti Romani quæ feruntur omnia græce. Leipzig, 1858. pp. xvi, 216.

46. Titi Bostreni quæ ex opere contra Manichæos edito in codice Hamburgensi servata sunt græce. Accedunt Iulii Romani epistolæ et Gregorii Thaumaturgi κατὰ μέρος πίστεως. Berolini (Herz), 1859. pp. viii, 128.

47. Constitutiones apostolorum græce. Leipzig, 1863. pp. xvi, 288.

48. Clementina. Leipzig, 1865. pp. xxxi, 200.



49. Aus einem Uncial-codex der Clementina. Symmicta ii. pp. 217-220.

50. Clementina. 1865. (Reproduction of the introduction, pp. 26-36, with two additions: *a.* Einige Bemerkungen über die Verbreitung der in den Clementinen erzählten Sagen. pp. 36-48; *b.* Notizen über die Handschriften der Rekognitionen. pp. 40-54.) Mittheilungen i. pp. 26-54.

51. *Johannis Euchaitorum metropolitæ quæ in codice vaticano græco 676 supersunt*, Ed. [A.K.G.W.G. Bd. xxviii.] pp. xvi. 228. Göttingen, (Dieterich), 1882. [cf. No. 294.]

52. *Neu Griechisches aus Kleinasien*. [A.K.G.W.G. Bd. xxxiii.] Göttingen (Dieterich), 1886. pp. 68.

53. *Agathangelus und die Akten Gregors von Armenien, neu herausgegeben*. [A.K.G.W.G. Bd. xxxv.] Göttingen (Dieterich), 1887. pp. 164.

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83. *Soin.* N.K.G.W.G. 17 March 1886; No. 4, p. 124. [Mittheilungen ii. p. 4.]

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215. *Diagnose*. *Gesammtausgabe*, pp. 118–126. Zuerst gedruckt in den politischen Aufsätzen, November 1874.
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- P. 218. *Ueber das Verhältniss des deutschen Staates zu Theologie, Kirche und Religion* : ein Versuch nicht-Theologen zu orientiren. *Deutsche Schriften* i. pp. 5–54. [*Gesammtausgabe*, pp. 47–97.]
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223. The question whether marriage with a deceased wife's sister is or is not prohibited in the Mosaic writings answered. [N.K.G.W.G. 18 June, 1882; No. 18, pp. 393-408.] Göttingen (Dieterich), 1882. [Mittheilungen i. pp. 125-134.]

224. Die revidirte Lutherbibel des Halleschen Waisenhauses. G.G.A. 15 Jan. 1885; No. 2, pp. 57-96. [Mittheilungen iii. pp. 335-373.]

**Q.** 225. Zum Unterrichtsgesetze. Deutsche Schriften i. pp. 155-215. [Gesammtausgabe, pp. 217-278.]

226. Noch einmal zum Unterrichtsgesetze. Deutsche Schriften ii. pp. 37-60. [Gesammtausgabe, 339-362.]

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228. Ueber die Klage dass der deutschen Jugend der Idealismus fehle. Deutsche Schriften, Gesammtausgabe, pp. 477-491.

229. Vier im Auftrage der philosophischen Facultät der Georgia-Augusta verfasste Diplome. Mittheilungen iii. pp. 42-47.

**R.** 230. Woher stammt das  $x$  der Mathematiker? Mittheilungen i. pp. 184-187.

231. Die Handschriftensammlung des Grafen von Ashburnham. N.K. G.W.G. 15 Jan. 1884; No. 1, pp. 14-31. [Mittheilungen i. pp. 1-18.]

232. [Abstract of a letter on the "Nachtwachen von Bonaventura" attributed to Schelling.] Academy, 15 Nov. 1871. [Symmicta i. p. 106.]

233. [Note on Jean de Robethon.] Mittheilungen i. p. 207.

**S.** 234. Gedichte. Deutsche Schriften i. pp. 55-66; Deutsche Schriften ii. pp. 11-16 (not in the Gesammtausgabe, but printed separately).

235. Gedichte. Göttingen, 1885. pp. 64.

236. Am Strande: Gedichte. Göttingen, 1887. pp. 52.

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**T.** 240. Nachrichten über einige Familien des Namens Boetticher. Als Handschrift gedruckt, 1867.

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241a. Aus dem deutschen Gelehrtenleben: Actenstücke und Glossen. Göttingen (Dieterich), 1880. pp. 120.

242. [Answer to criticisms of Hübschmann, Schrader, Nöldeke, etc.] Aus dem deutschen Gelehrtenleben, pp. 88-116.

243. [Ueber Prof. H. Hübschmann und Prioritäts-ansprüche.] Symmicta ii. pp. 123-136.

244. *Zwei Proben moderner Kritik* (on Profs. Th. Nöldeke and H. Hübschmann). *Symmicta* ii. pp. 90-122.

245. *Zur Nachricht* (on a projected *Bibliotheca Syriaca* and *Bibliotheca Ægyptiaca*, and report on further Septuagint studies). *N.K.G.W.G.* 16 Nov. 1881; No. 14, pp. 357-360. [*Mittheilungen* i. pp. 56-57.]

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249. [*On R. Gosche as Professor and Semitic Scholar.*] *Mittheilungen* iii. pp. 277-280.

a. 250. *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Orients* (von Alfred von Gutschmid, Leipzig, 1876). *Philologischer Anzeiger* von E.v. Leutsch, vii. pp. 532-540. [*Symmicta* ii. pp. 20-27.]

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J. 274. [Answer to Fr. Spiegel's review of "Arica" and "Wurzelforschungen."] Beilage zu Gersdorf's *Leipziger Repertorium der deutschen und ausländischen Literatur*, 1852, x., heft 4, 1853. [Aus dem deutschen Gelehrtenleben, pp. 8-25: contains also reprint of Spiegel's articles and answers.]

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280. *Erwiderung auf den Aufsatz des Herrn Brugsch in diesem Jahrgange der Zeitschrift*, Seite 115 ff. *Z.D.M.G.* vii. (1853) 456. [Aus dem deutschen Gelehrtenleben, p. 63.]

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287. *Onomastica Sacra*, Strassburg. *G.G.A.* 4 Oct. 1871; No. 40, p. 1598. [Symmicta i. p. 102.]; do. zweite Ausgabe, *G.G.A.* 15 July 1887; No. 15, p. 588.
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289. *Prophetæ chaldaice, e codice Reuchliniano edidit Paulus de Lagarde.* (Leipzig, 1872. Teubner's Mittheil., p. 8.) [Symmicta ii. p. 31.]
290. *Hagiographa chaldaice.* (Leipzig, 1873. Teubner's Mittheil., pp. 23, 24.) [Symmicta ii. p. 32.]
291. *Ankündigung einer neuen Ausgabe der griechischen Uebersetzung des alten Testaments* (von Paul de Lagarde, Göttingen, 1882). *G.G.A.* 12 April 1882; No. 15, pp. 449-452. [Mittheilungen i. pp. 122-123.]
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296. *Selbstanzeige meiner letzten Schriften: a. Probe einer neuen Ausgabe der lateinischen Uebersetzungen des alten Testaments, 1885; b. Catenæ in evangelia ægyptiacæ quæ supersunt, 1886; c. Novæ psalterii græci editionis specimen, 1887; d. Purim, 1887; e. Onomastica Sacra, zweite Ausgabe, 1887; f. Mittheilungen, zweiter Band, 1887.* *G.G.A.* 15 July 1887; No. 15, pp. 577-594. [Mittheilungen ii. pp. 370-387.]
297. *Le Opere italiane di Giordano Bruno, ristampate da Paolo de Lagarde* (Göttingen, 1888, 1889). *G.G.A.* 1 Feb. 1889; No. 4, pp. 113-145. [Mittheilungen iii. pp. 181-163.]

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In addition to the above communications, the following papers were presented to the Society—a number of them, however, being read only by title:

On some physical characteristics of the Arabian peninsula; by Mr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia, Pa.

On the legend of Soma and the eagle; by Prof. M. Bloomfield, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

On the group of Vedic words ending in *-pitva* ; by the same.

On *waheb besupha*, Numbers xxi. 14 ; by Dr. S. A. Binion, of New York City. Published in the (London) *Academy*, of Sept. 3, 1892.

On Canticles iv. 9 ; by the same.

On the historical and literary relations of the early Christians to the Essenes ; by Dr. Kaufman Kohler, of New York City.

On the Sumero-Akkadian question ; by Dr. Christopher Johnston, Jr., of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. To be published, with the following paper, in the *Journal*, xv., No. 3.

On two Assyrian letters, K84, iv.R<sup>2</sup>45, No. 1 ; and K828, Pinches's texts, p. 8 ; by the same.

On the religious and linguistic character of the Gnostic Æons ; by Prof. A. L. Frothingham, Jr., of the College of New Jersey, Princeton.

On the Judæo-Aramæan dialect of Salamas ; by Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, of Columbia College, New York City. To be published in the *Journal*, xv., No. 3.

A Catalogue of Oriental manuscripts in the library of Columbia College ; by the same.

On problematic passages in the Rig-Veda ; by Prof. E. W. Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. Published in the *Journal*, xv. 252-283.

On the Aryan future tense ; by the same. Published in the *American Journal of Philology*, xiii. 1-50.

On *Bâtîm lô bendyîm*, Neh. vii. 4 ; by Prof. Paul Haupt, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

On a new Hebrew particle ; by the same.

On denominal verbs in Semitic ; by the same.

On the questions: Is the game of chess mentioned in the Talmud? and by what names? by Dr. Alexander Kohut, of New York City. Published in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xlvi. 130-135.

On a supplementary inscription to the "Aboo Habba" tablet ; by Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

A brief account of the *Subhāṣita-ratna-saṇḍoha* ; by Prof. C. R. Lanman, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Extracts from the Jāiminiya-Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa ; by Dr. Hanns Oertel, of Yale University, New Haven, Conn. Published in the *Journal*, xv. 233-251.

On a mediæval Syriac charm ; by Mr. Willis Hatfield Hazard, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. To be published in the *Journal*, xv., No. 3.

A translation of the first *Makamat* of Nasif el Yaziji's *Book of the meeting of the two seas* ; by Prof. Charles W. Benton, of the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

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Tarikh i Firozsháhi. Fasc. 6.  
Zafar-námah. Vol. i. 3, 8.  
Abú Zakariyá Yahyá at-Tibrizí's commentary on ten ancient Arabic poems.  
Edited by Charles J. Lyall. Fasc. 1.  
Catalogue of the Persian books and MSS. in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Compiled by Maulavi Mirza Ashraf Ali. Fasc. 1, 2. Calcutta, 1890-92. 4°.  
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. xxxiii, supp't., xxxv, pt. 2, supp't., xlviii, pt. 1, no. 2-4, pt. 2, no. 3, 4. Calcutta, 1864-79. 8°.  
Proceedings of do. 1878, no. 7-10. Calcutta, 1878. 8°.
- From the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*  
Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. No. 48. Bombay, 1891. 8°.
- From the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*  
Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. No. 38, 39, 42. Colombo, 1891-92. 8°.
- From the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*  
Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. New series. No. 1, 3, 6, 8-12; vol. xx. 3. Shanghai, 1864-85. 8°.
- From the Asiatic Society of Japan.*  
Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Vol. xix. 1, xx. 1, supp't. pt. 1, 2, 3, 5. Tōkyō, 1891-92. 8°.
- From the Asiatic Society of Paris.*  
Journal Asiatique. 8° sér. Tome xvii. 3, xviii-xx. Paris, 1891-92. 8°.
- From the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.*  
Verhandelingen van het Batav. Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Deel xlv. 3, 4, xlvi. Batavia, 1891. 8°.  
Notulen van de algemeenen en bestuurs-vergaderingen. Deel xxviii. 3, 4, xxix. 1-3. Batavia, 1890-91. 8°.  
Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land-en Volkenkunde. Deel xxxiv. 3-6, xxxv. 1 Batavia, 1891. 8°.

Dagh-register gehouden int casteel Batavia, 1663. Door J. A. van der Chijs. Batavia, 1891. 8°.

Nederlandsch-Indisch plakaatboek, 1602-1811. Door J. A. van der Chijs. Deel viii, ix. Batavia, 1891. 8°.

Beschrijving der ouden nabij de grens der residentie's Soerakarta en Djogdjakarta. Door J. W. Ijzermann. Met atlas Batavia, 1891. 4° and f°.

*From the Royal Academy of Sciences, Berlin.*

Philosophische und historische Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. 1890, 1891. Berlin, 1891-92. 4°.

Sitzungsberichte. 1890, 1891. Berlin, 1891-92. 8°.

*From the Royal Library, Berlin.*

Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin:

Bd. v. Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prakrit-Handschriften, von A. Weber.

Bd. ii, Abth. 3. Berlin, 1892. 4°.

Bd. ix. Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften, von W. Ahlwardt. Bd. iii.

Berlin, 1891. 4°.

*From the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. Vol. xiii. 8, xiv, xv. 1-4. London, 1891-93. 8°.

*From Rev. Henry Blodgett, D.D.*

Ancestral worship in the Shu King. By Rev. H. Blodgett, D.D. [From Journal of the Peking Oriental Society, vol. iii. 2, 1892.] 8°.

*From James Burgess, LL.D.*

Mapping and place-names in India.—Orthography of foreign place-names. By James Burgess. [Extracts from the Scottish Geographical Magazine.] 8°.

*From the Buffalo Historical Society.*

Annual report of the Buffalo Historical Society, Jan. 12. 1892. Buffalo, 1892. 8°.

*From the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.*

A traveller's narrative written to illustrate the episode of the Báb, edited in the original Persian and translated into English with an introduction and explanatory notes by Edward G. Browne. Cambridge, 1891. 2 v. 8°.

*From Dr. Antonio Maria Ceriani.*

De codice Marchaliano seu Vaticano Graeco 2125 prophetarum phototypica arte repraesentato commentatio Antonii Ceriani. Romae, 1890. f°.

*From the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.*

The texts of Taoism, translated by James Legge. [Sacred Books of the East, v. 39, 40.] Oxford, 1891. 2 v. 8°.

*Additions to the Library.*

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*From the National Library, Florence.*

Cataloghi dei codici orientali di alcune biblioteche d'Italia. Fasc. v. Firenze, 1892. 8°.

*From the Finno-Ugrian Society.*

Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, recueillies par l'expédition finnoise 1890 et publiées par la société finno-ougrienne. Helsingfors, 1892. 4°.

*From the German Oriental Society.*

Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Bd. xlv, xlvi. Leipzig, 1890-92. 8°.

*From the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. 1889-1892. Lond., 1889-92. 8°.

*From Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.*

Archæological Survey of India. New Series. Vol. ii. Allahabad, 1892. 4°.

———South Indian inscriptions. Vol. ii, part 1. Madras, 1891. 4°.

———List of monuments in Madras Presidency. Madras, 1891. f°.

Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archæological Survey of India. Edited by James Burgess. Pt. 7-11. Calcutta, 1890-92. 4°.

Progress reports of the epigraphical and architectural branches of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh. Allahabad, 1892. f°.

Report on the publications issued and registered in the several provinces of British India in 1890, 1891. Calcutta, 1891-92. f°.

Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Vol. x, part 2. Calcutta, 1892. 8°.

Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the library of the India Office. Pt. iii. London, 1891.

Catalogue of the oriental MSS. collected by Lieut. Col. C. Mackenzie. By H. H. Wilson. Madras, 1882. 8°.

Catalogue of maps and plans of India, Burma, etc. London, 1891. f°.

Papers on subjects relating to the archæology of Burma. By E. Forchhammer. Rangoon, v. y. f°.

Tribes and castes of Bengal. By H. H. Risley. Vol. i, ii. Calcutta, 1891. 8°.

Kalhana's Rājataranginī. Edited by M. A. Stein. Vol. i. Bombay, 1892. 4°.

Bhaṭṭakalanika Dēva's Karnataka-Sabdānusāsanam. Edited by B. Lewis Rice. Bangalore, 1890. 4°.

*From the Italian Asiatic Society.*

Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana. Vol. v, vi. Roma, 1891-92. 8°.

*From the Trustees of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund.*

The Dinkard. Vol. vi. Bombay, 1891. 8°.

*From Mr. K. R. Kama.*

Practical grammar of the Avestan language. By K. E. Kanga. Bombay, 1891. 8°.

*From the University of Kiel.*

Schriften der Universität zu Kiel aus dem Jahre 1890-91, 1891-92. Kiel, 1890-92. 8° and 4°.

*From the Editors of the Korean Repository.*

Korean Repository. Vol. i. 1, 3, 4. Seoul, 1892. 8°.

*From Prof. E. Kuhn.*

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung. Bd. xxv, xxvi. 1-4, xxvii. 4-6, xxviii. 1-3, xxx, xxxi. 1, 2. Berlin and Gütersloh, 1879-91. 8°.

*From the Historical Society of Montana.*

Catalogue of the library of the State Historical Society of Montana. Helena, 1892. 8°.

*From the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Munich.*

Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Bd. xix. 3, xx. 1. München, 1891-92. 4°.

Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe. Bd. xix. 1, 2. München, 1891. 4°.

Gedächtnisrede auf W. von Giesebrecht. Von S. Riezler. München, 1891. 4°.

Gedächtnisrede auf Konrad Hofmann. Von W. Hertz. München, 1892. 4°.

Die grossen Monarchien. Festrede von F. Gregorovius. München, 1890. 8°.

Ueber die Stoffe und die Wirkung der griechischen Tragödie. Festrede von N. Wecklein. München, 1891. 4°.

*From Sr. Ladislau Netto.*

Le muséum national de Rio-de-Janeiro. Paris, 1889. 8°.

*From the Government of New South Wales.*

Year-book of Australia for 1891. Sydney, 1891. 8°.

*From Rev. S. D. Peet.*

The American Antiquarian. Vol. xiii. 4-6, xiv, xv. 1. Chicago, 1891-93. 8°.

*From the Peking Oriental Society.*

Journal of the Peking Oriental Society. Vol. iii. 2. Peking, 1892. 8°.

*From Jeejeebhoy Framjee Petit.*

Māhari mazeha, tathā bīji kavītāo. By Jamshedjee Nushirvanjee Petit. [Guzerati.] Bombay, 1892. 8°.

*From Proj. Edward C. Pickering.*

Chronological history of plants. By Charles Pickering. Boston, 1879. 8°.

*From Pratāpa Chandra Rāy.*

The Mahabharata translated into English prose. Published and distributed by Pratāpa Chandra Rāy. Pt. 67-75. Calcutta, 1891-92. 8°.

*Additions to the Library.*

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*From the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.*

Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg. 7<sup>e</sup> sér.  
Tome xxxvii. 8-13, xxxviii. 1-10, xxxix. 1. St. Pétersbourg, 1890-92. 4°.

*From the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences.*

Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der königlichen sächsischen  
Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Bd. xii. 3, xiii. 1-4. Leipzig, 1891-92. 4°.  
Berichte über die Verhandlungen. Philologisch-historische Classe. Bd. xliii,  
xliv. 1, 2. Leipzig, 1891-92. 8°.

Preisschriften der Fürstlich Jablonowski'schen Gesellschaft: xxviii. Laut- und  
Formenlehre der niedersorbischen Sprache. Von K. E. Mücke. Leipzig, 1891. 8°.

*From the Smithsonian Institution.*

Smithsonian Institution. Miscellaneous contributions. Vol. xxvii, xxviii. Wash.,  
1891-92. 4°.

———Annual report, 1889 (National Museum), 1890. Wash., 1891. 8°.

———Bureau of Ethnology. Seventh annual report, 1885-86. Wash., 1891. 8°.

———Omaha and Ponka letters. By James Owen Dorsey. Wash., 1891. 8°.

———Catalogue of prehistoric works east of the Rocky Mts. By Cyrus Thomas.  
Wash., 1891. 8°.

———Bibliography of the Algonquian languages. By James C. Pilling. Wash.,  
1891. 8°.

———Bibliography of the Athapascan languages. By James C. Pilling. Wash.,  
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Contributions to North American ethnology. Vol. ii, v-viii. Wash., 1882-90. 4°.

Natural history illustrations: six species of fishes; anatomy of *Astrangia Danae*.  
By Louis Agassiz. Wash., 1889. 4°.

*From the Editor, Maj. Richard C. Temple.*

The Indian Antiquary. Vol. xix. 8-12, xx, xxi. 1-8, 10, 12. Bombay, 1890-  
92. 4°.

*From Rev. J. Torrend.*

Comparative grammar of the South-African Bantu languages. By J. Torrend.  
London, 1891. 8°.

*From the United States Bureau of Education.*

Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1888-89. Wash., 1891. 2 v., 8°.

Circular of information: 1891, no. 2, 4-9; 1892, no. 1. Wash. 8°.

Rules for a dictionary catalogue. By C. A. Cutter. 3 ed. Wash., 1891. 8°.

*From the United States Geological Survey.*

Tenth annual report of the U. S. Geological Survey, 1888-89. Wash., 1892. 8°.

Bulletin of the U. S. Geological Survey. No. 62, 65, 67-81. Wash., 1890-91. 8°.

Mineral resources of the United States, 1889-90. Wash., 1892. 8°.



*From the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.*

Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Classe. Bd. cxii-cxxvi. Wien, 1890-92. 8°. Register zu Bd. cxj-cxx. Wien, 1890. 8°.

*From the Geographical Society, Vienna.*

Mittheilungen der k. k. geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Bd. xxxiv. Wien, 1891. 8°.

*From Rev. J. W. Waugh, D.D., Missionary in India.*

Nine Sanskrit manuscripts, "secured by the Pandit Ram Pershád (now deceased), after much search among the stores of several old Hindu temples, chiefly in the city and suburbs of Lucknow:" namely—

1. Çārngadhara's Paddhati, incomplete, broken off in verse 25 of chapter 163 (the last). Leaves 1-243, all present, but here and there a little defaced, about 12 × 5 inches; old manuscript; large, handsome hand.

2. Nāgojibhatta's Paribhāṣenduçekhara, imperfect. leaves 4, 21, and 22 wanting; 35 leaves, about 13 × 5½ inches, well written and in good condition; date, saṁvat 1704 (?).

3. The Rāma-tāpaniya-Upanishad, first part (*pūrvatāpaniya*), text and comment: old manuscript, 11 leaves, in part badly damaged on the edges, about 13 × 6 inches; no date.

4. Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava; a fragment, 16 leaves, numbered 22-37, including from vi. 28 to end of viii., about 10½ × 4½ inches: a fairly old manuscript, without date.

5. Ballāla's Bhojaprabandha; a fragment, 9 leaves, about 10 × 3½ inches; contains the first section of the story and a couple of lines of the second section, and breaks off in the middle of a page and line.

6. Mṛtyumñaya-vidhāna. 4 leaves, about 10 × 4½ inches, recent, no date.

7. Prāyaścitta-candrikā, or treatise on expiation, by Çrikrṣṇabhaṭṭa, son of Raghunāthabhaṭṭa. 11 leaves, about 10 × 4½ inches, in good condition, not recent, no date.

8. Çārīraka-mīmāṃsā-bhāṣya. Fragment, 26 leaves, about 12 × 4½ inches, without beginning or end, numbered 103, 104, 107-129 (and one leaf with numbers gone), old manuscript, in part with damaged edges.

9. Fragment of a work on logic; 28 leaves, numbered 28-55, about 11½ × 3½ inches; marked at left upper corner of *verso* "*ci- pra-*"; breaks off in the middle of a page, of a line, of a word: written on last page, in Roman, "Chintāmani. Logic;" not a recent manuscript.

*From Prof. W. D. Whitney.*

Grammar of the Sanskrit language. By Charles Wilkins. Lond. 1808. 4°.

Grammar of the Sanscrit language on a new plan. By William Yates. Calcutta, 1820. 8°.

Compendious vocabulary of Sanskrit in Devanagari and Roman characters, with comparative forms in other languages and complete indexes. Compiled from the best authorities. Lond., 1885. 4°. [Lithographed.]

- Comparative dictionary of the languages of India and High Asia, with a dissertation. By W. W. Hunter. Lond., 1868. 4°. [Preliminary dissertation only].
- Geographical, statistical and historical description of Hindostan and the adjacent countries. By Walter Hamilton. Lond., 1820. 2 v., 4°.
- Records of the Gupta dynasty illustrated by inscriptions, written history, local tradition and coins, to which is added a chapter on the Arabs in Sind. By Edward Thomas. Lond., 1876. 4°.
- Descriptive catalogue of historical MSS. in the Arabic and Persian languages preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. By W. H. Morley. Lond., 1854. 8°.
- Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society (Hodgson collection). By E. B. Cowell and J. Eggeling. Hertford, [1875]. 8°.
- Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. By Th. Aufrecht. Camb., 1869. 8°.
- Descriptive catalogue of the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Pt. i. Grammar. Edited by Rājendralāla Mitra. Calcutta, 1877. 8°.
- Supplementary catalogue of Sanskrit works in the library of the Maharaja of Mysore. Bombay, 1874. 8°.
- Catalogue of Arabic, Hindostani, Persian and Turkish MSS. in the Mulla Firuz library. Compiled by Edward Rehatsek. Bombay, 1873. 8°.
- Catalogue of native publications in the Bombay Presidency up to 31 Dec., 1864. Prepared by Sir A. Grant. 2 ed. Bombay, 1867. 8°.
- Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during 1880-81 By F. Kielhorn. Bombay, 1880. 8°.
- Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the North West Provinces. Pt. i-iv. Benares and Allahabad, 1874-79. 8°.
- Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in Oudh. Fasc. iii-xi, and 1874-79. Calcutta and Allahabad, 1873-79. 8°.
- Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. from Gujarāt, Kachchh, Sindh and Khāndes'. Compiled under the superintendence of G. Bühler. Fasc. i, iv. Bombay, 1871-73. 8°.
- Classified catalogue of printed tracts and books in Singhalese. By J. Murdoch and J. Nicholson. Madras, 1868. 8°.
- List of Sanskrit works in Nepalese libraries at Khatmandoo. 8°.
- Catalogue of Sanskrit and Hindustani works available at the shop of Pandit Jyeshtharam Mukundji. Bombay, 1884.

*From Mr. F. W. Williams.*

- Life and letters of Samuel Wells Williams. By Frederick Wells Williams. New York, 1889. 8°.

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

MARCH, 1893.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

### 1. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with † are those of Life Members.

- Cornelius Stevenson Abbott, Jr., Belleville, Essex Co., N. J. 1891.  
Dr. Cyrus Adler, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1884.  
Rev. Joseph Anderson, Waterbury, Conn. 1870.  
Rev. W. Muss-Arnolt, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1887.  
Dr. Robert Arrowsmith, Erasmus Hall Academy, Flatbush, N. Y. 1884.  
Irving Babbitt (Harvard Univ.), 40 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.  
Prof. William W. Baden, Southwestern Univ., Georgetown, Texas. 1891.  
Prof. Mark Bailey, Jr. (State Univ. of Washington), 2209, 4th St., Seattle, Washington. 1891.  
Miss Annie L. Barber, 715 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr Coll., Bryn Mawr, Penn. 1888.  
Rev. Daniel M. Bates, St. Stephen's Rectory, Clifton Heights, Penn. 1890.  
Prof. Charles W. Renton, Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 1890.  
Rev. Adolph A. Berle, 697 Cambridge St., Brighton, Mass. 1890.  
Dr. Samuel A. Binion, New York Hotel, New York, N. Y. 1884.  
Prof. John Binney, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.  
Dr. Charles Edward Bishop, Emory and Henry Coll., Emory, Va. 1890.  
Prof. Edwin Cone Bissell, 20 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1889.  
David Blaustein (Harvard Univ.), 54 College House, Cambridge, Mass. 1891.  
Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1881.  
Lester Bradner, Jr. (Univ. of Berlin), New Haven, Conn. 1889.  
Prof. John Everett Brady, Smith Coll., Northampton, Mass. 1890.  
James Henry Breasted, 515, 62d St., Englewood, Chicago, Ill. 1891.  
Prof. Charles A. Briggs, Union Theological Sem., 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1879.  
Prof. Daniel G. Brinton, 2041 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1888.  
Rev. Homer J. Broadwell, Camden, Arkansas. 1879.  
Prof. Charles Rufus Brown, Newton Theological Institution, Newton Centre, Mass. 1886.  
Prof. Francis Brown, Union Theological Sem., 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1881.  
Dr. Carl Darling Buck (Univ. of Chicago), 5481 Kimbark Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1892.  
Prof. Marcus D. Buell, Boston Univ., 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1890.  
Prof. S. Burnham, Baptist Theological Sem., Hamilton, N. Y. 1886.

- Pres. George S. Burroughs, Wabash Coll., Crawfordsville, Ind. 1880.  
Prof. Henry F. Burton, Rochester Univ., Rochester, N. Y. 1881.  
Rev. Simon Joseph Carr, 1913 North 24th St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1892.  
Prof. A. S. Carrier (McCormick Theological Sem.), 497 Fullerton Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1890.  
Pres. Franklin Carter, Williams Coll., Williamstown, Mass. 1873.  
Rev. Talbot W. Chambers, 70 West 36th St., New York, N. Y. 1858.  
Miss Eva Channing, Jamaica Plain, Mass. 1883.  
Frank Dyer Chester (Harvard Univ.), Hotel Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.  
Rev. Edson L. Clark, Hinsdale, Mass. 1867.  
Miss Emily L. Clark, Summit St., Roslindale, Mass. 1890.  
Rev. Henry N. Cobb, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America, 25 East 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1875.  
William Emmette Coleman, Chief Quartermaster's Office, San Francisco, California. 1885.  
†George Wetmore Colles, 231 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.  
Prof. Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr Coll., Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.  
Samuel Victor Constant, 405 West 21st St., New York, N. Y. 1890.  
Frederic Taber Cooper, Columbia Coll., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
†Alexander I. Cotheal, 62 West 36th St., New York, N. Y. 1846.  
Dr. Elliott Cones (Smithsonian Institution), 1726 N St., Washington, D. C. 1892.  
Clark Eugene Crandall (Univ. of Chicago), 5455 Monroe Ave., Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill. 1886.  
Rev. Oliver Crane, 12 Concord Sq., Boston, Mass. 1866.  
Mrs. Sibylla Bailey Crane, 12 Concord Sq., Boston, Mass. 1891.  
Oliver Turnbull Crane, Helena, Montana. 1888.  
Prof. Angus Crawford, Theological Sem., Alexandria, Va. 1892.  
Stewart Culin, 127 South Front St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1888.  
Prof. Edward L. Curtis (Yale Univ.), 61 Trumbull St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.  
Olaus Dahl (Yale Univ.), 1010 Chapel St., New Haven, Conn. 1889.  
Rev. George William Davis, Macalester, St. Paul, Minn. 1889.  
Prof. John D. Davis, Theological Sem., Princeton, N. J. 1888.  
Prof. George E. Day (Yale Univ.), 125 College St., New Haven, Conn. 1848.  
Dr. P. L. Armand de Potter, 645 Broadway, Albany, N. Y. 1880.  
Rev. Lysander Dickerman, Astor Library, New York, N. Y. 1882.  
Rev. Samuel F. Dike, Bath, Maine. 1883.  
Epes Sargent Dixwell, Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1848.  
Rev. D. Stuart Dodge, 9 Cliff St., New York, N. Y. 1867.  
Rev. Bernard Drachman, 329 East 51st St., New York, N. Y. 1885.  
Prof. Henry Drisler, Columbia Coll., New York, N. Y. 1858.  
Samuel F. Dunlap, 18 West 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1854.  
Prof. Morton W. Easton (Univ. of Penn.), 224 South 43d St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1872.  
Dr. August Hjalmar Edgren, Högskolans Rektor, Göteborg, Sweden. 1876.  
Wolcott Webster Ellsworth, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1891.  
Carl J. Elofson, Lutheran Theological Sem., Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Penn. 1891.

- Prof. Levi H. Elwell, Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass. 1883.  
 Prof. Charles Carroll Everett (Harvard Univ.), 53 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1859.  
 Edwin Whitfield Fay, Univ. of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1888.  
 Prof. Henry Ferguson, Trinity Coll., Hartford, Conn. 1876.  
 †Lady Caroline Fitz Maurice, Leigh, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire, England. 1886.  
 †Frank B. Forbes, 56 rue de la Victoire, Paris, France. 1864.  
 †Hon. John M. Forbes, 30 Sears Building, Boston, Mass. 1847.  
 Miss Maude Fortescue, 57 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1890.  
 James Everett Frame, 80 White St., East Boston, Mass. 1892.  
 Prof. Arthur L. Frothingham, Jr., Coll. of N. J., Princeton, N. J. 1883.  
 Henry Lee Gilbert, 3508 Hamilton St., West Philadelphia, Penn. 1892.  
 Prof. Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1858.  
 Pres. Daniel Coit Gilman, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1857.  
 Ralph L. Goodrich, Clerk of the U. S. Courts, Little Rock, Arkansas. 1888.  
 George Stephen Goodspeed, 391, 55th St., Chicago, Ill. 1890.  
 Charles J. Goodwin, Wesleyan Univ., Middletown, Conn. 1889.  
 Prof. William Watson Goodwin (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.  
 Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil (Columbia Coll.), 57 East 76th St., New York, N. Y. 1886.  
 Rev. John T. Gracey, 177 Pearl St., Rochester, N. Y. Corresp. Member, 1869; Corp., 1877.  
 Jacob Grape, Jr., St. John's College, Annapolis, Md.  
 Rev. W. Henry Green, Theological Sem., Princeton, N. J. 1855.  
 Rabbi Dr. Louis Grossmann, Temple Beth El, Detroit, Michigan. 1890.  
 Rev. Lewis Grout, West Brattleborough, Vermont. Corresp. Member, 1849; Corp., 1862.  
 Charles F. Gunther, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.  
 The Right Rev. Charles R. Hale, Bishop of Cairo, Cairo, Ill. 1860.  
 †Dr. Fitzedward Hall, Marlesford, Wickham Market, Suffolk, England. 1848.  
 Prof. Isaac Hollister Hall, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fifth Ave. and 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1874.  
 Dr. Robert Francis Harper, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.  
 Pres. William Rainey Harper, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1885.  
 Prof. J. Rendel Harris, Clare College, Cambridge, England. 1889.  
 Prof. Joseph Edward Harry, Georgetown Coll., Georgetown, Kentucky. 1891.  
 Prof. Samuel Hart, Trinity Coll., Hartford, Conn.  
 Dr. Willabe Haskell, 96 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn. 1877.  
 Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1883.  
 Rev. John Baptist Haygooni, 1554 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1892.  
 Rev. Henry Harrison Haynes, 6 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.  
 Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 25 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1869.  
 Prof. Hermann V. Hilprecht (Univ. of Penn.), 1031 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1887.  
 Prof. Edward Washburn Hopkins, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penn. 1881.

- Prof. James M. Hoppin (Yale Univ.), 47 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1862.
- Rev. Samuel R. House, Waterford, N. Y. Corresp. Member, 1855.
- Montague Howard, 46 West 52d St., New York, N. Y. 1891.
- George Carter Howland, 5735 Washington Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1887.
- Dr. Abel H. Huizinga, New Paltz, N. Y. 1890.
- Miss Annie K. Humphery, 1114, 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.
- Prof. Henry Hyvernath, Cath. Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1889.
- Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson (Columbia Coll.), 16 Highland Place, Yonkers, N. Y. 1885.
- Rev. Marcus Jastrow, 925 North 8th St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1887.
- Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr. (Univ. of Penn.), Philadelphia, Penn. 1886.
- Rev. Henry F. Jenks, P. O. Box 143, Canton, Mass. 1874.
- Dr. James Richard Jewett (Brown Univ.), 61 Benefit St., Providence, R. I. 1887.
- Dr. Christopher Johnston, Jr. (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1620 North Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
- Prof. Maximilian Lindsay Kellner, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
- Rev. Samuel H. Kellogg, Theological Sem., Toronto, Ontario. Corresp. Member, 1872; Corp., 1877.
- Dr. Charles F. Kent, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1890.
- Charles Knapp, 517 West 29th St., New York, N. Y. 1887.
- Rev. Kaufman Kohler, 115 East 71st St., New York, N. Y. 1889.
- Rev. Alexander Kohut, 160 East 72d St., New York, N. Y. 1890.
- Rev. Joseph Krauskopf, 1537 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1888.
- †Prof. Charles Rockwell Lanman (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge Mass. 1876.
- Prof. J. Peter Lesley, 907 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1857.
- Caspar Levias (Columbia Coll.), 409 East 51st St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- Prof. Thomas B. Lindsay (Boston Univ.), Maple St., Auburndale, Mass. 1883.
- Charles G. Loring (Museum of Fine Arts), 1 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1877.
- Miss Helen L. Lovell, 2019 North Saint Paul St., Baltimore, Md. 1892.
- Prof. Jules Luquiens (Yale Univ.), 219 Whalley Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1873.
- †Benjamin Smith Lyman, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1871.
- Prof. David Gordon Lyon (Harvard Univ.), 6 Mason St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- Prof. Herbert W. Magoun, Oberlin Coll., Oberlin, Ohio. 1887.
- Dr. Max L. Margolis, Hebrew Union Coll., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1890.
- Prof. Allan Marquand, Coll. of N. J., Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. David C. Marquis, McCormick Theological Sem., 322 Belden Ave. Chicago, Ill. 1890.
- Rev. Dwight W. Marsh, Amherst, Mass. Corresp. Member, 1852; Corp.
- Prof. Winfred Robert Martin, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1889.
- Mrs. Matilda R. McConnell, 1347 L St., Lincoln, Nebraska. 1890.
- Prof. James F. McCurdy, 490 Spadina Ave., Toronto, Ontario. 1877.
- Prof. Charles Marsh Mead, Hartford Theological Sem., Hartford, Conn. 1867.

- Rev. Selah Merrill (Andover, Mass.), U. S. Consul at Jerusalem. 1873.  
 Rev. Lawrence H. Mills, 19 Norham Road, Oxford, England. 1881.  
 Prof. Hinckley G. Mitchell, Boston Univ., 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1889.  
 Alfred Bernard Moldenke, 124 East 46th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
 Dr. Charles E. Moldenke, 124 East 46th St., New York, N. Y. 1885.  
 Prof. George F. Moore, Theological Sem., Andover, Mass. 1887.  
 Rev. Alexius J. E. Mullan, S. J., Boston College, Boston, Mass. 1889.  
 Isaac Myer, 21 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.  
 George Nathan Newman, 288 Linwood Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1891.  
 Frank Walter Nicolson, Wesleyan Univ., Middletown, Conn. 1888.  
 Prof. Charles Eliot Norton, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.  
 Dr. Hanns Oertel (Yale Univ.), 31 York Sq., New Haven, Conn. 1890.  
 George N. Olcott (Columbia Coll.), 38 Grace Court, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1892.  
 †Robert M. Olyphant, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.  
 John Orne, 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.  
 Rev. John A. Paine, Tarrytown, N. Y. 1872.  
 Prof. Andrew Preston Peabody (Harvard Univ.), 11 Quincy St., Cambridge Mass. 1843.  
 Charles Peabody, St. Mark's School, Southborough, Mass. 1892.  
 Rev. Stephen D. Peet, Good Hope, Ill. 1881.  
 Prof. Marshall L. Perrin (Boston Univ.), Wellesley Hills, Mass. 1892.  
 Prof. Edward D. Perry, Columbia Coll., New York, N. Y. 1879.  
 Prof. John P. Peters, 162 West 105th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.  
 Prof. David Philipson, Hebrew Union Coll., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1889.  
 Prof. Samuel Ball Platner, Adelbert Coll., Cleveland, Ohio. 1885.  
 Perry Oliver Powell, Sweet Springs, Saline Co., Missouri. 1891.  
 Henry Preble, New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y. 1886.  
 Prof. Ira M. Price, Chicago Baptist Union Theological Sem., Morgan Park, Ill. 1887.  
 Prof. John Dyneley Prince (Univ. of the City of New York), 9 East 10th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.  
 Madam Zénaïde A. Ragozin, 115 Second Ave., New York, N. Y. 1886.  
 Rev. F. P. Ramsay, Augusta, Kentucky. 1889.  
 George Andrew Reisner, Harvard Univ., 10 Stoughton Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1891.  
 Hugo Albert Rennert (Univ. of Penn.), 539 North 13th St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1888.  
 Dr. Charles Rice, Bellevue Hospital, New York, N. Y. 1875.  
 George Livingstone Robinson, Princeton, N. J. 1892.  
 William Woodville Rockhill, 1620, 19th St., Washington, D. C. 1880.  
 Prof. Robert W. Rogers, Dickinson Coll., Carlisle, Penn. 1888.  
 Hon. Charles Theodore Russell, Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass. 1870.  
 Mrs. Anna M. von Rydingsvärd, 181 Warren Ave., Boston, Mass. 1889.  
 Thomas H. P. Sailer, 217 South 42d St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1890.  
 †Prof. Edward E. Salisbury, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1842.  
 Dr. H. Ernest Schmid, White Plains, N. Y. 1866.  
 Rev. Henry M. Scudder, Niigata, Japan.  
 J. Herbert Senter, 10 Avon St., Portland, Maine. 1870.

- Daniel Shepardson, Morgan Park, Ill. 1889.  
Thomas Stanley Simonds, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1892.  
Dr. David Sleem, 42 West 97th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
Prof. Henry Preserved Smith, Lane Theological Sem., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1877.  
Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr Coll., Bryn Mawr, Penn. 1884.  
Dr. Edmund Nathaniel Snyder, 64 Fifth Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. 1891.  
Maxwell Sommerville, 311 South 10th St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1890.  
Dr. Edward H. Spieker, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
Rev. James D. Steele (Columbia Coll.), "The Lincoln," Broadway and 52d St., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
Alexis W. Stein, Jr., 30 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. 1891.  
Mrs. Sara Yorke Stevenson, 237 South 21st St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1890.  
Prof. George Stibitz, Ursinus Coll., Collegeville, Penn. 1891.  
Prof. Austin Stickney, 35 West 17th St., New York, N. Y. 1864.  
Mayer Sulzberger, 537 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1888.  
Prof. John Phelps Taylor, Theological Sem., Andover, Mass. 1884.  
Prof. Joseph R. Taylor (Boston Univ.), 7 Eliot Place, Jamaica Plain, Mass. 1892.  
Prof. J. Henry Thayer (Harvard Univ.), 67 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass. 1874.  
Dr. William M. Thomson, 112 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. Corresp. Member, 1848; Corp., 1878.  
Dr. Henry A. Todd, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1885.  
Dr. Herbert Cushing Tolman (Univ. of Wisconsin), 1001 University Ave., Madison, Wis. 1890.  
Charles C. Torrey, Theological Sem., Andover, Mass. 1891.  
Prof. Crawford H. Toy (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.  
Prof. Joseph Vincent Tracy, St. Mary's Sem., Baltimore, Md. 1892.  
Rev. Henry Clay Trumbull, 4103 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1888.  
Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, 734 Asylum St., Hartford, Conn. 1860.  
Addison Van Name (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.  
Edward P. Vining, 816 Olive St., St. Louis, Missouri. 1883.  
Rev. William Walker, Milton, Wisconsin.  
†Thomas Walsh, Yokohama, Japan. 1861.  
Miss Susan Hayes Ward, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.  
Dr. William Hayes Ward, 141 Nassau St., New York, N. Y. 1869.  
†Henry Clarke Warren, 12 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.  
Pres. William F. Warren, Boston Univ., Boston, Mass. 1877.  
Rev. Edward Webb, Lincoln Univ., Oxford, Chester Co., Penn. Corresp. Member, 1860; Corp., 1869.  
Prof. Benjamin Ide Wheeler (Cornell Univ.), 3 South Ave., Ithaca, N. Y. 1885.  
Prof. John Williams White (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.  
Dr. Moses C. White (Yale Univ.), 48 College St., New Haven, Conn. Corresp. Member, 1853; Corp., 1860.  
Prof. Josiah Dwight Whitney, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.  
†Prof. William Dwight Whitney, Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn. 1850.  
Rev. Joseph K. Wight, New Hamburg, N. Y. 1869.



- Herbert Lockwood Willett, 1891.  
 Talcott Williams ("The Press"), 331 South 16th St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1884.  
 Rev. William C. Winslow, 525 Beacon St., Back Bay, Boston, Mass. 1885.  
 Henry B. Witton, Inspector of Canals, Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.  
 Rev. Charles James Wood, Lockhaven, Penn. 1892.  
 Prof. Henry Wood, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
 Benjamin D. Woodward, Columbia Coll., New York, N. Y. 1889.  
 George Edward Wright, Room 212, Stock Exchange Building, Chicago, Ill. 1890.  
 Rev. Edward J. Young, 519 Main St., Waltham, Mass. 1869.  
 Kichiro Yuasa, Doshisha, Kiyoto, Japan. 1891.

## 2. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

- Prof. Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, Royal Academy of Science and Letters, Milan, Italy.  
 Rev. C. C. Baldwin, Missionary at Foochow, China.  
 Prof. Adolph Bastian, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1866.  
 Rev. Cephas Bennett, Missionary at Rangoon, Burma. 1852.  
 Pres. Daniel Bliss, Syrian Protestant Coll., Beirut, Syria.  
 Rev. Henry Blodgett, Missionary at Peking, China. 1858.  
 Rev. Nathan Brown, Missionary at Yokohama, Japan. 1851.  
 Rev. Alonzo Bunker, Missionary at Toungoo, Burma. 1871.  
 Rev. Marcus C. Carleton, Missionary at Ambala, India.  
 Rev. William Clark, Florence, Italy.  
 Hyde Clarke, 32 St. George's Sq., S. W., London, England. 1866.  
 Prof. Edward Byles Cowell, Univ. of Cambridge, England. 1863.  
 Judge Ernest H. Crosby, International Court at Alexandria, Berkeley, Alexandria, Egypt. 1890.  
 Rev. Joseph Edkins, Peking, China. 1869.  
 Prof. Philippe Édouard Foucaux (Collège de France), 3 rue Perronet, Paris, France. 1865.  
 A. A. Gargiulo, U. S. Legation, Constantinople, Turkey. 1892.  
 Henry Gillman, U. S. Consul at Jerusalem, Turkey. 1890.  
 Rev. John T. Gulick, Missionary at Osaka, Japan.  
 Prof. J. H. Haynes, Central Turkey Coll., Aintab, Syria. 1887.  
 Dr. James C. Hepburn, Missionary at Yokohama, Japan. 1873.  
 Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana, Parsi Panchayet Lane, Bombay India. 1887.  
 Rev. Henry H. Jessup, Missionary at Beirut, Syria.  
 Prof. L. Léon de Rosny, École des hautes études, Paris, France. 1857.  
 Rev. Albert L. Long, Missionary at Constantinople, Turkey. 1870.  
 Dr. Daniel J. Macgowan, Wanchow, China. 1854.  
 Rev. Robert S. Maclay, Missionary at Tokio, Japan.  
 Pres. William A. P. Martin, Tungwen Coll., Peking, China. 1858.  
 Dr. Divie Bethune McCartee, 1857.  
 Prof. Eberhard Nestle, Univ. of Tuebingen, Germany. 1888.  
 Dr. Alexander G. Paspatis, Athens, Greece. 1861.

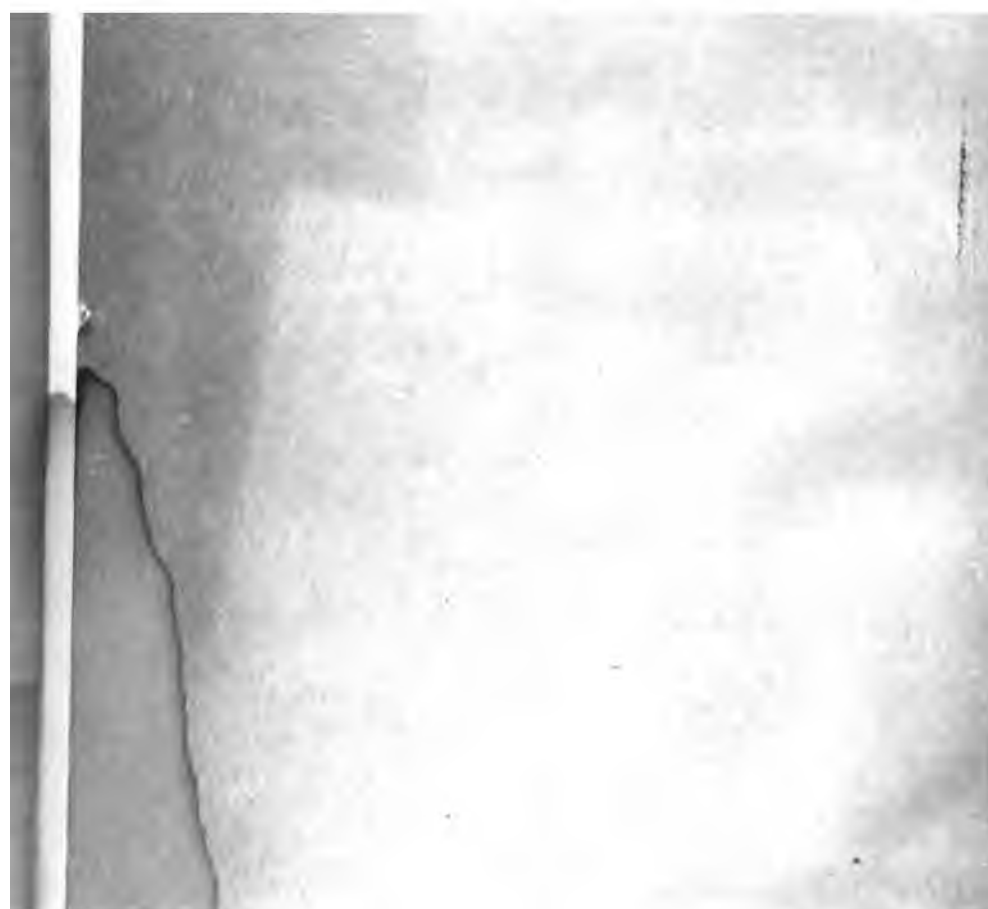
### *List of Members.*

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Alphonse Pinart, San Francisco, California. 1871.  
Sir James W. Redhouse, 14 Kilburn Priory, N. W., London, England. 1850.  
Rev. Elias Riggs, Missionary at Constantinople, Turkey.  
Dr. Georg Rosen, Detmold, Germany. 1857.  
Rev. S. I. J. Schereschewsky, Geneva, Switzerland.  
Rev. William W. Scudder, Missionary at Madanapalle, Madras, India.  
Rev. John H. Shedd, Missionary at Oroomiah, Persia. 1871.  
Rev. George N. Thomssen, American Baptist Mission, Kurnool, Madras, India. Corp. Member, 1890; Corresp., 1891.  
Dr. Cornelius V. A. Van Dyck, Missionary at Beirut, Syria. 1846.  
Rev. George T. Washburn, Missionary at Pasumalai, Madura, India.  
Rev. James W. Waugh, Missionary at Lucknow, India. 1873.  
Charles Edwin Wilbour, Cairo, Egypt. 1892.  
Rev. George W. Wood, Missionary at Constantinople, Turkey.

### 3. HONORARY MEMBERS.

Prof. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.  
His Excellency, Otto Boetlingk, 35 Seeburg St., Leipzig, Germany. 1844.  
Prof. Heinrich Brugsch-Pasha, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. Corresp. Member, 1851; Hon., 1890.  
Prof. Georg Buehler, Univ. of Vienna, Austria. Corresp. Member, 1876; Hon., 1887.  
Dr. Antonio Maria Ceriani, Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy. 1890.  
Prof. Berthold Delbrueck, Univ. of Jena, Germany. 1878.  
Prof. August Dillmann, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. Corresp. Member, 1857; Hon., 1882.  
Brian Houghton Hodgson, Wotton-under-Edge, England.  
Prof. Franz Kielhorn, Univ. of Goettingen, Germany. 1887.  
Right Hon. Sir Austen Henry Layard, Venice, Italy. 1890.  
Prof. Sir Monier Monier-Williams, Univ. of Oxford, England. 1882.  
Prof. F. Max Mueller, Univ. of Oxford, England. Corresp. Member, 1854; Hon., 1869.  
Prof. Theodor Noeldeke, Univ. of Strassburg, Germany. 1878.  
Raol Sahib Shankar Pandurang Pandit, Ahmednugger, Bombay, India. 1887.  
Major-General Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, 21 Charles St., Berkeley Sq., London, England. 1887.  
Prof. Rudolph Roth, Univ. of Tuebingen, Germany. Corresp. Member, 1848; Hon., 1869.  
Prof. Eduard Sachau, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1887.  
Prof. Eberhard Schrader, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1890.  
Prof. Friedrich Spiegel, Munich, Germany. Corresp. Member, 1863; Hon., 1869.  
Prof. Albrecht Weber, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. Corresp. Member, 1850; Hon., 1869.  
Prof. Ernst Windisch, Univ. of Leipzig, Germany. 1890.



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